

DE GRUYTER

*Hikmat Kashouh*

# THE ARABIC VERSIONS OF THE GOSPELS

THE MANUSCRIPTS AND THEIR FAMILIES

Hikmat Kashouh  
The Arabic Versions of the Gospels

# Arbeiten zur Neutestamentlichen Textforschung

Herausgegeben im Auftrag des  
Instituts für Neutestamentliche Textforschung der Westfälischen  
Wilhelms-Universität Münster/Westfalen

von David C. Parker und Holger Strutwolf

Band 42

De Gruyter

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ISBN 978-3-11-022858-8  
e-ISBN 978-3-11-022859-5  
ISSN 0570-5509

*Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data*

Kashouh, Hikmat.

The Arabic versions of the gospels : the manuscripts and their families /  
Hikmat Kashouh.

p. cm. – (Arbeiten zur neutestamentlichen Textforschung ; Band 42)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-3-11-022858-8 (hardcover 23 × 15,5 : alk. paper)

1. Bible. N.T. Gospels Arabic – Versions. 2. Bible. N.T. Gospels –  
Criticism, Textual. 3. Bible. N.T. Gospels – Translating. 4. Manu-  
scripts, Arabic. I. Title.

BS2555.52.K37 2011

226'.05927–dc23

2011035051

*Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek*

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie;  
detailed bibliographic data are available in the Internet at <http://dnb.d-nb.de>.

© 2012 Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co. KG, Berlin/Boston

Printing: Hubert & Co. GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen

∞ Printed on acid-free paper

Printed in Germany

[www.degruyter.com](http://www.degruyter.com)

For Krista

my love and companion,

For Markus, Betine, and Daniella

my life and joy



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# 1. Introduction

## 1.1. Introduction

“Numerous and tangled in their tradition,” “obscure in contents” and “textually irrelevant” are a few phrases which might adequately describe the state of research on the Arabic Gospel manuscripts (AGM) up to the point of this work. It is my somewhat audacious hope that this work will lead the reader to use slightly different terms: numerous but now more accessible; still tangled in their tradition, but far less obscure in contents, and proven to be textually relevant to the study of the history, reception and transmission of the biblical text.

This book is about the Arabic versions of the Gospels. It extracts test passages from more than two hundred manuscripts copied between the eighth and nineteenth centuries, examines their verbal agreements and disagreements, groups them into families and classifies them according to the language of their *Vorlagen*. This foundational work is for understanding the Arab Christian heritage, the ancient Arabic versions of the four Gospels and their influence over the Arab church during the last twelve centuries.

Before moving to the body of this work, I shall briefly present the scope and limitations of this book. Some terminologies and expressions will be defined in the second chapter.

## 1.2. The Scope of this Book

Since no previous attempt to review the literature of the AGM has been undertaken, and since this work is concerned with a substantial number of AGM rather than a single manuscript, considerable attention was given to work done in the past on these manuscripts. Hence, Chapter Two presents the current state of research while simultaneously expanding on and raising issues which will become of particular interest in the body of this study. An additional benefit of this review is the highlighting of areas which have been the subject of scrupulous attention in the past; in doing so we can avoid repetition.



Chapter Three is concerned with *the manuscripts* examined in this study. It begins with the difficulties encountered in finding these manuscripts, explains the process of examining them and ends with an abridged list (or *kurzgefaste liste*) of over two hundred manuscripts.

From Chapter Four to Chapter Eight, the manuscripts are grouped into families. In general, eight test passages are extracted from each manuscript, compared with other test passages and the manuscripts placed in their respective groups. The test passages of all the manuscripts can be found in Appendix One.

Each family in these chapters is studied independently. In general, each chapter concentrates on one or more versions, depending mainly on their *Vorlage(n)*: Chapter Four examines the families which are translated from Greek; Chapter Five focuses on the versions translated from Syriac; Chapter Six deals only with family *k* because of the large number of manuscripts of this version available; almost half of the manuscripts studied in this book belong in this family.

Chapter Seven examines the families of Coptic and Latin *Vorlagen*, and Chapter Eight includes manuscripts of a mixture of Arabic versions as well as fragmentary manuscripts.

In the grouping of families in Chapters Four and Five, the intent was to begin with those which have not been contaminated with other *Vorlage(n)*. For instance, Chapter Four begins with family *a* which is translated from Greek while showing almost no Syriac influence, as opposed to family *b*. This textual judgment is mainly based on specific passages or a particular Gospel and not the entire four Gospels. A thorough textual examination will be undertaken in the future.

In Chapter Nine, I apply phylogenetic software in order to establish the possible relationship between the families. As a result, a number of families are grouped into different *tribes*. Finally the question of the date of the archetype is addressed in the light of this research.

The conclusion emphasizes the contribution of this study and new avenues in the study of the AGM.

### 1.3. The Limitations of this Book

There seem to be a general consensus among scholars who in the past expressed interest in the study of the AGM that this corpus is similar to a massive forest, made up of many trees with intertwined branches. It

is barely possible to find a way through and no map is available.<sup>1</sup> The aim of this study is to draw a foundational map which might serve as a preliminary guide to these manuscripts. This map is concerned with grouping and classifying the AGM written in Arabic script and containing the continuous text of the Gospels. To achieve this goal, some areas in the study of these manuscripts had to be overlooked.

### 1.3.1. The Limitations in Grouping the Manuscripts

The more than two hundred manuscripts examined in this study come from only twenty-one library and monastery collections. Further research may show the existence of many more in the West and, more importantly, in the Arab world. The scope of this book restricts us from going beyond this number.

As for grouping the manuscripts into families, I have taken two test passages from each of the Gospels and used these test passages to locate the manuscripts in their respective groups. In Chapter Two I shall elaborate more on these eight test passages, but at this point it is enough to acknowledge the limitation of this methodology and to be aware that manuscripts with a mixture of versions might not be detected with this limited number of passages. However, since the aim was to include as many manuscripts as possible, I had to restrict myself to a limited number of test passages. The same test passages were collated from all the manuscripts, except when the manuscript is lacunose or fragmentary. When none of the test passages have survived in a particular manuscript, another/other test passage(s) was/were collated.

There was no attempt to examine the organic relationship between the manuscripts and to reconstruct stemmas and trees of manuscripts within the families. The phylogenetic software was only applied to the families and not to the manuscripts within each family. At this stage it seemed to me more important, especially in the context of discussing the date when the AGM were first translated, to note whether or not there was an organic relationship between, for instance, two families from the ninth century (hence one may suggest that a much earlier archetype could be behind both families) than to reconstruct a stemma of two or more manuscripts of the same family. Reconstructing an

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1 Concerning the Arabic manuscripts of the Gospels, Samir rightly asserts that "on est cependant très loin de pouvoir voir clair dans cette jungle, et il serait à souhaiter qu'un (ou plusieurs) étudiant(s) prenne(nt) comme sujet de doctorat ce sujet." S.K. Samir, "La version arabe des évangiles d' al-As'ad Ibn al-'Assāl," *Parole de l'Orient*, 19 (1994): 444.

Arabic text as was once found in the autograph of the translator is secondary at this stage, but learning about a possible organic relationship between the families is more fundamental to this research.

### 1.3.2. Textual Limitations

Textually, this study does not claim any attempt to make a thorough investigation of any manuscript or family. Since classifying the families includes a study of the language behind the Arabic version, while bearing in mind the space limitation of this kind of research, I was obliged to take a segment, or a number of segments, from the Gospels and consider it/them as a case study and then to draw general conclusions.

Moreover, I have found no need to be restricted to the same segment(s) (see the following paragraphs) in each family studied textually. The test passages were occasionally consulted but their data were certainly not robust enough to be relied on heavily. Other portions from the Gospels had to be analysed. Here are a few examples:

1. In the case of family *a*, and since there is a general consensus that it is translated from Greek, I focused the textual study on the kind of Greek text-type used. For this reason, instead of taking for example, the first ten chapters of Luke and studying them meticulously, I have examined fifty-four variants from the Gospel of Luke and studied them in the light of data in *Text und Textwert*. Later on, to determine whether this version has been influenced by the Peshitta, I took the Gospel of Matthew as a case study and extracted all the readings which differ from the Byzantine text and agree with the Peshitta.
2. In the case of family *b*, since its Greek *Vorlage* is not of a Byzantine text-type, I have extracted two hundred and thirty variants from the Gospel of Luke, which disagree with the Byzantine text, and inserted the Greek manuscripts and ancient versions which support them.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, since I was able to detect Pe-

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2 The Arabic variants were in general compared with *limited* Greek, Syriac and Coptic critical editions. The primary editions consulted are: B. and K. Aland, J. Karavidopoulos, C. M. Martini, B.M. Metzger, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 27<sup>th</sup> edition (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1993) (hereafter NA<sup>27</sup>); S. C. Legg, *Novum Testamentum Graece: Secundum textum Westcotto-Hortianum, evangelium secundum Marcum* (Oxonii: Typographeo Clarendoniano: 1935); S.C. Legg, *Novum Testamentum Graece: Secundum textum Westcotto-Hortianum, evangelium secundum Matthaeum* (Oxonii: Typographeo Clarendoniano: 1940); The American and British Committees of the In-

shitta influence in the Gospel of Matthew, I have studied Matthew 1:18-2:23 and 28:1-20, and used it as a case study, to show possible Syriac contamination in the text of Matthew.

3. In family *c*, in addition to a textual examination of the eight test passages, I have taken Mark chapters 1-10 and John 1-21 as a case study to learn more about the *Vorlage* of this family.
4. As for family *d*, it was clear to me, through a random examination of its text, that it follows the Syriac Peshitta. Thus, I thought it would be convenient to select chapters 10-19 of the Gospel of Luke, as the *Vetus Syra* (the Sinaiticus and the Curetonian) are not defective in these chapters, and hence a comparison of the Arabic text with the *Vetus Syra* and the Peshitta is possible.<sup>3</sup> All the textual variants of all the families, as well as the Greek manuscripts and ancient versions which support them, are placed separately in appendices two and three.

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ternational Greek New Testament Project, eds., *The Gospel according to St. Luke*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1984), (Hereafter IGNTP); and occasionally: Constantinus Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum Graece: Ad antiquissimos testes denuo recensuit apparatus criticum omni studio perfectum approposuit*, 8th ed. (Leipzig: Giesecke & Devrient, 1869). especially for John's Gospel; K. Aland, B. Aland, K. Wachtel, eds. (in association with Klaus Wite), *Text und Textwert der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments. IV. Die synoptischen Evangelien: 1. Das Markusevangelium 2. Das Matthäusevangelium, 3. Das Lukasevangelium, 5. Das Johannesevangelium* (Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1998-2005). For the ancient versions including the Arabic Diatessaron: Robertu Weber et al. eds., *Biblia Sacra Iuxta Vulgatam versionem*, 4th ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994) (Vulgate); Adolf Jülicher, *Itala: Das Neue Testament in alllateinischer Überlieferung 1. Matthäus-Evangelium, 2. Marcus-Evangelium, 3. Lucas-Evangelium, 4. Johannes-Evangelium*, (Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1963-1976) (Old Latin); G. Horner, *The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Northern Dialect otherwise called Memphitic and Bohairic with Introduction, Critical Apparatus, and Literal English Translation*, 2 Vols. (Osnabrück: Otto Zeller, 1969); G. A. Kiraz, *Comparative Edition of the Syriac Gospels: Aligning the Sinaiticus, Curetonianus, Peshittā and Harklean Versions*, 4 vols. (Leiden, New York, Köln: E. J. Brill, 1996); P.E. Pusey, G.H. Gwilliam, *Tetraevangelium Sanctum juxta simplicem Syrorum versionem ad fidem codicum, massorae, editionum denuo recognitum*, (Oxford, Clarendon, 1901); Agnes Smith Lewis, Margaret Dunlop Gibson, *the Palestinian Syriac Lectionary of the Gospels: Re-edited from two Sinai manuscripts, and from P. de Lagarde's Edition of the "Evangelium Hierosolymitanum"* (London: Paternoster, 1899); A. S. Marmardji, *Diatessaron de Tatien: Texte arabe établi, traduit en français, collationné avec les anciennes versions syriaques, suivi d'un évangélaire diatessarique syriaque et accompagné de quatre planches hors text* (Imprimerie Catholique: Beirut, 1935) (the Arabic Diatessaron).

3. Matthew was not selected because J. Valentin has examined it randomly and was able to find one reading which follows the Curetonian against the Peshitta (Mt.4:7). See Jean Valentin, "Les évangéliques Arabes de la Bibliothèque du Monastère Ste-Catherine (Mont Sinai): Essai de classification d'après l'étude d'un chapitre (Matth. 28). Traducteurs, réviseurs, types textuels," *Le Museon*, 116 (2003): 445-446.

The above examples are sufficient to argue that I would have achieved very little if I had taken the same segment (e.g. first chapter of Matthew as I. Guidi did, or the last chapter of Matthew as J. Valentin did) and studied it over again throughout all the families. Selecting different segments for each family (when it comes to the study of its *Vorlage*) might show inconsistency in the methodology, but makes better sense, especially if we consider each biblical segment in each family as an independent case study.

### 1.3.3. Linguistic Limitations

This study is not concerned with a linguistic examination of the AGM. Others have partially undertaken this task.<sup>4</sup> Occasionally, as reason dictated, I have given a limited amount of additional attention to the linguistic features of a particular text or version in question. Vatican, Ar. 13<sup>5</sup> is a case in point. Below are some general remarks about some of the linguistic characteristics of the AGM:

1. The majority of the AGM of the ninth and tenth centuries were copied in South Palestine, at monasteries such as St. Catherine's in Sinai.<sup>6</sup> The linguistic characteristics of these manuscripts are common among Arabic, mainly Christian,<sup>7</sup> manuscripts which were composed or copied in the same area.<sup>8</sup> According to Joshua Blau, the *language* and *grammar* of such manuscripts are neither classical nor similar to modern vernaculars, but somewhere in between (e.g. Middle Arabic). To quote Blau, this corpus of manuscripts belongs to the "south-Palestinian ChA [Christian Arabic] texts" and contains many "MA [Middle Arabic] phenomena" of "ASP [Ancient South-Palestine]".

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4 See for instance Joshua Blau, *A Grammar of Christian Arabic: Based Mainly on South-Palestinian Texts from the First Millennium*, 3 vols., *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*, vols. 267, 276, 279 (Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1967).

5 The full shelf-mark should be Vatican, Vat. Ar. 13. "Vat." is dropped for the sake of simplicity.

6 Vatican, Ar. 13 of the ninth century is excluded from this category. It will be examined separately (see §5.1.5.6 below). So is also true for Vatican, Ar. 18 copied in 993 (see 5.1.3 below).

7 For manuscripts copied by Muslims and bearing such characteristics see S.K. Samir, "La tradition Arabe Chrétienne. État de la question, problème et besoins," *Actes du premier congrès international d'études arabes chrétiennes, Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, 218 (Rome: Pont. Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1982), 56, 59. See also the Introduction in Blau, *A Grammar*, vol. 267.

8 E.g. St. Sābā, St. Chariton and St. Catherine of South Palestine.

2. Samir correctly argues, against Blau, that one should not perceive in these texts “[une] langue arabe proper aux Chrétiens” and that there is no “Grammaire arabe chrétienne”. However, “il y a seulement des phénomènes linguistiques caractéristiques de ce que l’on est convenu d’appeler le « moyen arabe » ; et que ces phénomènes se rencontrent plus fréquemment dans les manuscrits sud-palestiniens des IX<sup>e</sup> et X<sup>e</sup> siècles étudiés par J. Blau.”<sup>9</sup>
3. It is crucial to note, particularly for the AGM, that these texts are *translated* documents. Thus, the linguistic characteristics of these texts, especially when it comes to syntax, are, firstly, closely attached to the *translation technique* (e.g. literal or free translation) used by the scribes of these monasteries and secondly, heavily influenced by their *Vorlage(n)* (e.g. Greek, Syriac). It seems to me inconceivable to study the linguistic characteristics of these documents effectively without a full knowledge of the translation technique and the language of the *Vorlage*.
4. Since these texts are translated documents, the initial and ultimate intention was the translation of the *Sacred Text* in a new emerging medium (e.g. Arabic). The *meaning* which the *Sacred Text* conveys is the goal. At this stage, Arabic grammar and syntax were not the concern of the translators. None seems to be bothered with orthographical “mistakes” (or variants?) found in the Arabic Gospels. In the earliest manuscripts, generally speaking, there seems to be no effort in producing a *linguistic homogenous* text. Moreover, there were no *systematic* linguistic rules, neither syntactical nor orthographical, that the scribes were following or even wanted to follow. This might be our concern in the present today but not when these documents were first translated and copied.
5. Later when the scribes started copying these manuscripts extensively, *linguistic* corrections were introduced to the texts. This linguistic correction phenomenon is perceived in manuscripts as early as the ninth century.<sup>10</sup> The purpose, though it was not done systematically, is to present a text improved linguistically and close to the classical Arabic.
6. One of the key factors in the spread of one version as opposed to another is *linguistic simplicity*. Cumbersome texts (e.g. Ibn al-

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9 Samir, “La tradition arabe chrétienne,” 58.

10 For instance, Sinai, Ar. 72.

'Assāl's version), the use of difficult and rare expressions in a version (e.g. the text of Vatican, Ar. 13), verses which rhymed and are close to the language of the Qur'ān (e.g. Vatican, Ar. 17 and 18) all seem to have been unwelcome to the Arab Christians in general, and among Christians of South Palestine in particular.

#### 1.3.4. Other Limitations

In addition to the textual and linguistic limitations, there are some other areas which it was not possible to touch upon, and these include:

1. Throughout my examination of these manuscripts, I came across many corrections, additions, and sometimes personal reflections placed as glosses in the margin of some manuscripts. In addition, colophons, hypotheses, subscriptions, miniatures, neumes, sometimes marginal scholions, chapter divisions, occasional stichometric information or scribbles are found in almost each of these artefacts. Sadly, all these valuable data had to be overlooked.
2. Although all the manuscripts studied here contain the continuous text of the Gospels, scribes have inserted, in the text and/or in the margin, the day(s) of the week(s) when (a) specific passage(s) should be read. In this way these manuscripts served as lectionaries and were read during the church service throughout the year. Since every church (e.g. Melkite, Coptic) has a different ecclesiological calendar, examining these liturgical signs and rubrics can significantly inform us about the ecclesiological milieu of the manuscript or group of manuscripts. In my judgment this study requires an independent monograph. There are significant liturgical variants from one manuscript to another even within the same family. Some scribes kept the same Arabic text of their exemplar but adapted a different liturgical calendar. It is certainly beyond the scope of this study to examine them.

## 2. The Continuous Text of the Arabic Gospel Manuscripts: The State of Research (1849—2004)

### 2.1. Introduction

In the last two centuries, some prominent orientalist and textual critics have given attention to the study of the Arabic texts of the Gospels. Although most previous research on this subject has been limited, Arabicists in particular are indebted to their contributions in this regard.

This chapter presents a review of literature which has been undertaken in the study of manuscripts containing the continuous text of the Arabic Gospels.<sup>1</sup> This review is essential, not only because, as far as I know, one has never been presented, but also because it tells us how far this study has advanced and what are the pressing issues still needing to be investigated in depth. Any literature which is not directly related to the main outline of this study will be disregarded; for instance, any research done on the Diatessaron, Arabic lectionaries, Karshuni manuscripts, or articles related to Islam and in which references to biblical verses are given will be excluded. Moreover, the three well-known volumes of Blau on Christian Arabic grammar of the first millennium,<sup>2</sup> the extensive research on the Arabic script and its development, and the library catalogues and concordances which contain information about the AGM will only be consulted, when appropriate, in the body of the study and not in this chapter.

The following review is presented chronologically while at the same time allowing the interaction of other scholars, from later periods, on specific themes to provide maximum benefit to the reader.

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1 Whenever the expression “Arabic Gospel Manuscripts” (AGM) appears, I mean by it “the manuscripts which contain the continuous text of the Gospels written with Arabic Script.” Therefore, the Diatessaron, Gospel lectionaries, Gospel texts interspersed with commentaries, Gospel texts written with Syriac script (Karshuni manuscripts) or Hebrew script are all excluded from this definition.

2 See Blau, *A Grammar*.



## 2.2. From Tischendorf to Lagarde: (1849–1865)

It seems appropriate to start this review with one of the most influential textual critics; Lobegott Friedrich Constantin von Tischendorf, who prepared eight editions of the *Novum Testamentum Graece* between 1841 and 1872. In his 1849 edition, Tischendorf extended his critical apparatus to include variations found in Ethiopic, Armenian, Georgian, Gothic, Persian, Anglo-Saxon, Slavonic and, most importantly for the present research, Arabic versions. The Arabic text he used seems to be the Walton's London Polyglot<sup>3</sup> printed in 1657.<sup>4</sup> The Polyglot text, as well as the two earliest printed editions of the Arabic versions (the Medicean 1590-1591 and Erpenius 1616), contains, with some degree of variation, the text of the "Alexandrian Vulgate" or what is called family *k* in this study (see Chapter Six).<sup>5</sup>

Subsequently, Henry Alford, in his first three editions of the Greek Testament, follows in the footsteps of Tischendorf and cites a number of versions including the Arabic in his apparatus. However, in his fourth edition Alford, being influenced by the Edinburgh reviewer (see below), discards these versions on the basis that they are "all comparatively recent translations" and that they were not translated "from the original Greek."<sup>6</sup> The basis of his conviction seems to derive, according to P. Le Page Renouf,<sup>7</sup> from the Edinburgh article published in 1851. When he comes to evaluate the work of Tischendorf especially on the use of the extended versions of the New Testament, the Edinburgh reviewer states that all these versions, with the exception of the Gothic, "were derived not from Greek codices exclusively, but partially or wholly from Syrian, Coptic, and Latin versions. This mixed and indefi-

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3 See for instance on page xvi of Tischendorf's *Novum Testamentum Graece*, vol. 1.

4 *Biblia S Polyglotta, Bibliorum Sacrorum tomus quintus: Sive Novum d.n. Jesu Christi Testamentum*, 1657. This London edition is a reprint of the Paris Polyglot Bible. See on this, Bruce M. Metzger, *The Early Versions of the New Testament: Their Origin, Transmission, and Limitations* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), 266.

5 The earliest printed editions of the Arabic versions were made between 1590 and 1708 A.D. For a short survey of these editions Metzger, *Early Version*, 265-267.

6 Henry Alford, *The Greek Testament: With a Critically Revised Text: A Digest of Various Readings: Marginal References to Verbal and Idiomatic Usage: Prolegomena: And a Critical and Exegetical Commentary*, 4th ed., vol. 1: *The Four Gospels* (London: Rivingtons, Waterloo Place, 1859), 115.

7 See P. Le Page Renouf, "On the Supposed Latin Origin of the Arabic Version of the Gospels," *Atlantis: or Register of Literature and Science of the Catholic University of Ireland*, 4 (1863): 241.

nite character renders them of very little use in the present stage of critical investigation of the text.”<sup>8</sup>

In 1852 Samuel Davidson followed the same line of thought, but used much stronger language when he asserted that “The Arabic version of the Gospels must be discarded as useless, for it was not made from the original, but from the Vulgate. We should, therefore, consistently omit all mention of the version in question.”<sup>9</sup>

Neither the Edinburgh reviewer nor Davidson present any textual proof in their work to back their arguments. Davidson seems to rely mainly on external as well as secondary sources.<sup>10</sup>

In 1863, P. Le Page Renouf questioned Davidson’s basis for his claim and went on to show successfully that the Arabic texts agree with the Greek against the Latin Vulgate in a number of places. Moreover, he was able to show that, in some specific renderings, the Arabic translation is far more accurate and gives the full force of the Greek original better than the Latin translation.<sup>11</sup> In addition, Renouf points to a number of Arabic words clearly translated from Greek and not a Latin *Vorlage*.<sup>12</sup> Renouf concludes his work by asserting that the Arabic versions might furnish strong evidence to the text of the New Testament.

Renouf’s argument in this early stage is of great value especially as his claim is preceded by scientifically and linguistically grounded research based on a primary source. There are obvious limitations in this work, for example, the study is concentrated on one single version without a clear awareness of the variety of the Arabic manuscripts and their tangled tradition. Paul de Lagarde, who transcribed to text of Vienna Or. 1544 (A. F. 97 (545)) and examined a few manuscripts from the same family (*k*), stated in 1864 that the „Arabische Übersetzungen der evangelien giebt es mehr, als der mit drängenden arbeiten überhäuften theologie lieb sein kann“.<sup>13</sup> This statement, which was extensively quoted by scholars in the following years, and was originally articulated based on variations found in manuscripts within one

8 “Novum Testamentum Graece: Ad antiquo testes recensuit apparatus criticum,” *Edinburgh Review* 94, no. 191 (July 1851): 29.

9 Sumuel Davidson, *A Treatise on Biblical Criticism: Exhibiting a Systematic View of That Science* (Edinburgh: A and C. Black, 1852).

10 For instance he referred to John, Bishop of Seville, who was believed to have translated the Bible into Arabic from the Vulgate in the eighth century. This conjecture was refuted later by scholars like Gildemeister and others. See below.

11 Le Page Renouf, “On the Supposed Latin Origin of the Arabic,” 249-257.

12 For instance, لَبَاب = λιβανον; كرز (κηρύσσειν); ناموس (νόμος) etc. See *ibid.*, 249-250.

13 Paul de Lagarde, *Die vier Evangelien, arabisch aus der Wiener Handschrift herausgegeben*, (Leipzig: F A Brockhaus, 1864), 1.

family, became an unequivocal warning against any future attempt to venture shallow research on, or express an opinion about, the origin and affinities of the AGM.<sup>14</sup>

### 2.3. Ignazio Guidi (1888)

A breakthrough occurred in 1888 through the pioneering work of Ignazio Guidi,<sup>15</sup> whose work became the basis for all subsequent research. The first section (pp. 1-33) deals with Arabic versions of the Gospels and the second (pp. 33-37) with the Ethiopic versions. He took Mt. 1:18-25 as his test passage and compared sixty-eight manuscripts of the Gospels and developed five different groups or, as he called them, *classi*; firstly, the manuscripts translated from a Greek source (pp. 6-13); secondly those translated from, or corrected against, the Syriac Peshitta (pp. 13-17); thirdly those translated from, or corrected against, the Coptic version (pp. 17-18); fourthly, manuscripts of two eclectic recensions: the recension of Ibn al-'Assāl and the "Alexandrian Vulgate" (pp. 18-25); and fifthly, the elegant or singular manuscripts (pp. 25-30).

I will not discuss Guidi's work in full detail in this chapter. His work, with all its limitations, is the first serious attempt to classify the numerous AGM, and to show that the chief source for translating the Gospels into Arabic is the Greek. However, a few brief observations need to be made:

1. His method of choosing only one test passage from Matthew for ascertaining the relationship between the manuscripts is precarious. Mt. 1:18-25 may give us an idea about the relationship between the manuscripts in the Gospel of Matthew only, but surely not in all four Gospels. Ideally the entire manuscript should be collated against the others. A possible alternative for making this attempt both realistic and academically trustworthy, would be by taking two test passages, preferably neither from the very beginning nor the end, of each Gospel and studying their contents and affinities. Still it is possible to argue that

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14 In the same period, Gildemeister transcribed and published four samples of codex British Library, Add. 14467 (Or. 1075). For the sake of avoiding repetition, we will only discuss his contribution when we come to describe this manuscript later in chapter eight (§8.1.3 below). See Ioannis Gildemeisteri, *De Evangeliiis in Arabicum e Simplici Syriaca Translatis* (Bonn: Adolphum Marcum, 1865), 37-42.

15 Ignazio Guidi, *Le Traduzioni Degli Evangelii in Arabo e in Etiopico*, in *Atti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei*, vol. 4, Ser. 4 (Rome: Tipografia Della R. Accademia Dei Lincei, 1888).

if the Arabic manuscripts have block mixtures of texts this methodology would not be able to discover that mixture and should only be considered as a first step towards a full collation of the AGM.

2. The study of the text-type behind the AGM is not taken into account in Guidi's work. He does not mention whether the Greek *Vorlage* behind the Arabic manuscripts represents a Byzantine or Alexandrian text-type or another. Nor does he explain if it is only the Peshitta version that stands behind the manuscripts originally translated from Syriac.
3. The relationship between the manuscripts within one group is not clearly established and the collation of the Mt. 1:18-25 in most cases is not given.<sup>16</sup>
4. There is no external or internal description of the manuscripts (with the exception of Vatican, Ar. 13 on page 8 footnote 2). In most cases it is not even possible to know if a specific manuscript is a lectionary, a commentary, or a Karshuni manuscript.<sup>17</sup>
5. The manuscript numbering is inconsistent and the reader cannot know whether Guidi is quoting a library shelf mark or a catalogue number. Moreover one manuscript has no number, and another is clearly numbered incorrectly. (Leiden 2393 is a Persian manuscript and does not contain the Gospels). Furthermore, the dating of the manuscripts need to be revised and corrected.

Although the work of Guidi has its obvious limitations, it must be considered a breakthrough and a courageous initiative in the study of the AGM.

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16 In his work Guidi transcribed texts from only fourteen different manuscripts. They are: (1) Vatican, Ar. 13: He transcribed the text of Mt. 1:18-2:12 (pp. 13-14); Mt. 10:28-41 (p. 9); Mt. 26:1-13 (p. 9); Mt. 28:1-8 (p. 14 footnote 1). (2) Vatican, Borg. Ar. 95: He transcribed the text of Mt. 1: 18- 2: 13 (pp. 10-11); (3) Vatican, Borg. Ar. 71: He transcribed the text of Mt. 1: 18- 2:13 (p. 11) and collated it against the text of Vatican, Ar. 467, Leiden 2376, and 2377. (4) Vatican, Ar. 16: He transcribed the text of Mt. 1: 18-25 (p. 12); (5) Vatican, Borg. Ar. 250?: Mt. 18-1:25 (pp. 14-15) and Mt. 28:1-5 (p. 15); (6) Vatican, Syr. 197: Mt. 18-25 (p. 15); (7) Vatican, Syr. 19: He transcribed Mt. 1:18-25 (p. 16) and collated against Vatican, Borg Ar. 201 which is a lectionary of the Gospels. (8) Vatican, Syr. 407: Mt. 1:18-25 (p. 16); (9) Vatican, Copt. 9: Mt. 1:18-2:12 (pp. 17-18); (10) Ambr., C. 47: Mt. 1:18-25 (p. 21); (11) Vatican, Ar. 17: Mt. 1:18-25 (p. 26); (12) BnF, Ar. 58: Mt. 1:18-25 (p. 27); (13) Ambr., 95 Supl.: Mt. 1:18-25 (p. 28); (14) Monac. Ar. 238: Mt. 1:18-25 (p. 29).

17 Guidi mentioned seventy-five manuscripts, only fifty-six of those contain AGM.

## 2.4. A Series of Articles on the AGM (1893–1925)

In 1893, S.P. Tregelles wrote an article on the Arabic versions of the Bible in which he stated that

the versions themselves do not, owing to their comparatively late date possess any primary importance, even for critical studies; and thus many points connected with these translations are rather of literary than strictly Biblical interest.<sup>18</sup>

In his article Tregelles goes on to show, with Gildemeister against Juynboll, that the assumption that John, Bishop of Seville, made a translation of the Bible from Latin in the eighth century is based entirely on a misunderstanding and that John of Seville lived in the tenth century.

Tregelles summarizes the general scholarly conviction that had been reached by the end of the nineteenth century, mainly that the primary reason for excluding the Arabic versions in textual criticism is not because they were not translated from Greek but because they were comparatively late.

In 1898, F.C. Burkitt states emphatically, in his introduction to the Arabic versions, that the translation into Arabic was only made after the success of Islam and the conquest of large Christian areas in Egypt and Syria. He asserts that

[i]t is, however, most improbable that any Christian Arab[ic] literature is as old as the time of Mohammed. [...] It was not till after the success of the Koran had made Arabic into a literary language, and the conquests of Islam had turned large portions of Christian Syria and Egypt into Arabic-speaking provinces, that the need of translations of Scripture in the Arabic vernacular was really felt.<sup>19</sup>

As far as the origin of the different versions of the Gospels is concerned, F.C. Burkitt's article is no more than an English summary of Guidi's Italian work. However, he also briefly discusses the Arabic versions of the Pauline Epistles, Acts and the Catholic Epistles, the Apocalypse and, finally, the Old Testament and concludes with a concise bibliography.

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18 S.P. Tregelles, "Arabic Versions," *A Dictionary of the Bible Comprising Its Antiquities, Biography, Geography, and Natural History*, vol. 3. 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. (London: John Murray, 1893), 1614-1616.

19 F.C. Burkitt, "Arabic Versions," in James Hastings, ed., *Dictionary of the Bible: Dealing with Its Language, Literature, and Contents Including the Biblical Theology*, vol. 1 (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1898), 136-138.

In 1901, Louis Cheikho argued from the Orient in favour of an Arabic Bible prior to Islam.<sup>20</sup> He gives three proofs for his claim; firstly, the fact that a number of tribes had converted to Christianity in the late fourth century in Iraq, Yemen and Hijaz, makes it logically impossible that for a period of two to three hundred years these converts did not translate the Gospels into their own language; secondly, there are clear signs of Gospel passages and extensive portions of the Torah in Arabic Christian poems and writings; and thirdly the biblical citations which have been included in Islamic writings.

In the second part of his article he gives a summary of Guidi's work and describes five manuscripts existing in the Orient; one in the Orthodox Patriarchate in Jerusalem; two in the *Bibliothèque Orientale* in Beirut, and two private manuscripts, (one of which is currently in the *Bibliothèque Orientale*).

By the end of the nineteenth century and with the beginning of the twentieth, especially after the publication of Guidi's work, scholars became more aware of the variety of the AGM. As a result, a clear shift took place from the debate over the origin of the early printed edition of the Arabic Gospels to a focus on presenting and describing new manuscripts of the Arabic Gospels (as is the case with Cheikho and others). Moreover, as well as Arabicists in dialogue with Muslims, textual critics were also interested to learn more about the date of these texts.

In 1902, Caspar René Gregory wrote the *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments* in two volumes.<sup>21</sup> In his second volume he dedicated thirteen pages to the „Arabische Übersetzungen.“ He named one hundred and thirty-seven Arabic manuscripts of the New Testament, about seventy of which contain the continuous text of the Gospels. In general, he cites the number of the manuscript, sometimes refers to the number of folios, the content of the manuscript (if available to him), the date if provided, and sometimes a few words paraphrased from the catalogue. The manuscripts are grouped based on their location; England (35 manuscripts); Austria (18 manuscripts); Germany (30 manuscripts); Italy (50 manuscripts); Russia (4 manuscripts). Gregory appears to be the first to make reference to such a large number of Arabic manuscripts of the New Testament. As we will see below, Georg Graf benefited greatly from his list.

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20 Louis Cheikho, „Nisakh 'arabiyyah Qadīma fī al-Mashriq,“ *Al-Mashriq*, 4 (1901): 97-109.

21 Caspar René Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments*, vol. 2: *Die Übersetzungen-die Schriftsteller-Geschichte der Kritik* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1902).

Gregory's work is not an attempt to compare or collate any of the Arabic manuscripts as much as to guide others to their physical locations in Europe. His work is very basic, and lacks clarity of bibliographical evidence and a basic description of the physical manuscripts. Moreover, it is almost impossible, in some cases, to ascertain to which manuscript he is referring in his list. Even Graf found himself in some cases obliged to refer to Gregory's reference of a manuscript and not to the original manuscript shelf or catalogue number.

Between 1904 and 1925 several other articles were published describing specific AGM. In 1904, D. B. Macdonald published a succinct study on Ibn al-'Assāl's Arabic translation of the Gospels. He transcribed Ibn al-'Assāl's introduction from Codex BL,<sup>22</sup> Or. 3382 and followed it with his English translation.<sup>23</sup> I will refer to his article when I discuss the version of Ibn al-'Assāl (see §7.1.1).

In 1905/6 Karl Römer published an article on Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Ar. 238<sup>24</sup> which was mainly concerned with the linguistics and the syntax of the Arabic text of the Gospels found in this specific manuscript. This manuscript is translated from the Latin version, and is included in family *m* in this study.

Heinrich Goussen published a book on the Christian Arabic literature of Mozarabia, Spain in 1909.<sup>25</sup> Among the literature he cites, he refers to and describes six Arabic manuscripts containing the Gospels.<sup>26</sup> Commenting on these manuscripts, Vööbus asserts that "our knowl-

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22 BL stands for the British Library.

23 Duncan B. Macdonald, "Ibn Al-'assāl's Arabic Version of the Gospels," *Homenaje a D. Francisco Codera en su Jubilacion del profesorado: Estudios de erudicion oriental* (Zaragoza: Mariano Escar, Tipografo, 1904), 375-392.

24 Karl Römer, "Studien über den Codex Arabicus Monacensis Aumer 238," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete*, 19 (1905-1906): 98-125.

25 Heinrich Goussen, *Die christlich-arabische Literatur der Mozaraber*, Beiträge zur christlich-arabischen Literaturgeschichte (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1909), esp. 7-31.

26 The manuscript numbers are: Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Cod. 4971 (ibid., 10); Leipzig, University Library, 1059B (ibid., 10-12); A manuscript from the Archive of the Cathedral of León, Cod. 35 (ibid., 12-13); BL, Add. 9061 (ibid., 13-15); Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Ar. 238 (ibid., 15-16); and Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Ar. 234 (ibid., 16-17. For an analytic study of the prologue of each of the four Gospels in Munich, Staatsbibliothek Cod. Ar. 238, see Franz Täschner, "Die monarchianischen Prologe zu den vier Evangelien in der spanisch-arabischen Bibelübersetzung Des Isaak Velasquez Nach Der Münchener Handschrift Cod. Arab. 238," *Oriens Christianus*, 9. 3rd series (1934), 80-99; Anton Baumstark, "Markus Kap. 2 in Der Arabischen Übersetzung Des Isaak Velasquez," *Oriens Christianus*, 32 (1935): 226-239; and ibid., "Neue orientalistische Probleme biblischer Textgeschichte," *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 89 (1935): 89-118.

edge as to the transmission of the text was advanced by Goussen."<sup>27</sup> All six manuscripts are witnesses of one translation originally prepared in 946 by Ishāq ibn Balashk (or Isaac Velasquez) from a Latin *Vorlage*. This version is associated with family *m* in the present study. Philippe Roisse is finishing his PhD on this family, in which he makes a transcription of the Gospel of Mark with a critical apparatus of the variations found in the six manuscripts above.<sup>28</sup>

In his 1925 article "*Una Bibbia Araba*", P. Alberto Vaccari presented a comprehensive description of two Vatican manuscripts: Vatican, Ar. 468 (which contains the Old Testament) and Vatican, Ar. 467 (the four Gospels).<sup>29</sup> Vatican, Ar. 467 is included in family *j*<sup>b</sup> and was copied in the seventeenth century.

## 2.5. A Critical Assessment of Anton Baumstark's Contributions (1931 – 1935)

### 2.5.1. Introduction

Three major contributions were made by Anton Baumstark which argue for the existence of an Arabic Gospel prior to Islam.<sup>30</sup> A brief sum-

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27 Arthur Vööbus, *Early Versions of the New Testament: Manuscripts Studies*, Papers of the Estonian Theological Society in Exile, no. 6 (Stockholm: n.p., 1954), 295.

28 Roisse adds one more manuscript; the Qarawiyyīne Library in Fes 730. Roisse is doing his doctorate at Granada University under the supervision of Federico Corriente and Emilio Molina. See also the previous work of A. Baumstark „Markus Kap. 2,“ 226-239. For a transcription and a translation of the text of Mark 2, see *ibid.*, „Neue orientalistische Probleme biblischer Textgeschichte,“ 107-109.

29 P. Alberto Vaccari, „Una Bibbia Araba per il primo gesuita venuto al Libano,“ *Notes de lexicographie hébraïque in Mélanges de l' Université Saint-Joseph Beyrouth*, 10. 1 (1925): 79-107. For another description of the same manuscripts four years later, see Sebastian Euringer, „Zum Stammbaum der arabischen Bibelhandschriften Vat. Ar. 468 Und 467,“ *Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete*, 7 (1929): 259-273.

30 Curt Peters, the student of Baumstark, wrote some articles following the same line of thought as Baumstark. For the sake of avoiding repetition and economy of space, only Baumstark's work will be presented. In short Peters argues for a pre-Islamic Gospel text and for an old Syriac *Vorlage* for the early Arabic Gospel manuscripts. Moreover, Peters produced extensive works on the Diatessaron and some of the Leiden Gospel manuscripts. See especially Curt Peters, „Proben eines bedeutsamen arabischen Evangelien-Textes,“ *Oriens Christianus*, 11 (1936): 188-211; *ibid.*, „Von Arabischen Evangelientexten in Handschriften der Universitäts-Bibliothek Leiden,“ *Acta Orientalia* 18 (1940): 124-137; *ibid.*, „Das Diatessaron Tatians, seine Überlieferung und sein Nachwirken im Morgen- und Abendland sowie der heutige Stand seiner Erforschung, in *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, 123 (Rome: Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum,



mary of his contribution will be presented first and then three scholars will be consulted to respond to his claims: Georg Graf, Arthur Vööbus and Sidney Griffith.

### 2.5.2. The Rubrications of the AGM

In 1930 Baumstark published an article on the rubrication of the AGM, based mainly on the Codices Vatican, Borg. Ar. 95 and Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Or. Oct. 1108. Baumstark points out that the liturgical marks and signs found in these old Arabic manuscripts are of an archaic character produced by the translator in an early period. They mirror a liturgical form used in the Jerusalem church before the rise of Islam. He concludes, therefore, that the archetype of these manuscripts goes back to about the sixth century A. D.<sup>31</sup>

This claim was strongly challenged by Graf in his first volume on „Geschichte der Christlichen Arabischen Literature“ in which he argues, firstly that the date of the rubrication is totally different from the date of the translation of the manuscript. He suggests that the scribe was faithful to translate not only the Greek text but also the Greek liturgical marks and signs found in his original. Graf therefore separates the date of the Arabic translation of the manuscripts, which he dates later than the rise of Islam, and the liturgical signs found in the original which could date to before the rise of Islam.<sup>32</sup> Secondly, Graf argues that, although the liturgical signs and practices have been changed to reflect Byzantine usage, there was a persistence of this practice in the Palestine monasteries which possibly affected the Arab Christian population. He sees no total abandon of the usage of these rubrics even after the rise of Islam.<sup>33</sup>

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1939) especially 48-62 and 153-177; and *ibid.*, „Grundsätzliche Bemerkungen zur Frage der arabischen Bibeltexte,“ *Rivista degli studi orientali*, 20 (1942): 129-143 (which also includes some quotations of biblical citations by Muslim authors).

31 Anton Baumstark, „Die Sonntägliche Evangelienlesung im vorbyzantinischen Jerusalem,“ *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 30 (1930): 350-359. See also *ibid.*, „Eine frühislamische und eine forislamische arabische Evangelienübersetzung aus dem Syrischen,“ *Atti Del XIX Congresso Internazionale Orientalisti* (Rome: Tipografia del Senato, G. Bardi, 1938), 682-684.

32 Georg Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, vol. 1: *Die Übersetzungen*, in *Studi e Testi* 118 (Rome: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1944), 144-145.

33 *Ibid.*, 145-146. For another summary of Baumstark and Graf's argument see Sidney H. Griffith, „The Gospel in Arabic: An Inquiry into its Appearance in the First Abbasid Century,“ *Oriens Christianus: Hefte für die Kunde des christlichen Orients*, 67 (1983): 154, 156.

It is important to note that the argument made by Graf does not prove that the Arabic Gospel text was made only after the rise of Islam. Graf was able to show that the argument based solely on the date of rubrication is not sufficient to prove the existence of an Arabic text before Islam. In other words, Graf's argument did not demolish Baumstark's claim but showed its limitations. Moreover, Graf's claim about the faithfulness of the translator to translate even the rubrication, cannot be proven. Graf backed his argument by pointing to the faithfulness of the copyists, who even as late as the eleventh century, faithfully copied these rubrications. This example is true for the copyist but may not necessarily apply to the translator whose task is different. If Graf proposed to separate the date of the liturgical signs and the date the translation, he should also have separated the task of the copyist (which in its nature is limited) and the task of the translator (which is more subjective as well as contextual).

### 2.5.3. The Missionary Work in Arabia

Not only were the liturgical signs of the AGM behind Baumstark's conviction of a pre-Islamic Arabic Gospel, but also the mission work which had taken place in Arabia before the rise of Islam. Baumstark argues that the mission to Arabia must have required a Scripture and a liturgical text in the native language of the people for their worship and services. Therefore, by the sixth century, the area in and around al-Ḥīra probably had a translation of the Gospel into Arabic.<sup>34</sup>

The argument of Baumstark, which Vööbus referred to as of "a general nature,"<sup>35</sup> should not be overlooked. It is hard to accept the fact that the Christian church, which was well established among the Arabs in al-Ḥīra,<sup>36</sup> did not feel the need for, and think of, producing liturgical texts in their native language. But as Griffith rightly comments until

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34 Baumstark, „Die Sonntägliche Evangelienlesung Baumstark,“ 359, and *ibid.*, „Das Problem Eines vorislamischen christlich-kirchlichen Schrifttums in arabischer Sprache,“ *Islamica*, 4 (1931): 574-575.

35 Vööbus, *Early Versions*, 275.

36 See for example 'Irfan Shahīd, "Al-Massīhiyyat Qabla Zuhūr al-Islam," *Al-Massīhiyyat 'abra Tarikhiha fī al-Mashriq* (Beirut: Majlis Kana'is al-Sharq al-Awsat, 2001), 429-465; *Ibid.*, "Nushū' al-Kanīsat al-Mashriqiyya wa Turāthiha: (al-Qarin al-Khāmis – al-Qarin al-Thamin)," *Al-Massīhiyyat 'abra Tarikhiha Fī al-Mashriq*, (Beirut: Majlis Kana'is al-Sharq al-Awsat, 2001) 219-233; and J. Spencer Trimingham, *Christianity among the Arabs in Pre-Islamic Times*, (Lebanon: Librairie du Liban, 1979).

now “we have no documentary evidence to support the surmise that they ever entertained such a thought.”<sup>37</sup>

#### 2.5.4. Biblical Citations in Islamic Writings

Baumstark noticed that the Gospel quotations of Ibn Ishāq in the eighth century originated from a very peculiar Syriac version which was preserved only in a Palestinian Syriac lectionary of the Gospels.<sup>38</sup> Moreover, he points out that early Muslim authors of the ninth century (e.g. Ibn Qutayba in *Kitāb al-maʿārif*, and aṭ-Tabarī in *Kitāb ad-dīn wad-dawla*) cited a few passages of the Gospels in Arabic from a Syriac *Vorlage* which is neither the Peshitta nor the Harklean but rather an old Syriac version.<sup>39</sup> Since Baumstark believed that the old Syriac version disappeared under the ruling of Bishop Rabulla of Edessa (411-435), he went on to claim that there must have been an Arabic version of the Gospels translated from an old Syriac *Vorlage*, made long before Islam, and used by Muslim scholars in the eighth/ninth century.<sup>40</sup>

This conclusion was criticized by Vööbus who argued at length for the significance, influence and popularity of the Old Syriac type through history especially among the Eastern Syrians until the thirteenth century.<sup>41</sup> If this claim is sound, the Old Syriac witness in the Arabic Gospel citations is thus explained and the claim for a pre-Islamic Arabic version still requires further work.

Griffith comments on Baumstark’s supposition with regard to Ibn Ishāq’s biblical citations, saying:

there is every reason to believe that he [Ibn Ishāq] found it [a version of the Gospel] in Syriac, and that he alone, or with the help of an Arabic speaking Christian, put it into an Arabic idiom that would be both comprehensible and doctrinally reinforcing to Muslim readers. There is no reason to believe that Ibn Ishāq’s quotation is dependent upon a pre-existent, Christian,

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37 Griffith, “The Gospel in Arabic,” 156.

38 Anton Baumstark, „Eine Altarabische Evangelienübersetzung aus dem christlich-palästinensischen,” *Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete*, 8 (1932), 201-209.

39 Anton Baumstark, „Arabische Übersetzung Eines Altsyrischen Evangelientextes Und Die Sure 21. 105 Zitierte Psalmenübersetzung,” *Oriens Christianus*, 9. 3rd series (1934), 164-188.

40 Ibid., 181-188. In addition to the Gospels, Baumstark argues that the translation of the Psalms also preceded the rise of Islam. See Anton Baumstark, „Der älteste erhaltene griechisch-arabische Text von Psalm 110 (109),” *Oriens Christianus*, 9. 3rd series (1934), 55-66.

41 Arthur Vööbus, *Studies in the History of the Gospel Text in Syriac* (Louvain: Imprimerie Orientaliste, 1951), esp. chapters 6-9. See also, *ibid.*, *Early Versions*, 276-281.

Arabic version of the Gospel. He himself twice refers to his Syriac source, once to explain that Syriac *maggānan* means *bāṭilan*, and once to claim that *al-Munahḥemāna* is Syriac for *Muḥammad*.<sup>42</sup>

## 2.6. Bernhard Levin and C. E. Padwick (1938—1939)

In 1938 Bernhard Levin published his doctoral thesis dealing with two old AGM: Vatican, Borg. Ar. 95 copied in the ninth century and Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Or. Oct. 1108 of 1046-7.<sup>43</sup> He transcribed and translated the texts of Matthew and Mark with a critical apparatus and a brief commentary in the footnote. These two manuscripts are included in family *a* in the present study (see §4.3 below) and the text of Vatican, Borg. Ar. 95 preserves an older witness than the text of Berlin. This Arabic version, which follows the Greek of a pre-Byzantine text-type, has a few renderings which might follow a Syriac *Vorlage*. The agraphon in Mt. 6:34 found in this version is also found in the Palestinian Syriac Lectionary. It reads: لا تهتموا لغد لان غد يهتم لنفسه يكفي اليوم شره والساعة شدتها (do not worry about tomorrow, for tomorrow worries about itself, sufficient is for the day its trouble (lit. wickedness) and the hour its hardship).<sup>44</sup> As far as I know, Luke and John have not been studied yet.

In 1939, C. E. Padwick studied the biblical citations found in the work of Al-Ghazālī and published an article entitled “Al-Ghazālī and the Arabic Versions of the Gospels.”<sup>45</sup> After comparing a number of manuscripts copied around 1101, the date when it is believed that Al-Ghazālī wrote his treatise, she concludes that Al-Ghazālī’s biblical citations are quoted from an Arabic manuscript translated neither from Greek nor Syriac but from the Coptic version. She argues for a close affinity between Vatican, Copt. 9 and Al-Ghazālī’s quotations (which contains the Alexandrian Vulgate). She concludes that Al-Ghazālī was possibly using “a volume exactly like Vatican Coptic 9 with Coptic and Arabic in parallel columns” and that Al-Ghazālī’s quotations “provide

42 Griffith, “The Gospel in Arabic,” 143. See also Alfred Guillaume, “The Version of the Gospels Used in Medina ‘Circa’ 700 A. D.,” *Al-Andalus*, 15. 2 (1950): 289-296.

43 Bernhard Levin, *Die griechisch-arabische Evangelien-Übersetzung Vat. Borg. Ar. 95 und Ber. Orient. Oct. 1108* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri a.-b., 1938).

44 Ibid., 9 in the Arabic text.

45 Constance E. Padwick, “Al-Ghazālī and the Arabic Versions of the Gospels: An Unsolved Problem,” *The Moslem World: A Christian Quarterly Review of Current Events, Literature, and Thought among Mohammedans*, 29 (1939): 130-140.

us with the earliest example yet known to us of Bible translation from Coptic to Arabic."<sup>46</sup>

Padwick is correct to suggest that al-Ghazali quoted an Arabic version from the same family as the one found in Vatican, Copt. 9, but although this version is found with a Coptic parallel, it is not translated from Coptic but originally from Syriac in about the ninth century and then corrected against the Greek *Vorlage*. The Arabic text of Vatican, Copt. 9 belongs to family *k*. The whole issue of the "Alexandrian Vulgate" will be examined in Chapter Six.

## 2.7. The Contribution of Georg Graf (1944)

### 2.7.1. Introduction

In 1944, Georg Graf published his enormous five volume work on "the history of the Christian Arabic literature".<sup>47</sup> The twenty-nine pages in his first volume (pp. 142-170) of this invaluable work are particularly concerned with the AGM and are of particular importance to the present study. Following the example of Guidi, Graf divided this section into four main headings: firstly, the translations made from Greek, secondly, the translations made from Syriac, thirdly, the translations made from Coptic, and fourthly the translations made from other and unknown sources. He referred to three hundred and seventy-five Arabic manuscripts of the Gospels in approximately twenty-seven different locations in eleven countries. Among the three hundred and seventy-five manuscripts mentioned, I have detected more than seventy which do not contain the continuous text of the Arabic Gospels. Forty-nine manuscripts are located today in Cairo in the Coptic Museum and Patriarchate (forty-two of which belong to family *k* and are mentioned in §6.5 below), and eighty-three manuscripts are located in libraries or belong to individuals and are not accessible to most scholars. (Graf appears to know very little about these eighty-three manuscripts, and what he does know comes mostly from secondary rather than primary sources). In this study, I have collated test passages from more than one

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<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 139.

<sup>47</sup> Graf, *Geschichte Der Christlichen Arabischen Literatur*. For a summary of Graf's section on the Arabic translation of the Bible, see Joseph Henninger, "Arabische Bibelübersetzungen vom Frühmittelalter bis zum 19. Jahrhundert," *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*, 17 (1961): 201-223.

hundred and seventy manuscripts mentioned in the work of Graf (and another forty manuscripts which Graf did not refer to).

Graf's work, including his exhaustive bibliography, is exceptional. However, as far as the Gospel manuscripts are concerned, two major problems arise: the first has to do with the presentation of the material and the second with the limitation of his research. Before I endeavour to discuss these two major difficulties, and by doing so I do not intend to diminish Graf's contribution, I would like to emphasize that access to resources during Graf's time was much more limited than today; transportation was much more difficult and the exchange of information was much slower. Moreover, Graf's section on the Gospels is one of many in a five volume work. Therefore, economy of space was another major issue which might have constrained him from including all the materials which might have been on his first draft. In sum, keeping the restrictions above in mind, the work of Graf—as a guide for further research—is indeed phenomenal.

### 2.7.2. The Layout of Graf's Work

Generally speaking, under every heading in the Gospel section, Graf refers to the manuscripts that fall under each of the headings, provides a word or two about their contents and date, mentions the literature from which he returned to survey the manuscripts cited, and finally offers any comments that he found necessary about any specific issue.

The layout of Graf's work was subject to constructive criticism by Samir.<sup>48</sup> This includes the way the manuscripts were listed,<sup>49</sup> the internal classification of the manuscripts<sup>50</sup> and their given references.<sup>51</sup>

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48 The three remarks in the following footnotes are *entirely* the contribution of Samir (even the example given below). All that I have done is to select and paraphrase some of Samir's general criticisms where they are relevant to the section on the Gospel manuscripts. (See, S.K. Samir, "Pour une nouvelle histoire de la littérature arabe des Chrétiens," *Actes du premier congrès international d'études arabes chrétiennes, Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, 218 (Rome: Pont. Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1982), 259-286).

49 Firstly, the lists of manuscripts are difficult to unveil, even for those who are familiar with the volume. Mainly for the sake of saving space, Graf enchains the manuscripts' numbers on one line with no separation between one manuscript and another. Moreover, in many places, he does not repeat the location and the collection every time he cites a new manuscript, but is satisfied with mentioning the new number. This is bewildering especially when there are a few words or a sentence between one number and another.

### 2.7.3. The Limitation of Graf's Research

The work of Graf is best seen as a guideline to help others undertake further research in this field. Although the manuscripts are classified under four main headings initially inspired by Guidi's work in 1888,<sup>52</sup> very little is stated about the relationship between the manuscripts within each category. For instance, Sinai, Ar. 91 and 97 are put together as if they represent two witnesses of the same translation, but the collation of the test passages of these two manuscripts shows that they belong to different families (Sinai, Ar. 97 to family a and Sinai, Ar. 91 to family j). This is one of many examples and shows that Graf has no primary intention to inform about the relation between the manuscripts cited but is rather referring to their existence, possibly because, in most cases (maybe with the exception of the Cairo's manuscripts), Graf had no access to physical manuscripts from which to transcribe test passages. He relied on catalogues and secondary sources which, in

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50 As far as the internal classification of the manuscripts is concerned, Graf does not seem to follow any systematic principle for his classification. The manuscripts are not classified alphabetically, chronologically, or geographically (in general, you get the feeling that he refers to the Vatican manuscripts first then those in the occident). As a result, a scholar needs to go through every page to find out whether a specific manuscript is mentioned in his work or not. Samir suggests that every manuscript should be classified in alphabetical order according to the city where it is located (then its shelf mark) and that each manuscript should be placed on a separate line for the sake of clarity.

51 Graf is inconsistent in this regard. Some times he cites the exact number of the manuscript, sometimes the catalogue number, and sometimes a reference to an article that mentioned a specific manuscript. Moreover, some numbers are bewildering and Graf gives no guidance to help the reader. For example, when Graf refers to "Kairo 341" it is impossible to know if he means the Coptic Museum or the Coptic Patriarchate, which are totally different. He basically gives neither the exact number nor the number found in Simaika (a catalogue of manuscripts which lists the Cairo manuscripts) but the number that he has given to the manuscript in his own previous catalogue. So, to be able to reach the exact number of the manuscript, the reader needs to have in one hand the catalogue of Graf and in the other the catalogue of Simaika. The number 341 in Graf represents the number 261 in Simaika and the number 261 in Simaika represents the library number 87 of the category 'Theology' in the Coptic Patriarchate. The exact number for "Kairo 341" is "Cairo, the Coptic Patriarch, Theology 87." Fortunately, this problem is solved when Graf refers to manuscripts found in places like the Vatican or Paris because the library number is the same as the catalogue number.

52 It must be noted here that Graf has erroneously reduced Guidi's statement "Traduzioni dal siriano o corrette secondo il siriano (pesitta)" into "Uebersetzungen aus dem Syrischen." Unlike Graf, Guidi seemed to be aware of the tangled textual tradition which these manuscripts exhibit, and were more prudent in the way he phrased his headings.

turn, had their specific purposes and limitations and extracted short passages to meet their needs. This suggests, furthermore, that Graf had either to rely on other sources to identify the *Vorlage* of a specific manuscript or had to make his judgment based on a small portion from his secondary source. This may show why, in many cases, he located a manuscript incorrectly and also may justify the existence of over eighty manuscripts in a section called "unknown origin" (Hss mit Evv-Texten unbekannter herkunft).

The work of Graf, specifically its limitation, has helped me focus on the pressing needs in the study of the AGM. To that end, I will outline five steps towards achieving an academically trustworthy, while at the same time, practically feasible, research, at the conclusion of this review. These steps will become the major outline of this study.

## 2.8. Vööbus, Blau, and 'Atiya (1954–1967)

### 2.8.1. Arthur Vööbus (1954)

In his book *Early Versions of the New Testament*, Vööbus dedicated a chapter to the Arabic versions.<sup>53</sup> His main contribution is to argue that behind the primitive versions of the Gospels shines the text of the Old Syriac. To justify his claim he gives three examples; Mt. 1:24 (of Vatican, Syr. 197; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Or. Quart. 2101 and Vatican, Borg. Ar. 95); Mt. 2: 13-15 (of Sinai, Ar. 82; Vatican, Ar. 13; Vatican, Borg. Ar. 95); and Mt. 7:25 (of Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Or. Quart. 2101; Sinai, Ar. 82; and Vatican, Borg. Ar. 95). From these three samples, Vööbus concludes:

As we can see, the samples which represent these codices are instructive in two ways. On the one hand, the Old Syriac textual patterns shine through the Arabic with almost undimmed luster. On the other hand, these samples bring us face to face with important information: that more than once Old Syriac codices have been lying open on translators' desks.<sup>54</sup>

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53 Vööbus, *Early Versions of the New Testament*, chapter eight "The Arabic Versions," 271-297.

54 *Ibid.*, 284. The examples presented by Vööbus are not sufficient to come up with such a conclusion. Vööbus pointed out that he treated this elsewhere and referred to a still unpublished article titled „Zür altarabischen Evangelienübersetzung“ (see *ibid.*, footnote 1 on page 280). In his bibliography he mentioned that this work will be published in "Le Muséon." I checked all the volumes from 1950 to 1990 and I did not find this article. He certainly did not publish it in the "Le Muséon" neither could I find it elsewhere.



The credibility of Vööbus' conviction will be scrutinized later in the body of the study (§5.2.2.1.2.3 below). In 1939, Curt Peters showed the influence of Tatian's Diatessaron on Vatican, Ar. 13.<sup>55</sup> Here we have another example of old Syriac traces in the Arabic versions. At this stage it is sufficient to state these remarks, which show the very few timid attempts made in the study of the *Vorlage* of the Arabic text. Moreover, these attempts, as Vööbus put it, "give us an idea of the riches that are waiting to be discovered in this province."<sup>56</sup>

### 2.8.2. Joshua Blau (1962–1973)

Blau wrote two articles which are particularly relevant to the present study. In the first article,<sup>57</sup> he looks at a few manuscripts of the ninth and tenth centuries. He refers to Sinai, Ar. 74, Vatican, Borg. Ar. 95, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Or. Oct. 1108, Sinai, Ar. 72 and Sinai, Ar. 75 and points out that the first three manuscripts belong to what he calls the same "Gruppe," and that the text of Vatican, Borg. Ar. 95 is the most reliable. But when he comes to the text of Sinai, Ar. 72, which was copied in 897 A.D., he argues against Graf that this manuscript is not an „Ableger dieser Gruppe, sondern gehört zur Gruppe selbst“.<sup>58</sup> Blau comments, furthermore, that by 897 A.D. there was a need to present a new edition of these manuscripts and Sinai, Ar. 72 is the result of such enterprise. Finally he points out that Sinai, Ar. 75 is „eine stilistische Umarbeitung unserer Gruppe.“<sup>59</sup>

This article indicates that Blau was trying to study the relationship between the various witnesses in a specific group or family. This work is still in its foetal stage and needs to be more thoroughly developed.

In his second article Blau argues, based on the Arabic philology of the Gospel manuscripts, that these texts belong to a ninth century Palestinian dialect, therefore, they do not precede the rise of Islam.<sup>60</sup>

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55 See Peters, *Das Diatessaron Tatians*, 48-62 and also §5.1.5.1 below.

56 Vööbus, *Early Versions of the New Testament*, 281.

57 Joshua Blau, „Über einige christlich-arabische Manuskripte Aus Dem 9. Und. 10. Jahrhundert,“ *Le Muséon: Revue d'Études Orientales*, 75 (1962): 101-108.

58 *Ibid.*, 106.

59 *Ibid.*, 107.

60 Joshua Blau, „Sind uns Reste arabischer Bibelübersetzungen aus vorislamischer Zeit erhalten geblieben?,“ *Le Muséon: Revue d'Études Orientales*, 86 (1973): 67-72.

## 2.8.3. Aziz S. 'Atiya (1967)

In 1967 Atiya presented a rigorous study of codex Sinai, Ar. 514, which he named "Codex Arabicus."<sup>61</sup> Atiya points out that this manuscript is "a unique tri-lingual quintuple palimpsest." It is a parchment with five layers (two Syriac, one in Greek and two in Arabic). The top layer written in Arabic in an "early Kufic or perhaps pre-Kufic archaic Naskh" and goes back as Atiya claims to "the late eighth or early ninth century." Atiya asserts that the next layer, which is again in Arabic:

is written in even more archaic and sharply angular pre-Kufic Naskh and may safely be placed in the first Hejira century which runs through the late seventh and early eighth century A.D. [...] and must have been a Gospel or a Gospel Lectionary; in this case it could be the most ancient attempt at an Arabic rendering of any section of the Christian Scripture<sup>62</sup>;

The third layer is a Greek Lectionary written in the late sixth or early seventh century, while the fourth and fifth layers are written in Syriac and, as Atiya claims, the latter "has a considerable number of significant variants from the Peshitta text."<sup>63</sup>

"Codex Arabicus" is of great value and deciphering a portion from the Arabic Gospels (from the second layer) is helpful in analyzing the Arabic tradition of the Gospels and the dates of their first appearance.

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61 Aziz S. 'Atiya, "Codex Arabicus (Sinai Arabic Ms. No. 514)," *Homage to a Bookman: Essays on Manuscripts, Books and Printing Written for Hans P. Kraus on His 60th Birthday Oct. 12, 1967* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1967), 75-85.

62 Ibid., 78.

63 Ibid.

## 2.9. The Modern Period (1977–2004)<sup>64</sup>

### 2.9.1. B.M. Metzger (1977)

In his sixth chapter of *The Early Versions of the New Testament*, B.M. Metzger gives a brief summary of five “Minor Eastern Versions” of the Bible.<sup>65</sup> He divides the section on the Arabic versions into five main headings; firstly, “the Origin of the Arabic versions” in which he discusses in brief the historical background of Christianity in Arabia and the different claims about the first translators of the Gospels into Arabic. Secondly, he shows, based on previous works, the variety of the Arabic versions. Thirdly, in his section on “Early Manuscripts of the Arabic Versions,” he mentions twelve Arabic manuscripts of the Bible (or portions of it) and follows this with a concise discussion of the debate on the existence of a Bible in pre-Islamic times and Ibn al-‘Assāl’s revision of the Bible. This revision, as Metzger points out, was “superse- ded by a less cumbersome recension” called the “Alexandrian Vulgate”. The “Alexandrian Vulgate” became not only common and influential but also the basis “of all printed editions of the Arabic Gospels from the *edition princeps* of 1591 down to the twentieth century”<sup>66</sup>;

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64 In the modern period some important works were done on the Arabic text of the Bible but not specifically the AGM. They are worth mentioning here because some contain helpful bibliographical references. See S.K. Samir, *Tables de concordance des manuscrits arabes chrétiens du Caire et du Sinai, Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium*, 75 (Lovanii: In Aedibus E. Peeters, 1986); Tharwat Kades, *Die arabischen Bibelübersetzungen im 19. Jahrhundert, Studien zur interkulturellen Geschichte des Christentums*, 104 (Berlin: Peter Lang, 1997); Peter Joose, “An Introduction to the Arabic Diatessaron,” *Oriens Christianus*, 83 (1999): 72-129; and the excellent bibliographical sketch of Said Karoui, „Die arabische Bibel und ihre Rezeption in der arabischen Literatur-eine bibliographische Skizze,” *Oriens Christianus*, 83 (1999): 130-146. Moreover, Juan Pedro has three recent articles on the AGM, which are not studied in the Review, because they are concerned with specific manuscripts which I will discuss later on in the body of the study. I will only mention here the references: On Sinai, Ar. 72 and Vatican, Ar. 13 see Juan Pedro Monferrer-Sala, “Dos antiguas versiones neotestamentarias árabes surpalestinenes: “Sin. Ar. 72, Vat. Ar. 13” y sus posibles “Vorlagen” respectivas greco-Alejandrina y siríaca de la Peshitta,” *Real monasterio de el escorial: La ciudad de dios*, 213 (2000): 363-387; On Codex BnF Suppl. Grec. 911 see *ibid.*, “Descripción lingüística de la columna árabe del BnF Suppl. Grec. 911 (Ano 1043),” *Collectanea christiana orientalia*, 2 (2005): 93-143; and finally on Codex Ms. 287 in Toledo, see *ibid.*, “Un evangelio árabe oriental inédito en Toledo (Ms. 387 de la BRC-LM),” *Anaquel de estudios arabes*, 16 (2005): 173-192.

65 Metzger, *Early Versions*, 257-268.

66 *Ibid.*, 265.

fourthly, he presents a summary of the printed editions of the Arabic versions and fifthly, he discusses the “Textual Affinities of Early Version Manuscripts” and asserts that “no more than a beginning has been made in analysing the textual affinities of individual Arabic manuscripts”.<sup>67</sup>

Metzger’s summary is indeed succinctly presented. The chapter does not carry any new contribution. It is not more than a brief résumé of earlier works. It is worth mentioning here that, at least at one point, the chapter is misleading: Metzger seems to suggest that the “Alexandrian Vulgate” is a recension of Ibn al-’Assāl’s version, prepared at the close of the thirteenth century. This study will show that this is inaccurate. The text of the “Alexandrian Vulgate,” as it stands in Vatican, Copt. 9, circulated at least two centuries before Ibn al-’Assāl’s version. This version was not translated from Coptic. Metzger’s source of information seems to be F.C. Burkitt, although he does not state it explicitly.<sup>68</sup>

### 2.9.2. A.G. Garland (1978)

Under the supervision of S.H. Griffith, A.G. Garland wrote an unpublished MA thesis on an Arabic version of the Gospels. Her work is a critical edition of Mark’s Gospel found in four manuscripts: Sinai, Ar. 72; Sinai, Ar. 74; Vatican, Borg. Ar. 95; and Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Or. Oct. 1108. Garland transcribed the text of Mark, presented the variations between each of the four manuscripts, and collated Sinai, Ar. 72 against the *Textus Receptus*. She drew no conclusions about the text-type behind the Arabic version, however, she quoted Metzger who stated (based on Peters’ and Levin’s work) that this family of manuscripts is “translated from the Greek *Vorlage* which displays the characteristics of the Caesarean text, including not a few “Tatianisms”. It also has features in common with the Syro-Palestinian Lectionary.”<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> Ibid., 257-268.

<sup>68</sup> Most of the text in the centre of page 264 in Metzger’s work appears to be copied from Burkitt’s article “Arabic Versions”.

<sup>69</sup> Amy G. Garland, “An Arabic Version of the Gospel According to Mark,” (Master of Arts diss., Catholic University of America, 1978), 1.

## 2.9.3. Sidney H. Griffith (1983)

Griffith wrote an insightful article on the appearance of the Arabic Gospel in the first Abbasid century.<sup>70</sup> At the beginning of his article he proposed the following hypothesis:

prior to the ninth century, no texts of the Gospel in Arabic were available to either Muslims or Christians. They became available for the first time, for both liturgical and apologetical purposes, in the ninth century, in Palestine, under Melkite auspices. Any earlier versions which may have been made in Arabia prior to Islam have left only faint traces behind them, and were unknown to Christians in the conquered territories.<sup>71</sup>

The last sentence, which seems to be overlooked by almost everyone who makes use of this article, does not totally exclude the possibility of the existence of Arabic versions prior to Islam.

In his second section Griffith explores the evidence for the existence of the Gospels in Arabic by first looking briefly at the manuscripts themselves concluding that “many of ninth century manuscripts seem to be copies of works written earlier”<sup>72</sup> and second, by searching for Arabic biblical citations in Christian and Muslim treatises. Griffith sums up this section by pointing out that “by the ninth century it is clear for the first time from Muslim sources that Arabic versions of the Christian scriptures were available.”<sup>73</sup>

In his third section, Griffith looks at two major issues:

1. “The Palestinian Arabic Gospel Text” in which he argues in agreement with Blau that the text of Gospel manuscripts available to us are “examples of the Christian Arabic dialect of the eighth and ninth centuries that was a stage in the rise of middle Arabic.”<sup>74</sup> Then following Graf (against Baumstark) that the rubrics of these manuscripts “need not to be considered an obstacle to the later date of the Gospel text.”<sup>75</sup>
2. Under the heading “Nagrān,” Griffith argues, with ‘Irfān Shahīd against J. S. Trimingham, that Nagrān “is a likely place to look for a

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70 Griffith, “The Gospel in Arabic,” 126-167.

71 Ibid., 128.

72 Ibid., 135. For another brief summary of a few manuscripts and printed editions of the Arabic Bible from the same period see K.E. Bailey, “at-Tarjamāt al-‘Arabiah Lil-Kitāb al-Muqadas wa al-Mulāḥazāt Ḥawla Tārīkhiha wa Aḥamiyatuha,” *Theological Review: The Near East School of Theology*, 5. 2 (November 1982), 144-155.

73 Ibid., 153.

74 Ibid., 157.

75 Ibid.

pre-Islamic, Arabic version of the Gospels.”<sup>76</sup> Griffith, who seems to make no final decision in this regards (while waiting for the full publication of I. Shahīd), re-asserts that the determining factor for this development [the abundant Christian literature] was the arrival of Arabic as a lingua franca within dar al-islām. When the language of the Qur’ān became the language of empire, the Gospels were translated into Arabic. The project was first inaugurated in monastic communities in Palestine.<sup>77</sup>

Under his fourth heading, Griffith presents two arguments to support his hypothesis; that by the ninth century “Arabic had become the only common language among Christians” in the Melkite community of Syria Palestine, and that “The Christian liturgy remained in Syriac, even as the apologists were beginning to write in Arabic. In Syria Palestine, however, there was a pressing liturgical, as well as an apologetical need for the Gospel in Arabic.”<sup>78</sup>

As for the argument for a pre-Islamic Gospel, two comments need to be made; firstly, the argument of Graf against Baumstark, as far as the rubrics are concerned, does not exclude the existence of a Gospel in Arabic prior to the rise of Islam; secondly, the argument that the manuscripts available to us are “examples of the Christian Arabic dialect of the eighth and ninth centuries that was a stage in the rise of middle Arabic” is partially true. One of the contributions of this study is to show that by the eighth/ninth century the Arabic text of the Gospels had been so well established and had been already revised on several occasions that we must rethink the date of their archetype. We will return to this argument in more depth in a special section at the end of this study.

#### 2.9.4. Samir K. Samir (1992)

In 1992 Samir presented an article on the Arabic version of the Gospels of Ibn al-ʿAssāl.<sup>79</sup> His research is divided into four sections; firstly, a brief examination of scholarly works written about the recension of Ibn

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<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., 159.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid., 167.

<sup>79</sup> Samir, “Ibn al-ʿAssāl,” 441-551. See also on this version, K.E. Bailey, “Hibat Allah Ibn al-ʿAssāl and His Arabic Thirteenth Century Critical Edition of the Gospels (With Special Attention to Luke 16:16 and 17:10),” *Theological Review: The Near East School of Theology*, 1. 1 (April 1978): 11-26.

al-'Assāl; secondly, a concise description of thirty-one AGM, in twelve of which he presented a specimen transcribed from work formerly written about these twelve manuscripts; thirdly, an examination with some detail of the codex Beirut, B.O.,<sup>80</sup> Or. 433 and Beirut, B.O., Or. 434 in which he was able to show that Codex Or. 433 contains the text of the Alexandrian Vulgate and that Codex Or. 434 is an intermediate text between Ibn al-'Assāl and the Alexandrian Vulgate.<sup>81</sup> Fourthly, and most importantly, he collated test passages from ten manuscripts and showed that these manuscripts belong to two different groups. The first is the edition of Ibn al-'Assāl and is represented by four manuscripts, and the second is the Alexandrian Vulgate and is represented by six manuscripts.

This is another excellent attempt to classify a few of the AGM. However, some of these manuscripts described as being Ibn al-'Assāl's belong in fact to the "Alexandrian Vulgate". This will become clear in the body of this study (see §7.1.1).

#### 2.9.5. Samir Arbache (1994)

In 1994 Arbache published a three volume thesis on one manuscript of the Arabic Gospels; the Sinai, Ar. 72.<sup>82</sup> In his first volume he described at length the manuscript and presented an in-depth study on the morphology, phonology, and syntax of the text. In volume two he transcribed the four Gospels and translated the Gospel of Mark into French. His third volume contains the Greek-Arabic lexicon of this version. S. Arbache's thesis is relevant in many respects such as learning about the *Vorlage* and the methods of translation used in the ninth century from Greek into Arabic. However, it does not contribute to the study of the affinities of the manuscript with other AGM in its family or in other families. It is crucial to note the statement at the end of Arbache's section on "Les vocabulaire d'emprunt." He mentions that the terminologies used in the manuscripts are closer to the Greek than the Syriac "malgré les traces relevées de syriacismes pouvant provenir de sources diverses."<sup>83</sup> This statement is similar to Levin's in 1938. Levin, as mentioned previously, wrote a monograph on two manuscripts; Vatican,

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80 B.O. stands for *Bibliothèque Orientale*.

81 Ibid., 505-506.

82 Samir Arbache, "Une version arabe des évangiles: Langue, texte et lexique," (PhD diss., Université Michel de Montaigne Bordeaux III, 1994).

83 Ibid., 145.

Borg. Ar. 95 and Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Or. Oct. 1108. These two manuscripts belong to the same family as Sinai, Ar. 72. Levin pointed to a few traces similar to the Syro-Palestinian text. Up to now, this family has not been compared enough with the Syriac text (see §4.3.6.2).

### 2.9.6. Jean Valentin (2003)

In 2003, Valentin wrote an exceptional article on the AGM of St. Catherine.<sup>84</sup> He classified twenty-five AGM based on the text of Matthew 28.<sup>85</sup> He grouped his manuscripts into eight groups and studied the language and the text-types behind these twenty five manuscripts in some depth. After grouping these manuscripts, he asserts that “Entre le IXe et le XIIIe siècles, ce sont pas moins de huit traductions originales qui ont été produites à partir de diverses langues, de divers types textuels.”<sup>86</sup> Valentin concludes his work by raising some fundamental questions, some of which will be addressed later in this study.

At the very end of his article, Valentin made the following appeal which is worth quoting at the end of this section:

On le voit, il est à souhaiter que d’autres chercheurs ouvrent avec nous le dossier des versions arabes des Évangiles, car les questions intéressantes ne manquent pas! En concluant notre propos, souhaitons que les manuscrits arabes puissent bientôt apporter à la critique textuelle des Évangiles leur contribution, riche en variantes rares et inattendues. Puisse cet article les aider à faire entendre leur voix, en attendant d’autres travaux plus étendus.<sup>87</sup>

## 2.10. General Conclusions

### 2.10.1. The *Vorlagen* of the Manuscripts

In the middle of the nineteenth century there were some convictions that the AGM were translated from Latin *Vorlagen*. Later on, these conjectures were questioned and by the end of the nineteenth century, it

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84 Valentin, “Les évangéliques arabes,” 415-477.

85 The major problem for choosing Mt 28 as a test passage to study the *Vorlage* of the Arabic manuscripts is that the Syriac Curetonian and Sinaiticus have a lacunae here (the Sinaiticus ends on Mt 28: 7). See Kiraz, *Comparative Edition*, vol. 1, 449-454.

86 See Valentin, “Les évangéliques arabes,” 475. For a summary of the eight groups and their *Vorlagen* see the English abstract in *ibid.*, 477.

87 *Ibid.*, 477.



became clear, thanks to the work of Guidi, that behind the Arabic Versions of the Gospels stand the Syriac, Coptic, Latin and chiefly the Greek. Subsequently, scholars like Römer and Goussen made contributions in the study of the Arabic version translated from Latin, and to-day an entire thesis on this version is being prepared by Roisse. The version translated from the Greek (which is family *a* in this study) seems, relatively speaking, to have been the focus of most researchers, mainly because the Codex Sinai, Ar. 72 (which is included in this family) contained the earliest dated Gospel manuscript until the discovery of the New Finds in St. Catherine's Monastery. Scholars such as Levin, Baumstark, Graf, Blau, Garland and Arbaché have done extensive work on this family. They all seem to agree on a Caesarean or pre-Byzantine text-type of the *Vorlage*. A few of them referred to some Syriac traces in this family but no one has pursued this claim further. Scholars such as Macdonald, Bailey and Samir give more attention to Ibn al-'Assāl's version than the others; a version which is believed to be translated from the Coptic version. The versions which have received little attention seem to be those translated from Syriac. Scholars like Peters and Marmardji, who were acquainted with the Syriac language, were more focused on the Arabic Diatessaron than the AGM, mainly because the Syriac Diatessaron, which is believed to go back to the second century, has not survived and one of the possible ways to recover its text is by studying the Arabic (or Armenian) translation which is thought to have been made from it. This review shows that there is an obvious gap which mainly concerns the Arabic versions translated from Syriac; an omission which I address in a preliminary way in this study.

#### 2.10.2. The Dating of the First Translations of the Gospels

Historically, there were some debates over the dating of the earliest translations of the AGM. Generally speaking textual critics, on one hand, have considered the Arabic versions relatively late and therefore they excluded them in most Greek NT Critical Apparatuses (with the exception, to some extent, of the Arabic Diatessaron). On the other hand, Oriental Scholars and Arabicists who were mainly engaged in Christian-Muslim dialogue consider the dating of the Gospels significant. Scholars like Cheikho, Baumstark, Peters, and Shahīd argue for a pre-Islamic existence of the Gospels (or portions of it) and thus, for some, a possible Arab Christian theological influence on Islam. Others like Graf, Vööbus, Blau and Griffith argue for a post-Islamic date, around the ninth century.

The basis of these arguments varies; some approach this debate from a cultural-historical perspective, others from an ecclesiological viewpoint and still others from textual and philological perspectives. Historians seem to agree on the existence of Arab Christianity centuries before Islam, but disagree on the language used in their ecclesiological milieu. Shahīd suggested that a simple liturgy in Arabic could possibly have been available in the fourth century. Others, like Griffith argue that it was only after the reforms instituted by ‘Abd al-Malik (705) that the first Arabic versions of the Bible were made.

Textual critics like Baumstark and Peters, see in the liturgical rubrics, as well as in the old-Syriac traces, a significant sign of an Arabic Gospel which goes back to the fifth century. Vööbus and Graf, on the other hand, were not convinced.

Arabic philologists, like Cheikho argued for pre-Islamic Arabic literature, including the scriptures. Blau, based on a philological analysis of the Gospels, places the text of the AGM towards the end of the first Millennium.

This study will take a different approach when it comes to discussion of the dating of the archetype of the AGM. The starting point will be the available physical witnesses and then a study of the relationship between the earliest witnesses will be presented to possibly trace back the archetype of these manuscripts. Any historical and cultural evidence will fortify the conclusion reached and not vice-versa. Moreover, I will make use of phylogenetic software to assess the result (see Chapter Nine). It is worth noting here that the dating of the manuscripts is not in itself the ultimate goal but one of the natural outcomes of this research.

### 2.10.3. Classification of the Manuscripts

Guidi, Gregory, and Graf made extensive reference to the existence and locations of various manuscripts of the AGM; these scholars, in addition to Cheikho's early references to the AGM, Samir's concordance on the Sinai and Cairo manuscripts, as well as his essay on Ibn al-'Assāl version, and the library catalogues<sup>88</sup> will all be used in this study to develop a detailed classification of the AGM.

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88 For the limitations and superficiality of the catalogues, see Samir, "Ibn al-'Assāl's" 456.

#### 2.10.4. Steps towards the Study of the AGM

The purpose of the literature investigation is not only to summarize works done in the past in this field but also to help indirectly in proposing a provisional outline for this study. From the literature above, and most specifically from Graf's work, I am proposing the following five consecutive steps in the study of the AGM.

The first step is to gain access to library catalogues and tabulate the existent manuscripts. The most important feature in this step is not to include a number of manuscripts from many libraries, but to refer to the *entire* number of manuscripts contained in a specific library and then move on to search other libraries. Because Graf had no access to physical manuscripts and had not stated any preliminary remark on whether or not he included all the manuscripts of a specific library collection, I had to consult every catalogue which contains references to AGM to make sure that the *entire* number of manuscripts in a specific library had been consulted (including the bilingual and polyglot manuscripts which are included in Occidental catalogues). In this way, future scholars would be certain that, for instance, in June 2005, the Vatican library had twenty nine AGM.<sup>89</sup> This will not only save others' time but will also lead to a fuller knowledge of the number of the AGM which have survived.

The second step is to give a concise description of the manuscripts tabulated. Generally speaking, Graf gives the number, the date and the contents of the manuscripts whenever these are provided. This is certainly insufficient. The table should at least include: the location of the Manuscript today; the catalogue and library shelf number; the contents and date (or century), the kind of material; lines per page; number and size of folios; the size of the written surface and number of columns. As this information is unfortunately not always provided in the catalogues, access to the physical manuscripts is essential.

Thirdly, test passages from each of the Gospels need to be transcribed. This will help locate all witnesses of a specific translation into

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89 This includes of course manuscripts from the Arabic, Coptic, Syriac and Spath collections. When I visited the Vatican Library in June 2005 to study the manuscripts, Dr. Delio V. Proverbio, the curator of Oriental Manuscripts told me that up to this stage only up to number 776 of Spath collection were purchased from Aleppo. The rest, which were still in Aleppo at the time I was doing my research and some of which contain AGM, have not yet been purchased and Dr. Proverbio was not sure how long it is going to take to acquire the full collection of Fr. Spath. The number twenty-nine includes only manuscripts which are written with an Arabic script and contain a portion of, or the full continuous text of, the Gospel(s).

one category, called a “family” in this study. As a result of this a provisional number of families will be suggested. The best way of doing this is to collate the entire manuscript, but since this is impossible for the present study, I have collated two passages from each of the four Gospels whenever this is possible.

Fourthly, a text representative of each family (which in some cases could be the majority text) should be studied in depth to ascertain the *Vorlage* of each family. The *Vorlage* includes not only the language (Greek, Syriac or Coptic) but also, if possible, the text-type of the *Vorlage*. These are two possible ways to do that; either through the test passages which were already collated, or, if they are not sufficient, by selecting other key test passages to reach a conclusion about the text-type.

(5) Fifthly, a comparison and a study of the relationship of each family’s representative with the representative of another family. This will help to discover the influence of one family upon the other, the date when a specific family was in circulation and possibly to trace back an archetype, or archetypes of these families. The study of family relationship will be made through tabulating a number of variations and running a phylogenetic programme to ascertain this relationship.

These steps will be the skeleton of this study. To begin with, the following chapter will be mainly concerned with the descriptive table of the AGM.

### 3. An Abridged List of the Arabic Gospel Manuscripts

#### 3.1. The Problem of Finding and Cataloguing Arabic Christian Literature

The first major step in the study of Arabic Christian literature, particularly the AGM, is *finding* the literature. This literature is found in a variety of catalogues, and intensive efforts are needed to separate the Christian Arabic literature from the rest. Once this work is successfully accomplished, researchers are further restrained by the limitations of the information found in these catalogues.<sup>1</sup>

There are two factors that make finding this literature difficult: Firstly, because this literature is an Arabic literature, it is found among the very many Arabic library catalogues. These catalogues normally have a broad title (for instance, “a Hand-List/Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts...”), and contain Arabic manuscripts of various disciplines.<sup>2</sup> Since Arabic Christian Literature is rarely presented in separate catalogues, any thorough investigation of this literature requires the consultation of all these catalogues.

Secondly, bilingual and polyglot manuscripts, which contain Arabic script in one of the columns, are not normally catalogued under “Ar(abic)” but under Greek, Syriac or Coptic collections. As a result of this a number of catalogues from each library must be consulted to learn about the entire Arabic literature of a particular subject. For instance, if one wants to study the AGM in the British Library, one needs to consult at least five different catalogues (excluding the Greek ones).<sup>3</sup>

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1 For the limitation of these catalogues see Samir, “La tradition arabe chrétienne,” esp. 28-34.

2 E.g. Qur’ān, tradition, law, general history, biography, medicine, mathematics, philosophy, ethics, grammar, poetry, tales, dictionaries, prayers etc.

3 See 1) *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum orientalium Qui in Museo Britannico asservatur: Pars secunda, codices arabicos* (London: British Library, 1846); 2) *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum orientalium qui in Museo Britannico asservatur: Partis secundae supplementum* (London: British Library, 1871); 3) W. E. Crum, *Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London: Gibert and Rivington, Limited, 1905); 4) Charles Rieu, *Supplement to the Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the British*

In the *Bibliothèque Nationale* in France, codex Suppl. Grec. 911 is a Greek-Arabic manuscript catalogued under the collection “Grec.” This manuscript is not mentioned in G. Troupeau’s catalogue of the Arabic Christian manuscripts.<sup>4</sup> Thus, Troupeau’s catalogue is not complete, and other catalogues need to be consulted if one wishes to review the entire AGM acquired by the *Bibliothèque Nationale*.

The situation is similar with the AGM in the Vatican Library in Rome; Arabic texts are not only found in the Arabic collection but also in the Coptic, Syriac and Spath.

In summary, finding Arabic Christian literature requires a systematic examination of catalogues containing Arabic literature in general, as well as catalogues which have an inventory of manuscripts in Syriac, Coptic, Greek, Latin, Ethiopian, Georgian and Persian.

The complexity of finding the Arabic Christian literature shows the pressing need for a systematic inventory of this corpus, and the abridged list of the AGM (hereafter: ALAGM) is one attempt in this direction.

### 3.2. The Make up of ALAGM and Its Limitations

In the ALAGM, there are references to two hundred and ten manuscripts grouped according to their present library location. The main purpose of this list is to gather in a legible and easily accessible table all the manuscripts from which test passages will be extracted and collated in the following chapters. The information found in the list was taken from the catalogues (and corrected when needed), then completed either upon visiting the libraries to transcribe the eight test passages of each manuscript, or upon studying the microfilms of these manuscripts.

Although much effort has been made to create the ALAGM, it is far from complete.<sup>5</sup> Its purpose is certainly not to replace existing catalogues and more descriptive works, which occasionally include more specific codicological and palaeographical information and special features of each manuscript. Furthermore, information about the illuminations, rubrications, chapter divisions and liturgical signs, as well as

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*Museum* (London: The British Museum, 1894); 5) W. Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in The British Museum Acquired Since the Year 1838*, vol. 1, (London: British Museum, 1870).

4 Gérard Troupeau, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes*, vol. 1: *Manuscrits Chrétiens* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1972).

5 For the data included in ALAGM see 3.13 below.

colophons which some of these manuscripts contain are all omitted from this list. It must be emphasized once more that the list is not meant to be a *catalogue* of the AGM but rather, in the spirit of the Münster *Kurzgefasste Liste*, an abridged list with concise data on these manuscripts.<sup>6</sup>

The most important function of the list is that it provides the reader with an inventory of two hundred and ten references to the AGM, grouped together in one single table, with a concise description of each manuscript (without, of course, mentioning the value of the bibliographical references for each manuscript). Moreover, the holistic dimension is worth noting; in almost each library consulted, the attempt was to refer to *all* the AGM in that library collection. In this way any further references to the AGM in libraries other than the ones mentioned in the table can be added to this list. So if, at some point in the future, the AGM found in the rest of the libraries and monasteries were included in this list, a full inventory of the surviving AGM will be accomplished. Only then, we will be able to learn more thoroughly about this tradition.

### 3.3. The Location of the Manuscripts

As far as the location of the manuscripts is concerned, only twenty-one library/monastery collections from nine different countries were examined: Austria, Egypt, England, France, Germany, Holland, Italy, Jerusalem, and Lebanon. These libraries were chosen because they contain a relatively good number of manuscripts, as well as manuscripts of great value. There are AGM in other libraries and monasteries but relatively few and copied in a later stage. In addition, reference is made to one manuscript which belonged to an individual in Turkey, but which seems to be missing today.

ALAGM does not contain all the manuscripts which will be referred to in the body of this study; there are approximately fifty manuscripts (included in family *k*), which will only be mentioned in Chapter Six (see §6.5 below). Although these fifty codices are not really archaic, access to them is very difficult, if not impossible. They are at present in the Coptic Museum and the Coptic Patriarchate in Cairo. They were not included in the table of AGM for two reasons: there was no access

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6 See Kurt Aland, *Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, (Berlin: Walter der Gruyter, 1994).

to them, either by seeing the physical manuscripts or through microfilms and as a result, it was not possible to extract test passages from them. In addition, they are relatively recent and numerous. They were not included as the intention is that the majority of the information found in the ALAGM, as well as the test passages extracted, is based on primary sources. Graf seems to have a good knowledge of these manuscripts, not only because he referred to them in his *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*<sup>7</sup> but mainly because he produced an efficient inventory of the Arabic Christian manuscripts found in Cairo including those from the Gospels. The catalogue was published in the Vatican in 1934.<sup>8</sup> Therefore, I conclude that his grouping of these manuscripts in his *Geschichte* is to a high extent accurate, and the listing in §6.5 below will depend greatly on his work.

### 3.4. The Contents of the Manuscripts

The data inserted in the “contents” column is worth referring to in this section: When, for instance, the letters “Lk” (Luke) appear, they mean that the manuscript contains the Gospel of Luke and not Matthew, Mark or John. However, this does not exclude additional homilies, lectionaries, or commentaries found at the beginning or the end of the manuscript (thus, “Lk” could mean: the Gospel of Luke only (and not Matthew, Mark and John), plus a homily or a treatise). This is especially true when “4G” (four Gospels) is inserted in the table. It means *at least* Matthew, Mark, Luke and John. This manuscript could also contain portions of the Old Testament, Pauline Epistles, Catholic Epistles, Revelation, sermons, Syriac or Greek texts etc. Frequently, the catalogues lack accurate information about these texts, and since a limited time was available in each of the libraries visited, and as this study is primarily concerned with the Gospels, only reference to the Gospels is given.

### 3.5. The Dating of the Manuscripts

Some of the authors of the catalogues were reluctant to provide an approximate date of the undated manuscripts. The date proposed is

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7 Graf, *Geschichte*, 156, 161.

8 Georg Graf, *Catalogue de manuscrits arabes chrétiens conservés au Caire*, Studi e testi, vol. 63 (Tome: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1934).



therefore based mainly on the palaeography of these manuscripts, while at the same time not neglecting the codicological features. The letter “a” on the left side of a number stands for “about” (*circa*).

### 3.6. The Material of the Manuscripts

The Arabic Gospel codices were written on parchment and paper. As far as parchment codices are concerned, no differentiation is made between vellum and parchment. All codices which are made from animal skin are referred to as “parchment.” Most of them date between the eighth and tenth centuries. Concerning the paper codices, there is no reference to *the kind* of paper used (e.g. oriental or western paper etc.). The earliest paper codices are from the tenth century. Codex Vatican, Ar. 18 is a paper codex copied in 993. Finally, no papyri were found containing the Arabic text of the Gospels.<sup>9</sup>

### 3.7. The Lines per Page

The number of lines per page is irregular in many manuscripts. In such codices, a reference to the number of lines found in the first folio of the codex, or a bridging number, is given. For example for codex Venice, Gr. 539 (1) the numbers “16-19” are mentioned in the table. This is because fol. 2r. has 19 lines per page, fol. 3r. has 16 lines per page, fol. 6v. has 18 and fol. 8v. has 17 lines per page. This inconsistency is unfortunate, but there was no possibility of going through every folio and counting the number of lines, so a decision had to be made based only on the first few folios.

### 3.8. The Number of Folios

The number of folios in the AGM is sometimes confusing. In some manuscripts the numbering starts on the folio where the texts begin (even if the text starts on the fourth folio of the codex). In others, the

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9 The number of the surviving Arabic papyri today is far higher than 16,000. The earliest seems to date from the seventh century. On these papyri see for example: Geoffrey Khan, *Bills, Letters and Deeds: Arabic Papyri of the 7<sup>th</sup> to 11<sup>th</sup> centuries*, in Julian Raby, ed., *The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art*, vol. 4 (Oxford: The Nour Foundation, 1993), 11.

numbering starts with the first folio even when it is blank. In still other manuscripts, the numbering goes from left to right. So when the Arabic text progresses the numerical signs decrease instead of increasing. For the sake of simplicity I referred to the number of folios as they are mentioned in the codices themselves without re-numbering them. The majority of manuscripts are numbered by folios. The letter "p" beside the number stands for "page number."

### 3.9. The Size of Folio

Sometimes the size of folio changes slightly from one folio to another in a single manuscript. It was not possible to measure each folio, so I had either to rely on the catalogue information or, when there are significant changes throughout the manuscript, to measure and write down the size of the first folio. All the measures are given in millimetres.

### 3.10. The Size of the Written Surface

The size of the written surface in most manuscripts is approximate because of lack of justification in the text. This is especially true of the bilingual Coptic-Arabic manuscripts. In some cases two different numbers were given (e.g. 162 x 91-100).

### 3.11. The Bibliographical Reference

The bibliography is presented chronologically with the exception of the first reference of each manuscript. This reference is the catalogue reference from which part, or all, of the information in the table is extracted. There are a few articles which were excluded from this bibliography because they either do not make any particular contribution, or are not directly related, to the theme of this study. Some concordances, for instance Samir's concordance of the Sinai and Cairo manuscripts,<sup>10</sup> are, as far as the *numbering* of the manuscripts is concerned, invaluable resources. These however, were not signalled in the reference column because the table contains the contemporary library shelf mark, and

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10 Samir, *Tables de concordance*.

there is no need to return to any of the catalogues to find these numbers.

### 3.12. The Manuscripts in Italy, France, Lebanon and Mount Sinai

#### 3.12.1. The Manuscripts in Italy

The only two libraries visited in Italy were the Vatican Library and the National Library in Rome. The latter has acquired, in addition to their manuscripts, microfilms of the entire manuscript collection found in *National Libraries* (not private libraries) in Italy. These microfilms were accessible to me, and were included in this research. In this way, the entire collection of manuscripts and *microfilms* of AGM found in the National Library in Rome was included.<sup>11</sup>

#### 3.12.2. The Manuscripts in France

Access was gained to all the physical manuscripts in the *Bibliothèque Nationale de France* (hereafter: BnF), with the exception of two: BnF, Coisl. 239 (Suppl. Ar. 27) and BnF, Suppl. Graec. 911. The first was not available during my visit to Paris and the second had been sent to Barcelona for an exhibition. The former is included in family *k*<sup>12</sup> and the latter in family *c*. The latter is mentioned in ALAGM, and passages were extracted from a microfilm provided by BnF.

#### 3.12.3. The Manuscripts in Lebanon

In addition to the Bibliothèque Nationale in Beirut, I consulted Father Samir's library in CEDRAK. The Vienna National Library manuscripts, referred to in ALAGM, as well as codex Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale

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11 There are a few AGM in Italy which were not microfilmed by the National Library in Rome. They are scattered mostly in non-national libraries. For example Gubbio, B. Comunale, 18; Torino, B. Nazionale Or. 10, 3; Rome, B. Angelica copt 4; Florence, B. Mediceae Laurentianae 2,1; 11; 20 and 25. Access to them was not possible while I was in Italy.

12 See Graf, *Geschichte*, 160.

Marciana, Or. 3 (12) were studied through the microfilms which Samir had purchased for his library.

Some of the monasteries and libraries in Lebanon and Syria contain a few AGM, previously identified by G. Graf. Unfortunately, access to these manuscripts is not always possible. These manuscripts are beyond the scope of this study, but might be investigated in the future.

#### 3.12.4. The Manuscripts in Sinai and Jerusalem

Concerning the manuscripts in Sinai, my sincere gratitude goes to the Holy Council in St. Catherine and especially Father Justin for granting me the permission to see over sixty manuscripts, most of which were not microfilmed for the Library of Congress in 1949-50. Since time at the monastery was limited, one test passage from each of the four Gospels was transcribed (a total of four for some of the manuscripts). CDROMs of some significant manuscripts, which have not been microfilmed in the past, were provided by Father Justin. The Sinai microfilms, as well as the ones of the Greek Patriarchate in Jerusalem, were studied through the copies available in the Department of Theology at the University of Birmingham in Selly Oak.

### 3.13. The ALAGM

Two points must be made concerning the ALAGM:

1. Contrary to K. Aland's *Kurzgefasste Liste*, the manuscripts in ALAGM are grouped under the libraries where they are held, and chronologically within each library group. In this way access to them becomes easier.
2. I have provided some additional information about the manuscripts which are not found in K. Aland's *Kurzgefasste Liste*. The headings, in the order which they are found in the ALAGM are: Shelf-mark; catalogue number; contents; date/century; material; lines per page; number of folios; size of folio (height first and then width—in millimetres); written surface; number of column; family number; bibliographical reference.

3.13.1. The ALAGM

Abridged List of the Arabic Gospel Manuscripts

Shelf Mark	Catalogue Number	Contents	Date/ Century	Material	Lines per page	Number of folios	Size of folio	Written surface	N of column	Classification	Reference
<i>Amsterdam, University Library</i>											
III E 20	Amest. Or. 27934G	4G	18th <sup>a</sup>	Paper	14	235	300 x 172	240 x 80-105	1	k	Goeje 310; Graf 163
<i>Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale</i>											
Or. 430	Beirut 430	4G	1885	Paper	15	186	200 x 130	162 x 95	1	g	Cheikho 157; Cheikho (1896) 201-2; Cheikho (1901) 102; Cheikho (1904) 37-38; Graf 151, 156; Vööbus 289, 294
Or. 432	Beirut 432	4G	1841	Paper	20	340	320 x 220	235 x 133	1	o	Cheikho 158-9; Cheikho (1901) 108-9; Cheikho (1904) 75-76; Cheikho (1914), 27-29; Graf 166
Or. 433	Beirut 433	Jn	1303	Paper	15	102	240 x 170	205 x 125	1	k	Cheikho 159-60; Graf 163; Samir 459-60, 491-506, 527-531, 540-4, 547-8
Or. 434	Beirut 434	4G	1784	Paper	17	350	155 x 100	135 x 70	1	k	Cheikho 160; Graf 163; Samir 459, 507-26, 531-7, 549-50

Shelf Mark	Catalogue Number	Contents	Date/ Century	Material	Lines per page	Number of folios	Size of folio	Written surface	N of column	Classification	Reference
Or. 435	Beirut 435	4G	1713	Paper	20	226	145 x 100	103 x 63	1	k	Cheikho 160-1; Graf 163
Or. 436	Beirut 436	4G	1786	Paper	17	304	220 x 160	155 x 105	1	k	Cheikho 161; Graf 162
Or. 441	Beirut 441	4G	1649	Paper	33	260	240 x 160	195 x 105	2	k	Cheikho 163-4
<i>Berlin, Staatsbibliothek</i>											
Df. 42	Berl. Ar. 10176	4G	14th	Paper	14	190	270 x 170	210 x 125	1	k	Ahlwardt 529-30; Graf 161
Do. 162	Berl. Ar. 10175	4G	1264	Paper	18	348	180 x 135	120 x 75	1	n	Ahlwardt 527-9; Lagarde xvii; Guidi 32; Gregory 587; Graf 151
Or. Oct. 1108	Berl. Or. Oct. 1108	4G start Mt 1:7 (lacunae)	1046/7	Paper	15-16	206	130 x 185	153 x 97	1	a	Baumstark (1930) 350-9; Levin 1-67; Peters (1939) 49-51, 60-62; Graf 143; Garland 1-8; Blau (267) 29-30; Metzger 267; Griffith 154-5, 163; , Valentin 418-27
WE. 184	Berl. Ar. 10177	4G	1187/8	Parch- ment	15	239	155 x 117.5	110 x 85	1	j	Ahlwardt 530-1; Graf 169

Shelf Mark	Catalogue Number	Contents	Date/ Century	Material	Lines per page	Number of folios	Size of folio	Written surface	N of column	Classification	Reference
<i>Birmingham UK, University Library</i>											
Chr. Arab. Mingana Ar. 10		4G	17th	Paper	16	211	212 x 135	160 x 110	1	k	Mingana 7; Graf 161 Christ. 3
Chr. Arab. Mingana Ar. 7		4G	17th	Paper	21	249	242 x 184	171 x 110	1	k	Mingana 7-9; Graf 161 Christ. 4
Chr. Arab. Mingana Ar. Add. 155		Mt 8:4-10:37	1000 <sup>a</sup>	Parch- ment	13-14	8	100 x 77	72 x 57	1	j	Mingana 2; Graf 169 Christ. 124
Chr. Arab. Mingana Ar. Add. 222	Christ. 127	Mt 9: 18-35	1400 <sup>a</sup>	Paper	15	1	213 x 135	162 x 91-100	1	j	Mingana 3
Chr. Arab. Mingana Ar. Add. 271	Christ. 129	4G	16th	Paper	15-16	187	218 x 163	175 x 100-120	1	k	Mingana 3-4; Graf 161

Shelf Mark	Catalogue Number	Contents	Date/ Century	Material	Lines per page	Number of folios	Size of folio	Written surface	N of column	Classification	Reference
<i>Cambridge, University Library</i>											
Add. 1045	Cambridge Add. 1045	Lk 15: 11-32	18th <sup>a</sup>	Paper	13	18	250 x 160	175 x 110	1	w	Browne 276; Graf 169
Add. 1860	Cambridge Add. 1860	4G	13th	Paper	11	312	230 x 167	190 x 115	1	l	Browne 12; Graf 169
Add. 1905	Cambridge Add. 1905	Mk 1-4	19th <sup>a</sup>	Paper	17	8	202 x 147	158 x 117	1	v	Browne 276
Add. 3216	Cambridge Add. 3216	4G	17th <sup>a</sup>	Paper	17	166	194 x 138	152 x 90	1	k	Browne 12; Graf 169
Add. 3226	Cambridge Add. 3226	4G	1688	Paper	25	256	160 x 96	130 x 75	1	k	Browne 12





Shelf Mark	Catalogue Number	Contents	Date/ Century	Material	Lines per page	Number of folios	Size of folio	Written surface	N of column	Classification	Reference
<i>Italy: Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana</i>											
C. 47 Inf.	Milano, Amb. Or. 84	4G	1280	Paper	14	222	245 x 180	?	1	1	Hammer 36; Guidi 20-21, 31; Cheikho (1901) 102-8; Graf 169; Samir 479-83, 507-31; 545-6
E. 95	Milano, Amb. Or. 92	4G	?	Paper	?	?	?	?	1	j	Hammer 37; Guidi 12, 28, 32; Graf 149, 169
<i>Italy: Rome, Bibl. Casanatense</i>											
Ms. 2023	Rome, Biblioteque Casanatense Ms. 1	4G	13th <sup>a</sup>	Paper	17	169	235 x 160	223 x 135	1	k	Bonelli 405, Graf 160
Ms. 2039	Rome, B. Casanatense Ms. 3	4G	17th	Paper	15	290	255 x 157	200 x 105	1	k	Bonelli 406; Graf 160
Ms. 2309	Rome, B. Casanatense 2	4G	16th	Paper	15	278	270 x 165	190 x 106	1	k	Bonelli 406; Graf 160
<i>Italy: Rome, Bibl. Nazionale Centrale</i>											
Ms. Or. 14	Rome, Bibl. Vittorio Emn. Ar. 2	Mt	17th <sup>a</sup>	Paper	19-21	35	148 x 108	128 x 90	1	s	Guidi (2) 7; Graf 160

Shelf Mark	Catalogue Number	Contents	Date/ Century	Material	Lines per page	Number of folios	Size of folio	Written surface	N of column	Classification	Reference
Ms. Or. 84	Rome, Bibl. Vittorio Emm. Ar. 1	4G	1343	Paper	17	246	239 x 160	192 x 112	1	k	Guidi (2) 5-6; Guidi 25, 31; Graf 160, 169
<i>Italy: Venice, Bibl. Nazionale Marciana</i>											
Gr. 539 (1)	Venezia, Bibl. Nazionale Marciana, Gr. 539 (1)	4G	12th	Paper	16-19	280	?	?	2	j	Theupolus 291; Graf 148
Or. 3 (12)	Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Or. 3 (12)	4G	16th <sup>a</sup>	Paper	21	127	?	?	1	k	
<i>Jerusalem, Orthodox Patriarchate</i>											
Ar. 36	Jerusalem, Orthodox Patr., Ar. 36	4G	14th	Paper	17	171	253 x 167	190 x 115	1	k	Clark 16; Graf 163; Samir 472
Ar. 72	Jerusalem, Orthodox Patr., Ar. 72	4G	14th <sup>a</sup>	Paper	15	215	214 x 151	155 x 110	1	j	Clark 16; Graf 162
Ar. 103	Jerusalem, Orthodox Patr., Ar. 103	4G	12th <sup>a</sup>	Paper	15	219	187 x 135	146 x 100	1	j	Clark 17; Cheikh (1901) 100; Graf 148

<i>Shelf Mark</i>	<i>Catalogue Number</i>	<i>Contents</i>	<i>Date/ Century</i>	<i>Material</i>	<i>Lines per page</i>	<i>Number of folios</i>	<i>Size of folio</i>	<i>Written surface</i>	<i>N of column</i>	<i>Classification</i>	<i>Reference</i>
Ar. 135	Jerusalem, Orthodox Patr., Ar. 135	4G	1618	Paper	17	173	191 x 142	150 x 95	1	k	Clark 17; 162
Ar. 194	Jerusalem, Orthodox Patr., Ar. 194	4G	1789	Paper	19-20	183	245 x 174	177 x 120	1	k	Clark 17; Graf 163; Samir 473
Ar. 207	Jerusalem, Orthodox Patr., Ar. 207	4G	1793	Paper	18	156	220 x 154	160 x 105	1	k	Clark 17; Graf 162
Ar. 213	Jerusalem, Orthodox Patr., Ar. 213	4G	15th	Paper	17	204	225 x 143	160 x 110	1	k	Clark 17; Graf 170
Ar. 220	Jerusalem, Orthodox Patr., Ar. 220	4G	1322	Paper	15	230	254 x 170	203 x 115	1	k	Clark 17; Graf 163; Samir 473-5
Ar. 235	Jerusalem, Orthodox Patr., Ar. 235	4G	18th	Paper	23	119	294 x 191	205 x 116	1	k	Clark 17
<i>Leiden, University Library</i>											
Cod. 1571	Leiden Or. 23774G	4G	1331	Paper	15	210	252 x 180	180 x 120	1	j	Goeje 82; Guidi 11-12, 30; Gregory 586; Peters (1936) 190-211; Peters (1939) 50-54, 60; Peters (1940) 124-37; Graf

<i>Shelf Mark</i>	<i>Catalogue Number</i>	<i>Contents</i>	<i>Date/ Century</i>	<i>Material</i>	<i>Lines per page</i>	<i>Number of folios</i>	<i>Size of folio</i>	<i>Written surface</i>	<i>N of column</i>	<i>Classification</i>	<i>Reference</i>
Cod. 214 Scaliger.	Leiden Or. 2371	Mt 1:1-26:64; Mk 2:10-9:43	18th <sup>a</sup>	Paper	13	108	390 x 210	270 x 115	1	k	Goeje 80; Guidi 31; Gregory 586; Graf 160
Cod. 217 Scaliger.	Leiden Or. 2369 4G		18th <sup>a</sup>	Paper	22	262	360 x 215	226 x 135	1	k	Goeje 79; Lagarde xx; Guidi 32; Gregory 586; Graf 160
Cod. 218 Scaliger.	Leiden Or. 2373 Mk		17th <sup>a</sup>	Paper	17	36	290 x 214	210 x 148	1	k	Goeje 80; Gregory 586; Graf 161
Cod. 223 Scaliger.	Leiden Or. 2374 4G		1500	Paper	17	176	270 x 170	193 x 120	1	l	Goeje 80; Lagarde iv; Guidi 21, 25, 31; Gregory 586; Samir 475
Cod. 225 Scaliger.	Leiden Or. 2376 4G		1179	Paper	15	567p	240 x 155	180 x 120	1	j	Goeje 81-82; Lagarde xix; Guidi 11-12, 30; Gregory 586; Peters (1936) 190-211; Peters (1939) 50-54, 60; Graf 148
Cod. 255 Scaliger.	Leiden Or. 2372 Lk, Jn		1582	Paper	11	185	155 x 110	115 x 70	1	k	Goeje 80; Guidi 32; Gregory 583; Graf 161
Cod. 561 Wam.	Leiden Or. 2378 4G		15th	Paper	19-20	151	245 x 170	185 x 110	1	f	Goeje 83; Guidi 25, 32; Gregory 586; Graf 152; Peters (1940) 124-37

Shelf Mark	Catalogue Number	Contents	Date/ Century	Material	Lines per page	Number of folios	Size of folio	Written surface	N of column	Classification	Reference
Cod. 619 Wam.	Leiden Or. 23704G	4G	1295	Paper	18	152	219 x 152	180 x 115	1	k	Goeje 79; Guidi 31; Gregory 586; Graf 160
<i>Leipzig, University Library</i>											
Cod. Tischend. XII	Leipzig Univ. Or. 1075	4G start Mt 17:13	10th	Parch-ment	27-28	130	?	?	2	r	Gildemeister; Cheikho (1896) 199-201; Lagarde xvii; Guidi 13,30; Burkitt 136; Gregory 588; Cheikho (1901) 99; Graf 150; Henninger 213-4; Awad 63
Cod. Tischend. XXXI	Leipzig Univ. Or. 1059 A 152	Mt 10:19-11:4; 14:13-	9th	Parch-ment	19	2	220 x 165	?	1	a	Vollers 373-4; Tischendorf 70; Fleischer 585-6; Fleischer (2) 391; Peters (1939) 50; Gregory 588; Graf 142-3
<i>London, British Library</i>											
Add. 11,856	Brit. Mus. Ar. Christ 12	4G	1337	Paper	14	205	270 x 200	220 x 135	1	k	Catalogus 11-3; Guidi 31; Gregory 583; Graf 161
Add. 14,467	Brit. Mus. Syr. Wright 97	Mt 7:22-11:1; 11:22-12:10; 16:21-17:13. In 8:59-end	10th	Parch-ment	26-37	15	250 x 170	190 x 132	2	r	Wright 66-7; Graf 150

<i>Shelf Mark</i>	<i>Catalogue Number</i>	<i>Contents</i>	<i>Date/ Century</i>	<i>Material</i>	<i>Lines per page</i>	<i>Number of folios</i>	<i>Size of folio</i>	<i>Written surface</i>	<i>N of column</i>	<i>Classification</i>	<i>Reference</i>
Add. 17, 224	Brit. Mus. Syr. Wright 95	Mt 5: 10- 19; 6: 13-24; Mk 12: 14, 20, 39- 14: 13	13th	Paper	17-26	9	272 x 187	210 x 143	2	x	Wright 66
Add. 5995	Brit. Mus. Ar. 795 = Copt. 732	4G	1474	Paper	30	233	392 x 260	328 x 175	2	1	Supplementum 355; Guidi 21, 31; Graf 155; Samir 509-10
Add. 9061	Brit. Mus. Ar. Christ 13	4G	15th	Paper	17	154	293 x 215	222 x 160	1	m	Catalogus 13-4; Guidi 28- 29, 32; Cheikho (1901) 100; Gregory 583; Goussen 15, 30; Graf 168
Arundel 19	Brit. Mus. Ar. Christ 14	4G	1616	Paper	21	419	158 x 110	120 x 58	1	k	Catalogus 14-6; Guidi 32?; Gregory 583; Graf 161
Arundel 20	Brit. Mus. Ar. Christ 11	4G	1280	Paper	17	154	260 x 175	185 x 125	1	k	Catalogus 10-1; Guidi 25, 31; Gregory 583; Graf 155
Or. 1001	Brit. Mus. Copt. 735	4G	18th	Paper	25-33	264	244 x 165	205 x 110- 130	2	k	Crum 323; Graf 156
Or. 1242(4)	Brit. Mus. Copt. 751	Lk 23: 29-33	13th <sup>a</sup>	Paper	14	1	132 x 97	105 x 60	2	u	Crum 327; Graf 156
Or. 1315	Brit. Mus. Ar. Suppl. 6 = Copt. 734	4G	1208	Paper	22-24	447	340 x 256	240-255 x 170-185	2	k	Rieu 7; Graf 156; Samir 512-3

<i>Shelf Mark</i>	<i>Catalogue Number</i>	<i>Contents</i>	<i>Date/ Century</i>	<i>Material</i>	<i>Lines per page</i>	<i>Number of folios</i>	<i>Size of folio</i>	<i>Written surface</i>	<i>N of column</i>	<i>Classification</i>	<i>Reference</i>
Or. 1316	Brit. Mus. Ar. Suppl. 9 = Copt. 737	4G	1663	Paper	31-35	250	300 x 210	270 x 142	2	k	Rieu 9; Graf 156
Or. 1317	Brit. Mus. Ar. Suppl. 10 = Copt. 738	4G	1815	Paper	25-26	410	196 x 116	136 x 70	2	k	Rieu 10; Graf 156
Or. 1326	Brit. Mus. Ar. Suppl. 1	4G	1585/7	Paper	29	326	325 x 233	255 x 158	1	l	Rieu 1-4; Graf 163
Or. 1327	Brit. Mus. Ar. Suppl. 8	4G	1334	Paper	13	242	236 x 174	180 x 110	1	k	Rieu 8-9; Lewis 55; Graf 163; Samir 476, 512-3, 516-8, 544
Or. 2291	Brit. Mus. Ar. Suppl. 5	4G	13th	Paper	21	150	246 x 160	210 x 110- 145	2	i	Rieu 6-7; Graf 155
Or. 3382	Brit. Mus. Ar. Suppl. 7	4G	1264/5	Paper	12	417	231.8 x 158.6	91.5 x ?	1	l	Rieu 7-8; Macdonald 375- 92; Graf 162; Bailey (1978) 11-26; Samir 477- 8, 512-3
Or. 425	Brit. Mus. Copt. 736	4G	1308	Paper	29-32	166	254 x 185	210-225 x 185-190	2	k	Crum 323-4; Graf 156



Shelf Mark	Catalogue Number	Contents	Date/ Century	Material	Lines per page	Number of folios	Size of folio	Written surface	N of column	Classification	Reference
Or. 426	Brit. Mus. Copt. 752	In	13th	Paper	14-18	146	246 x 168	195 x 114	2	k	Crum 327; Graf 156
<i>Mardin, Unknown Location</i>											
	Mardin, Location Unknown,	4G	15th	Paper	19	280p	?	?	1	k	Cheikho (1901) 107-8; Cheikho (1903) 238; Graf 161?; Samir 478-9; 506, 518-9
<i>Oxford, Bodleian Library</i>											
Arch. 265	Bodl. Ar. Christ Uri 24 68	4G	1285	Paper	15	238	251 x 167	180 x 125	1	l	Uri 32; Guidi 21-22, 31; Cheikho (1901) 102-8; Gregory 584; Graf 161, 163; Samir 483
Bodl. 299	Bodl. Ar. Christ. Nicol 14	4G	1348	Paper	15-16	173	247 x 160	186 x 125	1	k	Nicoll 16-19; Guidi 31; Gregory 584-5; Graf 161
Bodl. 447	Bodl. Ar. Christ. Pusey 1	4G	1564	Paper	18	175	301 x 215	230 x 152	1	j	Nicoll 19; Guidi 12, 32; Gregory 585; Peters (1939) 50-54; Graf 148
		4G	15 <sup>a</sup>	Paper	13	216	161 x 118	135 x 85	1	k	Pusey 441-2; Guidi 32; Graf 161

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Canon. Orient. 115	Bodl. Ar. Christ. Pusey 2	4G	1687	Paper	15	231	150 x 94	115 x 66	1	k	Pusey 443; Guidi 32; Graf 161
Hunt. 118	Bodl. Ar. Christ. Uri 25	4G	1259	Paper	12	330	260 x 176	200 x 113	1	l	Uri 32; Guidi 21-22, 31; Gregory 584; Graf 161, 163; Samir 483-4, 529-31
Hunt. 17	Bodl. Copt. Uri 5	4G	1173	Paper	20	433	346 x 253	256 x 174	2	k	Uri 319; Graf 156
Hunt. 366	Bodl. Ar. Christ. Uri 32	4G	1478	Paper	15-16	187	153 x 118	135 x 88	1	k	Uri 33; Guidi 31; Gregory 584; Graf 161
Laud.Or. 191	Bodl. Ar. Christ. Uri 31	4G	16 <sup>a</sup>	Paper	15	160	175 x 130	160 x 111	1	k	Uri 33; Guidi 31; Gregory 584; Graf 161
Marsh. 167	Bodl. Ar. Christ. Uri 22	4G	17th <sup>a</sup>	Paper	10	298	352 x 220	258 x 170	1	k	Uri 32; Guidi 31; Gregory 584; Graf 161
Marsh. 575	Bodl. Ar. Christ. Uri 29	4G	1256	Paper	11-16	215	198 x 130	165 x 110	1	j	Uri 33; Guidi 32; Gregory 584; Graf 148

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Seld. 3202, Bodl. Ar. A. 69	Christ Uri 23	4G	1326	Paper	11	236	282 x 194	180 x 125	1	k	Uri 32; Guidi 31; Gregory 584; Graf 161
<i>Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale</i>											
Ar. 51	Par. Ar. 51	4G	1413	Paper	14	243	260 x 172	200 x 127	1	k	Troupeau 36-37; Guidi 31; Graf 160
Ar. 53	Par. Ar. 53	4G	1724	Paper	17	220	215 x 160	155 x 95	1	k	Troupeau 37
Ar. 54	Par. Ar. 54	4G	1619	Paper	13	222	150 x 105	110 x 80	1	k	Troupeau 38; Gregory 587; Graf 160
Ar. 56	Par. Ar. 56	4G	17th	Paper	13	248	195 x 150	150 x 95	1	k	Troupeau 39
Ar. 57	Par. Ar. 57	4G	1656	Paper	13	250	210 x 145	150 x 100	1	s	Troupeau 39-40; Gregory 587; Graf 160
Ar. 58	Par. Ar. 58	4G	17th	Paper	15	243	205 x 148	150 x 90	1	o	Troupeau 40; Guidi 32; Gregory 587; Graf 166

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Ar. 60	Par. Ar. 60	Jn	1599	Paper	9-10	95	165 x 105	150 x 85	1	k	Troupeau 41
Ar. 61	Par. Ar. 61	Jn	1665	Paper	9	165	98 x 62	62 x 40	1	k	Troupeau 41; Gregory 587; Graf 160
Ar. 62	Par. Ar. 62	Jn	16th	Paper	10	84	210 x 155	145 x 100	1	k	Troupeau 41-2; Gregory 587; Graf 160
Ar. 144	Par. Ar. 144	4G	1617	Paper	16-17	190	190 x 145	150 x 95	1	k	Slane 32; Gregory 587; Graf 160, 163
Ar. 4522	Par. Ar. 4522	Mt 1-11	1794	Paper	18	16	210 x 160	155 x 105	1	k	Slane 716
Ar. 4900	Par. Ar. 4900	Lk 1:68-4:2	15th	Paper	12-13	8	180 x 135	135 x 95	1	k	Bloch 36
Ar. 6280	Par. Ar. 6280	4G	18th	Paper	17	145	215 x 155	155 x 95	1	k	Bloch 226; Graf 169

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Copt. 14	Par. Copt. 14	4G	14th	Paper	21-26	331	400 x 270	320 x 195	2	1	Chabot 353; Graf 156
Copt. 14 A	Par. Copt. 14 A	4G	1593	Paper	21	406	310 x 210	210 x 135	2	1	Chabot 353 ; Graf 156
Copt. 16	Par. Copt. 16	4G	1196	Paper	24-27	372	280 x 200	250 x 147	1	k	Chabot 354; Graf 156
Suppl. Grec. 911	Par. Suppl. Grec. 911	Lk	1043	Parch-ment	9-12	315	?	?	2	j	Omout 96; Graf 147 Urban & Monferrer-Sala 80-101; Monferrer-Sala (2) 107-17; Monferrer-Sala (3) 93-143
Syr. 42	Par. Syr. 42	4G	1226	Paper	17-19	339	335 x 240	255 x 120-160	2	k	Zotenberg 14-15; Guidi 30; Graf 152, 160
<i>Rome, Vatican Library</i>											
Borg. Ar. 48	Borg. Ar. 48	4G	18th	Paper	42-55	192	128 x 90	105 x 55	1	k	Tisserant 12; Graf 160

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Borg. Ar. 71	Borg. Ar. 71 (K. II. 6)	4G	11th	Parch- ment	15-16	160	200 x 156	130 x 113	1	j	Tisserant 13; Guidi 11-12, 30; Orsatti 153; Peters (1936) 190-211; Peters (1939) 50-54; Graf 144, 148; Vööbus 289-90; Bailey (1982)
Borg. Ar. 95	Borg. Ar. 95 (K. II. 31)	4G	9th	Parch- ment	14	173	223 x 160	170-195 x 125-160	1	a	Tisserant 15; Guidi 6-7, 9-12, 30; Burkitt 136; Levi 138; Tisserant(2) pt.55; Levin 1-67; Padwick 134; Peters (1939) 49-51, 61; Peters (1940) 124-37; Graf 142-3; Vööbus 282-4, 289-293; Garland 1-8; Blau (267) 29-30; Metzger 261-2, 267; Griffith 154-5, 163; Bailey 153,, Valentin 418-27
Borg. Ar. 203	Borg. Ar. 203	4G	19th	Paper	26-27	217	341 x 245	250 x 170	1	k	Tisserant 20
Borg. Ar. 226	Borg. Ar. 226	In	1718	Paper	15	46	267 x 197	170 x 115	1	k	Tisserant 21; Graf 160
Borg. Ar. 243	Borg. Ar. 243	4G	13 <sup>a</sup>	Paper	15	234	244 x 166	185x 120	1	k	Tisserant 22; Graf 160

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Sbath 27	Sbath 27	4G	17th	Paper	19	160	220 x 160	150 x 87	1	k	Sbath 22-3; Graf 161
Sbath 64	Sbath 64	4G	17th	Paper	20	152	220 x 160	160 x 95	1	k	Sbath 46; Graf 161
Sbath 121	Sbath 121	4G	16th	Paper	24	120	290 x 190	203 x 116	1	k	Sbath 66-7; Graf 162
Sbath 651	Sbath 651	4G	1700	Paper	16	358	330 x 225	250 x 140	1	k	Sbath 33; Graf 161
Sbath 776	Sbath 776	4G	19th	Paper	15	210	400 x 150	260 x 115	1	1	Sbath 62; Graf 163; Samir 487
Vat. Ar. 10	Vat. Ar. 10	Mt	1717	Paper	15	52	255 x 178	176 x 106	1	k	Maio 8-9; Guidi 30; Gregory 590; Graf 160
Vat. Ar. 11	Vat. Ar. 11	4G	1710	Paper	15	167	260 x 187	200 x 130	1	k	Maio 9-10; Guidi 32; Gregory 590; Graf 160
Vat. Ar. 12	Vat. Ar. 12	4G	1711	Paper	15	164	273 x 190	203 x 126	1	k	Maio 10-11; Guidi 30; Gregory 590; Graf 160

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Vat. Ar. 13	Vat. Ar. 13 (Lacunae)	Mt, Mk, Lk	8th <sup>a</sup>	Parch- ment/ paper	13-21	178	277 x 175	200-230 x 125-170	1	h	Maio 11-13; Guidi 6-9, 13-14, 30; Burkitt 136; Padwick 134; Peters (1939) 55-59; Peters (1940) 130-1; Graf 147, 150; Vööbus 281-4; 288, 290; Blau (267) 33; Levi 138 Metzger 261; Griffith 132; Bailey (1982) 153; Monferrer-Sala (1) 363-87
Vat. Ar. 15	Vat. Ar. 15	4G	1334/8	Paper	19	135	278 x 201	247 x 142	1	k	Maio 14-34; Guidi 31; Gregory 590; Graf 160
Vat. Ar. 17	Vat. Ar. 17	4G	1009	Paper	10-11	299	216 x 157	157 x 132	1	f	Maio 60; Cheikho (1896) 196-7; Guidi 25-26, 32; Cheikho (1901) 99-100; Gregory 590; Graf 164; Peters (1939) 54-55; Peters (1940) 124-37
Vat. Ar. 18	Vat. Ar. 18	Lk	993	Paper	9-10	93	200 x 175	145 x 145	1	f	Maio 61; Guidi 25, 32; Cheikho (1901) 99-100; Gregory 590; Graf 164; Peters (1939) 54-55; Peters (1940) 124-37



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Vat. Ar. 26	Vat. Ar. 26	Mk	1715	Paper	6	155	207 x 155	193 x 115	1	k	Maio 76; Gregory 590; Graf 160
Vat. Ar. 405	Vat. Ar. 405	Jn	16th	Paper	10	84	210 x 153	150 x 104	1	k	Maio 501-2; Graf 160
Vat. Ar. 467	Vat. Ar. 467	4G	17th	Paper	24	114	315 x 212	238 x 150	2	j	Maio 523; Guidi 11-12, 30; Gregory 591; Vaccari 81-86; Euringer 259-73; Peters (1936) 190-211; Peters (1939) 50-54; Graf 148-9
Vat. Ar. 483	Vat. Ar. 483	Jn	16th	Paper	10	88	208 x 153	152 x 103	1	k	Maio 529-30; Gregory 591; Graf 160
Vat. Ar. 501	Vat. Ar. 501	Jn	16th	Paper	10	86	210 x 153	152 x 100	1	k	Maio 534; Gregory 591; Graf 160
Vat. Ar. 557	Vat. Ar. 557	Jn	16th	Paper	10	88	210 x 153	150 x 120	1	k	Maio 548; Gregory 591; Graf 160
Vat. Ar. 559	Vat. Ar. 559	4G	17th	Paper	16	95	213 x 158	168 x 117	1	k	Maio 548; Gregory 591; Graf 160
Vat. Ar. 589	Vat. Ar. 589	Mt, Mk, Jn	17th	Paper	10	241	102 x 72	72 x 53	1	k	Maio 555; Gregory 591; Graf 160
Vat. Ar. 603	Vat. Ar. 603	4G	14th	Paper	11	189	152 x 115	75 x 108	1	k	Maio 558; Graf 160

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Vat. Ar. 609	Vat. Ar. 609	4G	17th	Paper	49-52	44	171 x 115	144 x 76-80	2	k	Maio 559; Graf 160
Vat. Ar. 610	Vat. Ar. 610	4G	1291	Paper	13	257	264 x 182	193 x 110	1	1	Maio 559; Guidi 21, 24, 31; Gregory 591; Graf 163; Samir 486
Vat. Ar. 611	Vat. Ar. 611	4G	1714	Paper	19	133	305 x 206	214 x 116	1	k	Maio 560; Gregory 591; Graf 160
Vat. Copt. 8	Vat. Copt. 8	4G	13th	Paper	23-24	351	328 x 241	260 x 175	2	k	Hebbelynck 19-23; Guidi 31; Graf 156, 160
Vat. Copt. 9	Vat. Copt. 9	4G	1204/5	Paper	22-24	504	345 x 253	239 x 173	2	k	Hebbelynck 23-34; Guidi 17-18, 23, 31; Burkitt 136-7; Padwick 138-40; Graf 155; Vööbus 289; Bailey (1982) 152
Vat. Copt. 10	Vat. Copt. 10	4G	13 <sup>a</sup>	Paper	20-21	504	252 x 170	190 x 115	2	1	Hebbelynck 34-6; Guidi 21, 31; Graf 163; Samir 486-7
Vat. Copt. 11	Vat. Copt. 11	Jn	1346	Paper	23	110	269 x 186	195 x 120	2	k	Hebbelynck 36-7; Guidi 31; Graf 160

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Vat. Syr. 269	Vat. Syr. 269	4G	pre-1367	Paper	22-25	308	303 x 212	233 x 165	2	e	Maio 5; Graf 151
<i>Sinai, St. Catherine Monastery</i>											
Ar. 54	Sin. Ar. 54	Mt 21:25- Jn 14:11	10th <sup>a</sup>	Parch- ment	21	94	208 x 163	182 x 130	1	a	Atiya 4; Awad 62; Valentin 418-27
Ar. 68	Sin. Ar. 68	4G	14th	Paper	11	406	148 x 98	116 x 63	1	k	Atiya 4
Ar. 69	Sin. Ar. 69	4G	1065	Parch- ment	15-18	159	185 x 140	140 x 110	1	j	Atiya 4; Graf 148; Lewis 13; Awad 62; Valentin 446-58
Ar. 70	Sin. Ar. 70	4G	9th <sup>a</sup>	Parch- ment	21-23	113	230 x 170	185 x 130	1	d	Atiya 4; Graf 170; Blau (267) 32; Metzger 263; Awad 62; Valentin 442-46
Ar. 71	Sin. Ar. 71	Mt 23:3-Lk 8:1	10th <sup>a</sup>	Parch- ment	16-17	49	220 x 160	155 x 120	1	a	Atiya 4; Graf 170; Awad 61; Valentin 434-42

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Ar. 72	Sin. Ar. 72	4G	897	Parch- ment	26	119	195 x 135	165 x 105	1	a	Atiya 4; Padwick 135-6; Graf 146, 170; Blau (267) 30; Blau (1962) 105-7; Metzger Garland 1-8; Metzger 263; Griffith 132-5, 143, 155-6, 163; Arbache; Awad 62; Valentin 418-27; Monferrer-Sala (1) 363-87
Ar. 74	Sin. Ar. 74	4G	9th	Parch- ment	15-17	254	160 x 110	135 x 90	1	a	Atiya 4; Graf 142, 143, 170; Metzger 263; Blau 30; Blau (1962) 105-7; Garland 1-8; Griffith 143, 155-6, 163; Awad 62; Valentin 418-27
Ar. 75	Sin. Ar. 75	4G	9th <sup>a</sup>	Parch- ment	26-29	223	225 x 170	190 x 140	1	c	Atiya 4; Burkitt 136; Padwick 134-5; Graf 144, 146; Blau (267) 30; Blau (1962) 105-7; Griffith 155-6; Awad 62, , Valentin 426-34
Ar. 76	Sin. Ar. 76	4G	13th <sup>a</sup>	Paper	13	315	274 x 203	210 x 135	1	j	Atiya 4; Graf 170; Valentin 458-64
Ar. 77	Sin. Ar. 77	4G	13th <sup>a</sup>	Paper	13	258	210 x 140	145 x 90	1	j	Atiya (2) 154; Graf 170

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Ar. 78	Sin. Ar. 78	4G	13th <sup>a</sup>	Paper	14	319	220 x 140	155 x 95	1	j	Atiya (2) 155-6; Graf 170
Ar. 79	Sin. Ar. 79	4G	1319	Paper	15	327	220 x 135	165 x 95	1	j	Atiya (2) 157-8; Graf 170
Ar. 80	Sin. Ar. 80	4G	1479	Paper	20	194	290 x 205	250 x 150	1	j	Atiya (2) 159-61; Graf 170 Valentin 446-58
Ar. 81	Sin. Ar. 81	4G	1323	Paper	19	183	275 x 180	195 x 110	1	j	Atiya (2) 162-3; Graf 170
Ar. 82	Sin. Ar. 82	4G	1287	Paper	17	245	218 x 140	170 x 100	1	j	Atiya 4; Graf 151 ; Lewis 23-4; Vööbus 281; Valentin 446-58
Ar. 83	Sin. Ar. 83	4G	13th <sup>a</sup>	Paper	13	302	220 x 145	160 x 95	1	j	Atiya (2) 166-7; Graf 170
Ar. 84	Sin. Ar. 84	4G	1262	Paper	17	243	210 x 135	170 x 110	1	j	Atiya 4; Graf 170; Valentin 446-58
Ar. 86	Sin. Ar. 86	4G	14th <sup>a</sup>	Paper	20	192	215 x 140	170 x 100	1	j	Atiya (2) 173; Graf 170
Ar. 87	Sin. Ar. 87	4G	1478	Paper	18	181	210 x 150	160 x 100	1	j	Atiya (2) 174-5; Graf 170

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Ar. 88	Sin. Ar. 88	4G	1290	Paper	15	306	205x 145	150 x 96	1	j	Atiya (2) 176-7; Graf 170
Ar. 89	Sin. Ar. 89	4G	1285	Paper	18	194	287 x 215	200 x 150	1	j	Atiya (2) 178-80; Graf 170; Lewis 43-4; Valentin 446-58
Ar. 90	Sin. Ar. 90	4G	1281	Paper	14	316	240 x 145	175 x 95	1	j	Atiya 4; Valentin 446-58
Ar. 91	Sin. Ar. 91	4G start Mt 4:23	1289	Paper	16	262	220 x 140	155 x 95	1	j	Atiya 4-5; Graf 148; Lewis 49; Valentin 446-58
Ar. 92	Sin. Ar. 92	Mt 9:32- Jn 17:14	15th <sup>a</sup>	Paper	16	119	180 x 130	125 x 80	1	j	Atiya 5; Graf 170; Valentin 446-58
Ar. 93	Sin. Ar. 93	4G	13th <sup>a</sup>	Paper	15	235	285 x 205	195 x 135	1	j	Atiya (2) 187; Graf 170
Ar. 94	Sin. Ar. 94	4G	1262	Paper	15-17	287	190 x 120	150 x 85	1	j	Atiya 5; Graf 170; Valentin 446-58

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Ar. 95	Sin. Ar. 95	4G	1277	Paper	14	341	182 x 135	150 x 100	1	j	Atiya 5; Graf 170; Lewis 37; Valentin 446-58
Ar. 97	Sin. Ar. 97	4G	1125	Paper	11	395	145 x 100	115 x 85	1	a	Atiya 5; Graf 148; Valentin 418-27
Ar. 98	Sin. Ar. 98	4G	13th <sup>a</sup>	Paper	17	201	195 x 130	150 x 110	1	a	Atiya (2) 197-8; Graf 170
Ar. 99	Sin. Ar. 99	4G	1286	Paper	18	212	305 x 215	210 x 155	1	j	Atiya (2) 199; Graf 148
Ar. 100	Sin. Ar. 100	4G	13th <sup>a</sup>	Paper	15-17	194	260 x 170	195 x 115	1	j	Atiya (2) 200; Graf 170
Ar. 101	Sin. Ar. 101	4G	12th	Paper	10	411	135 x 85	95 x 75	1	k	Atiya 5; Valentin 470-75
Ar. 102	Sin. Ar. 102	4G	13th <sup>a</sup>	Paper	15	217	200 x 135	150 x 105	1	t	Atiya (2) 203-4; Graf 170

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Ar. 103	Sin. Ar. 103	4G	1257	Paper	12-15	312	145 x 105	110 x 80	1	j	Atiya 5; Valentin 446-58
Ar. 104	Sin. Ar. 104	4G	1281	Paper	15	295	215 x 145	160 x 90	1	j	Atiya 5; Lewis 41; Graf 148; Valentin 446-58
Ar. 105	Sin. Ar. 105	4G	1312	Paper	16	289	205 x 135	150 x 95	1	j	Atiya (2) 208-9; Graf 170
Ar. 106	Sin. Ar. 106	4G	1056	Paper	17-18	194	185 x 125	140 x 90	1	j	Atiya 5; Graf 148; Lewis 11-2; Awad 62; , Valentin 446-58
Ar. 107	Sin. Ar. 107	4G	1393	Paper	11	313	185 x 105	145 x 105?	1	j	Atiya (2) 211-2
Ar. 108	Sin. Ar. 108	4G	13th <sup>a</sup>	Paper	14-16	247	210 x 135	145 x 95	1	j	Atiya (2) 213; Graf 170
Ar. 109	Sin. Ar. 109	4G	13th <sup>a</sup>	Paper	14	319	204 x 140	150 x 95	1	j	Atiya (2) 214-5; Graf 170



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Ar. 110	Sin. Ar. 110	4G	1286	Paper	17	235	220 x 135	155 x 95	1	j	Atiya 5; Graf 170
Ar. 111	Sin. Ar. 111	4G	13th <sup>a</sup>	Paper	13	326	180 x 135	140 x 90	1	j	Atiya (2) 218; Graf 170
Ar. 112	Sin. Ar. 112	4G	1259	Paper	15	169	230 x 155	180 x 110	1	k	Atiya 5; Graf 170; Valentin 464-70
Ar. 113	Sin. Ar. 113	4G	12th <sup>a</sup>	Paper	17	182	255 x 175	190 x 120	1	j	Atiya (2) 220-1; Graf 170
Ar. 114	Sin. Ar. 114	4G	1239	Paper	13	483	170 x 125	120 x 80	1	j	Atiya (2) 222-4; Graf 170; Valentin 446-58
Ar. 115	Sin. Ar. 115	4G	13th <sup>a</sup>	Paper	14	279	173 x 130	120 x 90	1	j	Atiya (2) 225-6
Ar. 146	Sin. Ar. 146	Mt 18:43- 28:14	13th <sup>a</sup>	Paper	8	57	210 x 140	130 x 105	1	j	Atiya (2) 277

<i>Shelf Mark</i>	<i>Catalogue Number</i>	<i>Contents</i>	<i>Date/ Century</i>	<i>Material</i>	<i>Lines per page</i>	<i>Number of folios</i>	<i>Size of folio</i>	<i>Written surface</i>	<i>N of column</i>	<i>Classification</i>	<i>Reference</i>
Ar. 147	Sin. Ar. 147	4G	13th <sup>a</sup>	Paper	15	275	205 x 140	150 x 100	1	k	Atiya (2) 278-9; Graf 170
Ar. 628	Sin. Ar. 628	4G	1336	Paper	20	142	240 x 170	215 x 135	1	k	Atiya 25; Lewis 57-8
Ar. N.F. Pap. 51	Sin. Ar. N.F. Pap. 51	Mk 12:2- 16:20	1025	Paper	9	48	179 x 141	140 x 105	1	j	Meimaris 55
Ar. N.F. Pap. 61	Sin. Ar. N.F. Pap. 61	Mk: 2-18- Jn 11:13	12th <sup>a</sup>	Paper	13-14	155	122 x 88	880 x 57	1	k	Meimaris 58
Ar. N.F. Pap. 62	Sin. Ar. N.F. Pap. 62	Mt 1:1-27:5	12/13th	Paper	7	143	183 x 143	123 x 100	1	j	Meimaris 59
Ar. N.F. Parch. 5	Sin. Ar. N.F. Parch. 5	Jn 4:38- 8:59	9th <sup>a</sup>	Parch- ment	21-23	8	201-206 x 132-139	160-6 x 100- 120	1	p	Meimaris 19
Ar. N.F. Parch. 6	Sin. Ar. N.F. Parch. 6	Mt 1:1- Jn 4:38	8/9th <sup>a</sup>	Parch- ment	20-21	109	199-204 x 136-138	165 x 105	1	c & (for Jn) p	Meimaris 20

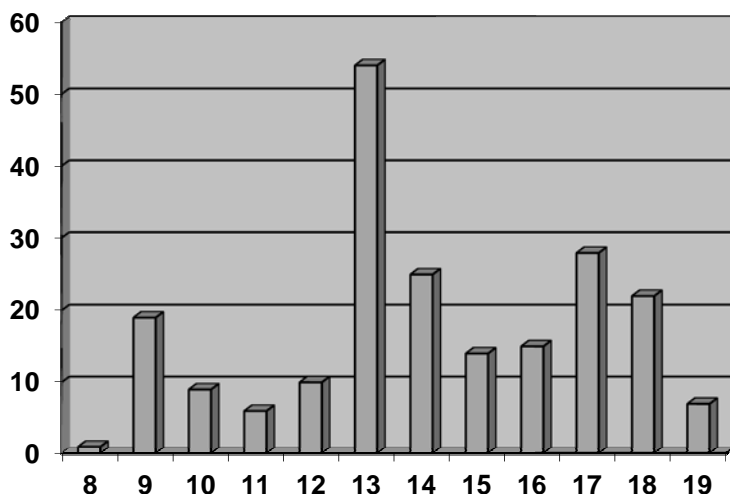
<i>Shelf Mark</i>	<i>Catalogue Number</i>	<i>Contents</i>	<i>Date/ Century</i>	<i>Material</i>	<i>Lines per page</i>	<i>Number of folios</i>	<i>Size of folio</i>	<i>Written surface</i>	<i>N of column</i>	<i>Classification</i>	<i>Reference</i>
Ar. N.F. Parch. 7	Sin. Ar. N.F. Parch. 7	4G	901	Parch-ment	26	130	196-198 x 130-138	160 x 105	1	a	Meimaris 20
Ar. N.F. Parch. 8	Sin. Ar. N.F. Parch. 8	Mt 1:1- Jn 17:25a	8th <sup>a</sup>	Parch-ment	24-29	127	170-190 x 124-138	155-175 x 120	1	b	Meimaris 20
Ar. N.F. Parch. 14	Sin. Ar. N.F. Parch. 14	Mk, Lk, Jn 1:1-20:16	859	Parch-ment	20-21	90	205-215 x 157-163	160 x 115	1	a	Meimaris 24
Ar. N.F. Parch. 15	Sin. Ar. N.F. Parch. 15	Jn	9/10th <sup>a</sup>	Parch-ment	18	40	206-208 x 150-155	180 x 105	1	c	Meimaris 24
Ar. N.F. Parch. 16	Sin. Ar. N.F. Parch. 16	Jn 20:16- end	859	Parch-ment	20-21	5	212 x 156	155 x 115	1	a	Meimaris 24; Samir (1986) 441
Ar. N.F. Parch. 24	Sin. Ar. N.F. Parch. 24	Mt 10:9- Mk 5:34	10th <sup>a</sup>	Parch-ment	18	40	203-207 x 149-152	160 x 113	1	b	Meimaris 26
Ar. N.F. Parch. 28	Sin. Ar. N.F. Parch. 28	Jn 17:25b- 8th <sup>a</sup>	8th <sup>a</sup>	Parch-ment	26-27	16	189-190 x 137-138	170 x 115- 120	1	b	Meimaris 27

<i>Shelf Mark</i>	<i>Catalogue Number</i>	<i>Contents</i>	<i>Date/Century</i>	<i>Material</i>	<i>Lines per page</i>	<i>Number of folios</i>	<i>Size of folio</i>	<i>Written surface</i>	<i>N of column</i>	<i>Classification</i>	<i>Reference</i>
Ar. N.F. Parch. 36	Sin. Ar. N.F. Parch. 36	Mt 1:1-Lk 7:34	10th <sup>a</sup>	Parch-ment	18	64	207-209 x 155-157	155 x 113	1	q	Meimaris 29
Ar. N.F. Parch. 44	Sin. Ar. N.F. Parch. 44	Jn 5:34-14:21	9/10th	Parch-ment	15	16	223-225 x 170-175	165 x 127		b	Meimaris 31
Ar. N.F. Parch. 63	Sin. Ar. N.F. Parch. 63	Jn 8:59-end	9th <sup>a</sup>	Parch-ment	19-21	10	203 x 137	160-6 x 100-120	1	p	Meimaris 35
Ar. N.F. Parch. 64	Sin. Ar. N.F. Parch. 64	Lk 23:2-Lk 24:53	10th <sup>a</sup>	Parch-ment	26	4	205 x 158	175 x 107	1	c	Meimaris 35
?	Sin. Harris 9 (Gregory 0137)	Mt. 13: 46-52	9th	Parch-ment	17-18	1	?	?	2	a	Harris 25-26; Lewis (2) 105-6
<i>Vienna, National Library</i>											
A. F. 97 (545)	Vienna Or. 1544	4G	14th	Paper	16	217	247 x 140	208 x 115	1	k	Flügel 7; Guidi 25, 31; Gregory 585; Graf 159
Mxt. 490	Vienna Or. 1545	Mt, Mk (Fragments)	13 <sup>a</sup>	Paper	13	47	197 x 146	138 x 77	1	k	Flügel 7-8; Guidi 31; Gregory 585; Graf 161
Mxt. 514	Vienna Or. 1546	Mt. 23:39-28:8	13th <sup>a</sup>	Paper	17	10	250 x 165	140 x 82	1	k	Flügel 8; Guidi 31; Gregory 585

### 3.13.2. General Observations about the Manuscripts and Their Description in ALAGM<sup>13</sup>

The earliest surviving dated manuscript of the Gospels in Arabic is Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 14 and 16 (859), followed by Sinai, Ar. 72 dated 897. Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 8 and 28 were originally one manuscript probably from the second half of the eighth century. This is the earliest surviving codex of the Arabic Gospels. Vatican, Ar. 13 seems to contain the earliest *text* of the Arabic Gospels.

The chart below shows the number of the surviving manuscripts and the date when were copied. The horizontal axis represents “the century” and the vertical represents “the number of the manuscripts” as mentioned in the table above.



It is clear from the chart above that in the ninth century many manuscripts were produced with a relatively high number surviving. This abundance of literature reflects the intense activity of this period.

Another serious endeavour in the copying of the manuscripts seems to have taken place in the thirteenth century and continued to the fourteenth century. The majority of the manuscripts of this period are not fresh translations but copies of earlier ones, some of which have

13 Other manuscripts, which are not part of the *ALAGM*, are not included in this analysis.

undergone light to moderate corrections. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries represent the third period of extensive effort in copying and transcribing AGM. From the seventeenth century onwards, the printed editions brought the copying labour to an end.

All the ninth century manuscripts referred to in the table above, with the exception of two, are now located in St. Catherine Monastery at Mount Sinai. Vatican, Ar. 13, some part of which could be from the eighth century, was probably produced in the monastery of Mar Sābā in Jerusalem. This manuscript is now housed in the Vatican Library. The codex Leipzig, University Library, Cod. Tischend. XXXI (Or. 1059A) is also another ninth century fragment; it was brought to Leipzig in the second half of the nineteenth century by Tischendorf.

In summary, the collection of St. Catherine is certainly the most important source from which to learn about the tradition and transmission of the AGM.

Most of the parchment manuscripts are *circa ninth* century, although some are from the tenth century, two are from the eleventh (BnF, Suppl. Grec. 911 and Vatican, Borg. Ar. 71), and one is from the twelfth (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, WE. 184).

(4) The grouping of the manuscripts will be looked at in Chapter Four,<sup>14</sup> however, the following table gives a broad picture of the families and their manuscripts. The first column contains the identifying family letters; the second column shows the number of manuscripts within a family; and the third is the percentage they represent within the total number (for instance, in the case of family *a*, thirteen manuscripts are included in the grouping, and they represent 6.19% of the 210 manuscripts mentioned and described in the *ALAGM*)<sup>15</sup>:

Families	Number of Mss	Percentage
<i>a</i>	13	6.19
<i>b</i>	4	1.90
<i>c</i>	4	1.90
<i>d</i>	1	0.48
<i>e</i>	1	0.48
<i>f</i>	3	1.43
<i>g</i>	1	0.48
<i>h</i>	1	0.48
<i>i</i>	1	0.48
<i>j</i>	52	24.76
<i>k</i>	99	47.10

14 For an explanation of the method of grouping manuscripts see §§ 4.1, 2.

15 The total number of Arabic Gospel manuscripts mentioned in this work exceeds 280 manuscripts. See §11.3 below.

<i>l</i>	14	6.66
<i>m</i>	1	0.48
<i>n</i>	1	0.48
<i>o</i>	2	0.95
<i>p</i>	3	1.43
<i>q-x</i>	9	4.28

Family *k*, known as the Alexandrian Vulgate, seems to have been circulated the most between the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. Only four manuscripts from family *k* survive from the twelfth century (as opposed to twelve from family *j*) and about thirty copies (as opposed to thirty-five from family *j*) from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Thus, it seems that family *j* has been more in circulation between the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries than family *k*. In addition, as mentioned earlier, there are now more than fifty manuscripts of family *k* in Cairo that are not included in the table above; most of these manuscripts were copied after the fifteenth century).<sup>16</sup> They are mentioned in Chapter Six (see §6.5 below). Families *d*, *e*, *g*, *h*, *i*, *m*, *n* and most of families *q-x* are represented by only one manuscript.

The majority of family *a*'s witnesses, as well as those of families *b* and *c*, are from the ninth and tenth centuries. The most recent manuscript of family *a* is from the thirteenth century, of family *b* from the ninth century and of family *c* from the tenth century. Families *d* and *e* are represented by one manuscript each from the ninth and fourteenth centuries respectively. Family *f* is witnessed by three manuscripts: one copied in 993, the second in 1009 and the third in the fifteenth century. Family *g* is an individual manuscript from the nineteenth century. Family *h* is another single manuscript from the eighth century. Family *i* is represented by one manuscript from the twelfth/thirteenth centuries. Family *j* seems to have been circulated from the tenth to the thirteenth century. The majority of family *j*'s witnesses come from the twelfth/thirteenth centuries; the earliest witness is from about 1000 A.D. and the latest witness is from the seventeenth century. The majority of al-'Assāl's witnesses (family *l*) are from the thirteenth century; the latest is from the nineteenth century. Family *m* and *n* are two individual manuscripts copied in the fifteenth century and 1265 A.D. respectively. Family *o* is represented by two witnesses, one from the seventeenth and the other from the eighteenth century. Families *p*, *q*, *r*, *s*, *t*, *u*, *v*, *w*, *x* are also represented by individual and/or fragmentary manuscripts.

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16 For the reason behind their exclusion see §3.3 above.

### 3.14. Conclusion

In this chapter, after looking briefly at some of the difficulties in finding the Arabic Christian Literature, the ALAGM was introduced and its contents analyzed. The hope is that the ALAGM will inspire others to prepare inventories of AGM held by other libraries and monasteries. A full recovery of the surviving AGM will surely improve our understanding of their history and reception amongst the Arab Christians.

The grouping of the AGM into families will be the focus of the following chapters, but first a general introduction about the methodology of grouping and classifying the manuscripts will be presented.



## 4. The Grouping of Arabic Gospel Manuscripts of Greek *Vorlagen*

### 4.1. Preliminary Remarks on the Grouping and *Vorlagen* of the AGM

The main purposes of this chapter and the following ones is twofold: firstly to group the more than two hundred manuscripts into families, and secondly to study the *Vorlage(n)* of each family. The methodology of grouping the manuscripts will be discussed first, and then each family will follow. In general, the study of each manuscript includes: A table which shows the manuscripts included in a family, a brief description of the representative manuscript, a critical apparatus with a concise assessment of the result, and an analysis of the *Vorlage* of each family.

In order to accomplish the second task, each family will be studied separately. A representative of each family will be chosen. A manuscript must satisfy three qualifications to be considered a representative manuscript. Firstly, it must contain the four Gospels with as few lacunae as possible (otherwise I would not be able to compare it with other manuscripts); secondly, its *text* must be one of the oldest witnesses of the archetype, and thirdly, *though less important*, the manuscript itself must be one of the oldest in its family.<sup>1</sup>

The description of the representative manuscript is not intended to provide the reader with comprehensive data but rather with a brief and overall summary of the physical status of the manuscript, its text and script, and its history of transmission. The physical description of the manuscripts (size of folios, number of lines in each page etc.) will not be repeated here as it is given in the ALAGM. The reader is advised to consult this list or the bibliographical references referred to in the table. It is unnecessary to repeat the description given by previous literature of manuscripts under investigation.

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1 The third qualification is less important as a more recent manuscript could have an old text form.

An effort has been made to be faithful to the original text in the transcription of test passages and the critical apparatuses (found in appendix one). All grammatical and orthographical mistakes were left without corrections as they might tell us much about the relationship between the manuscripts. Numbers, liturgical signs, rubrics and non-biblical phrases added in the margins are not included in the text of the critical apparatuses. In general, the collated base represents the majority text. In cases where a word is illegible, the system of Gibson and Mingana has been followed by using square brackets with dots [...]. For Gibson and Mingana, this means that what is missing is one word, a few words, a whole paragraph or even a page. Samir has warned against this system, since it leaves the reader without guidance.<sup>2</sup> For this reason, as far as possible a dot is given for each missing letter and a short hyphen for each word missing. If there are three dots in the square brackets [...] the reader may assume that about three letters are missing in the text and if two hyphens [--] are shown that two words are missing.

As far as the *Vorlage* of each family is concerned, particular attention is given to the Greek and Syriac *Vorlagen*. The Latin and Coptic are only consulted when there are indications in the text that a particular Arabic text/version has been influenced by either of them. A case study for each of the families will be presented based mainly on the representative manuscripts, and a general conclusion about the *Vorlage* will be proposed.

Before presenting the methodology of grouping the manuscripts into families, it is worth defining the meaning of "family" as it is used here. A "family" is: (1) "an independent translation." The statement creates a serious problem; it is almost impossible to prove that a specific version was produced independently without consultation of other Arabic versions. It must be assumed that it is not unlikely that a translator would have consulted other Arabic translations whilst producing his own (on this see §9.2 below). For this reason this definition should be complemented with the following: A family is also (2) a systematic revision of a particular Arabic version. This includes (a) a full syntactical revision of the entire text, by making it very different from the Arabic original and (b) a systematic correction of the whole manuscript against a *Vorlage* different than the *Vorlage* used in the first place.

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2 S.K. Samir, "The Earliest Arab Apology for Christianity," in Samir Khalil Samir and Jorgen S. Nielsen, eds., *Christian Arabic Apologetics during the Abbasid Period (750-1258)*, Studies in the History of Religions, vol. 63 (Leiden: Brill, 1993), 58.

(3) A mixture of Arabic versions. However, manuscripts which show occasional alteration are not treated as a subgroup.

When we encounter a version which shows a clear dependency on another Arabic version, but has at the same time been only moderately edited or stylistically improved, (i.e. not *systematically*) it will be treated as a group within the family and will take a small superscript letter to differentiate it from the others (e.g.  $j^A$ ,  $j^B$  and  $j^C$ ).

A family might be represented by only one manuscript. The pre-supposition here is that other witnesses/manuscripts of this family have either been lost or are still unknown to us.

Finally, whenever the expression “family *a*, *b*, or *c* etc.” is mentioned, it refers to the grouping of manuscripts (e.g. family *a*, *b* etc.) in *this study*. For instance, if I say that a specific manuscript was misplaced by Graf and should be placed in family *b*, I mean in family *b* as found in this study.

## 4.2. Methodology of Grouping the Manuscripts

To be able to group these manuscripts into families, two passages from each of the Gospels were selected as test passages. The verbal agreement between test passages of different manuscripts will determine to which family/version/translation each manuscript belongs. Here is an example: In the three columns of the following table, we can see how, based on verbal agreement, Sinai, Ar. 101 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hunt. 17 are two witnesses of the same translation and Sinai, Ar. 70 contains a different version than Sinai, Ar. 101 and Hunt. 17. The test passage is Matthew 7:15-20.

Sinai, Ar. 70	Sinai, Ar. 101	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hunt. 17
احتفظوا من الانبياء الكذابين [...] تاتيكم بلباس الخرفان وهم من داخل ذباب ضاربة من اثمارهم تعرفونهم. هل يلقط من الشوك عنباً او من الحسك تيناً. كذلك كل شجرة طيبة اثمارا طيبة تخرج وكل شجرة سو اثمارا سو تخرج لا تستطيع شجرة طيبة تخرج اثمارا سو ولا شجرة سو تخرج اثمارا طيبة كل شجرة	احذروا من الانبياء الكذبة الذين ياتونكم بلباس الحملان وداخلهم ذباب خاطفه ومن ثمارهم فاعرفوهم هل يجمع من الشوك عنباً او من العوسج تيناً هكذا كل شجرة صالحة تخرج ثمرة جيدة والشجرة الردية تخرج ثمره شريره لا تقدر شجرة صالحة تخرج ثمرة شريره ولا شجرة ردية تخرج ثمرة جيدة وكل شجرة لا تثمر ثمرة جيدة	احذروا من الانبياء الكذبة الذين ياتونكم بلباس الحملان وداخلهم ذباب خاطفه ومن ثمارهم تعرفونهم هل يجمع من الشوك عنباً او من العوسج تيناً هكذا كل شجرة صالحة تخرج ثمرة جيدة والشجرة الردية تخرج ثمرة شريرة لا تقدر شجرة صالحة تخرج ثمرة شريرة ولا شجرة ردية تخرج ثمرة صالحة وكل شجرة لا تثمر

Sinai, Ar. 70	Sinai, Ar. 101	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hunt. 17
لا تخرج اثمرا طيبه تقطع وتلقا في النار اذن من اثمراهم تعرفونهم	تقطع وتلقا في النار فمن ثمرهم تعرفوهم	ثمرة جيدة تقطع وتلقي في النار فمن ثمارهم اذن تعرفونهم

The passages were not chosen totally at random. Passages from the beginning and the end of each Gospels were avoided because, generally speaking, the chance of a manuscript losing its first and last folios is higher than other parts of the codex. The texts which have been selected as test passages have different genres, and for some, significant textual variations. Matthew 7:15-20 is a teaching passage from the Sermon on the Mount; Matthew 16:1-4 has been chosen for its textual variations; Mark 6:14-20 is a simple narrative as opposed to a teaching passage from Matthew 7:15-20; Mark 13:5-11 is an apocalyptic test passage; Luke 8:9-15 is an interpretation of a parable; Luke 15:11-20 is the parable of the prodigal son; John 6:30-35 is a liturgical Eucharistic passage; and John 18:19-27 is a passage from the Passion Narrative, which also has some textual variations.

This method of selecting test passages has its limitations; a full collation of a specific manuscript is required to reach an accurate result concerning the relationship between manuscripts. Colwell puts it as follows: "If our newly-found manuscript is to be compared with previously known manuscripts, it should, ideally, be compared completely with all other manuscripts. How, otherwise, can complete accuracy be obtained?"<sup>3</sup> This is certainly true, and eight test passages will not allow us to discover, as Geer puts it, "block mixture within a Manuscript."<sup>4</sup> However, it is practically impossible in a single work to collate the entire text of more than two hundred manuscripts. Keeping the limitation of this methodology in mind, each manuscript was reviewed with the awareness that a block mixture of texts might be present among its folios, as is the case with the Greek manuscripts. If this is found in a particular manuscript, I shall refer to it briefly.

3 Ernest C. Colwell, *Studies in Methodology in Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1969), 26.

4 See Geer's critique against what is called "the Claremont Profile Method" in, Thomas C. Geer, "Analyzing and Categorizing New Testament Greek Manuscripts: Colwell Revisited," *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Quaestionis*, ed. Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 253-266.

### 4.3. Family A: Translated from Greek Showing Little or No Syriac Influence

#### 4.3.1. A Table of the Manuscripts of Family A

The bibliographical reference in the ALAGM shows that scholars in the past have given considerable attention to the study of the manuscripts within this family. Guidi transcribed Matthew 1:18-2:12 and 26:1-3 of codex Vatican, Borg. Ar. 95 and concluded that this manuscript was copied in the eighth century and translated from a Greek *Vorlage*.<sup>5</sup> Levin refers to two manuscripts within this family: Vatican, Borg. Ar. 95 and Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Or. Oct. 1108. Graf dated Vatican, Borg. Ar. 95 in the ninth century and added to this family, in addition to Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Or. Oct. 1108, Leipzig, University Library, Cod. Tischend. XXXI (Or. 1059A), Sinai, Ar. 74 and Sinai, Ar. 72.<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, Valentin added Sinai, Ar. 54 and 97.<sup>7</sup> The total known witnesses of this family is seven. Sinai, Ar. 72 was thought to be the earliest of the Arabic Gospels, dating from 897 A.D.

The test passages will demonstrate that twelve AGM (if we consider Gregory 0136 and 0137 as one manuscript, as well as Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 14 and 16 – otherwise fourteen) belong to the same family (without of course referring to lectionaries). The following table gives the manuscript shelf mark, the number assigned to each manuscript in this work, the passages which were collated<sup>8</sup> and the date of each manuscript.

Sigla	Ms Number	Passages collated	Date
<i>a</i> <sup>1</sup>	Sinai, Ar. 74	TP	9 <sup>th</sup>
<i>a</i> <sup>2</sup>	Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 14 & 16 <sup>9</sup>	TP excl. Mt 7:15-20 and 16:1-4	859

5 Guidi, *Traduzioni*, 11-12.

6 Graf, *Geschichte*, 142-146.

7 Valentin, "Les évangéliaristes arabes," 418-419. Moreover, Valentin adds Sinai, Ar. 116, a lectionary dated in 995 A.D.

8 The letters TP stand for the eight test passages selected for comparing the manuscripts. Mt, Mk, Lk, Jn stand for Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John respectively.

9 During my visit to St. Catherine monastery I discovered that the Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 16 (5 folios – with a colophon dated 859 A.D.) is the continuation of Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 14 (90 folios), and both originally belonged to one codex. Father Justin asked if I could leave a note for scholars who might be interested in this text in the future. This codex is the earliest dated Arabic manuscript of the Gospels and by join-

Sigla	Ms Number	Passages collated	Date
<i>a</i> <sup>3</sup>	Vatican, Borg. Ar. 95	TP excl. Mk 6:14-20; Jn 18:19-27	8 <sup>th</sup> /9 <sup>th</sup>
<i>a</i> <sup>4</sup>	Sinai, Ar. 72	TP	897
<i>a</i> <sup>5</sup>	Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 7	TP excl. Mk 13: 5-11; Lk 15:11-20; Jn 18:19-27	901
<i>a</i> <sup>6</sup>	Sinai, Ar. 71	Mk 6:14-20; Mk 13: 5-11	10 <sup>th</sup> <sup>a</sup>
<i>a</i> <sup>7</sup>	Sinai, Ar. 54	TP excl. Mt 7:15-20; Mt 16: 1-4; Jn 18:19-27	10 <sup>th</sup> <sup>a</sup>
<i>a</i> <sup>8</sup>	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Or. Oct. 1108	TP	1046/7
<i>a</i> <sup>9</sup>	Sinai, Ar. 97	TP	1125
<i>a</i> <sup>10</sup>	Sinai, Ar. 98	Mt 7:15-20; Mk 6:14-20; Lk 8:9-15; Jn 6: 30-35	13 <sup>th</sup> <sup>a</sup>
<i>a</i> <sup>11</sup>	Leipzig, University Library, Cod. Tischend. XXXI (Or. 1059A)	Mt 10: 19 – 11: 4; 14: 13-15: 2	9 <sup>th</sup>
<i>a</i> <sup>12</sup>	Gregory 0137 <sup>10</sup>	Mt. 13:46-48; 49-52a	9 <sup>th</sup>

#### 4.3.2. A Description of the Representative Manuscript

A philological and textual analysis of a few segments of Codex Sinai, Ar. 74 shows that the text of this manuscript preserves one of the earliest witnesses of this family.<sup>11</sup> Codices Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 14 & 16 and Vatican, Borg. Ar. 95 also have old features but unfortunately incomplete codices.<sup>12</sup> This complete manuscript, copied in the ninth century, was selected as the representative manuscript.

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ing back these two manuscripts to one another, we will then have the dated text of Mk, Lk and Jn, and not only a few verses of John's Gospel.

10 Gregory 0136 is another fragment from the same manuscript now in St. Petersburg. It was discarded here because the Arabic Gospel manuscripts of the National Library in St. Petersburg were not included in this research (on the inclusion and exclusion of manuscripts see §3.3 above).

11 See the arguments in §§4.3.4.1, 2.

12 Baumstark argued that the text of Vatican, Borg. Ar. 95 goes back to the fifth century. His argument is based solely on the liturgical signs, a study which is beyond the

It is beyond the scope of this study to give a detailed description of each manuscript in this family. For this reason only the representative manuscript will be described.

This parchment codex contains the four Gospels on 254 folios. The text is written in a large and thick ink in old Kufic and divided according to the Greek liturgical calendar. Generally speaking, the manuscript is legible, but the quality deteriorates by the end of John's Gospel. On various occasions, at the end of a line, the scribe cuts the word into two parts and places the second part of the word on the following line, which is not permissible in modern Arabic.<sup>13</sup> On other occasions, superposition is found at the end of some lines where a few letters were added above the word for justification.<sup>14</sup> The titles, headings, liturgical marks and decorations within the text are made in a red ink. The manuscript, which does not contain a colophon, seems to be the work of one scribe. Some corrections and additions were made later in a different hand, for various purposes, for example clarification of an ambiguous phrase;<sup>15</sup> correcting a scribal mistake<sup>16</sup> and (c) adding liturgical marks.<sup>17</sup>

I agree with Atiya who suggests that the manuscript was copied in the ninth century. The manuscript is certainly a copy of an earlier Arabic codex,<sup>18</sup> and it is likely that its text goes back to the eighth century.

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scope of this work. It is worth noting here that there are no indications in the body of the text which show that this version goes back to such an era.

13 See for example the word خرفان in Mat. 7:15 (fol. 14r); the word كواحد in Mk. 6:15 (fol. 80r); the word تضربوا in Mark 13: 9 (fol. 98v); the word متعادين in Luke 23:12 (fol. 183r) and the expression لا تدخلنا of the Lord Prayer (fol. 145).

14 See for instance, the word هروديه in Mk. 6:17 (fol. 80r).

15 One example could be Lk 1:18 on folio 110r. the text reads:

وقال زخريا للملاك باي شي اعلم هذا وانا شيخ كبير وممرتي عاقر قد دخلت في ايامها

The two adjectives كبير (old) and عاقر (bareness) were added later in a different hand for clarification. See also on fol. 245r. the addition of وهو يحنا (and he is John) in John 18:16, and the addition of هذا in Mark 13:10 الانجيل يكرز هذا الانجيل. Why was there a need to make an emphasis on this Gospel? Was there another "message" which was claimed to be "Injil" in this period that the scribe found it crucial to make this emphasis? Or was he trying to identify Jesus' words with the present (this) Injil?

16 See on folio 11v the addition of حيث يكون in the margin.

17 Most of these signs are added in the margin. See for example on fol. 252r where there is a conventional sign with a shape of a cross, (just before the beginning of John 20:11) and in the margin, there is a gloss which says هذا راس الاعد الثامن من يحنا (this is the beginning of the eighth Sunday from John). See also folios 253r and v etc.

18 There is plenty of evidence in the text which suggest this. From the eight test passages collated see: Mt 7:17 والشجرة الشجرة الشريه (twice the occurrence of الشجرة). A missing phrase in Matthew 16:2-3 based on an overlap because of two similar words (محماره); Lk 8: 12 الذين هم الطريق على الطريق والذي والذي... (twice the occurrence of الذي). Lk 8: 15 فلما

Before giving some general remarks about the various witnesses of family *a* (see §4.3.5 below), I shall first give a few remarks on the critical apparatuses found in appendix one, and second examine two ninth century fragments which contain the text of family *a*.

#### 4.3.3. A Critical Apparatus of the Eight Test Passages

The eight test passages and their apparatuses are found in appendix one. There are two manuscripts which should be added to family *a*, but are not referred to in the critical apparatus. Their absence is due to their fragmentary nature; they do not contain passages from the eight test passages selected (see §4.2 above). Particular attention will be given to these two fragments since both are from the ninth century.

##### 4.3.4. The Collation of Leipzig, University Library, Cod. Tischend. XXXI (Or. 1059A) and Sinai, Harris 9

Manuscripts Leipzig, University Library, Cod. Tischend. XXXI (Or. 1059A) and Sinai, Harris 9 (otherwise known as Gregory-Aland 0137) are fragmentary leaves and do not contain any of the eight test passages collated above. For this reason they are treated separately.

##### 4.3.4.1. Collation of Leipzig, University Library, Cod. Tischend. XXXI (Or. 1059A) against Sinai, Ar. 74 and Vatican, Borg. Ar. 95.

The Leipzig fragment contains Mt 10:19-11:4 and 14:13-15:2 in two folios. Mt. 14:31-35a reads:<sup>19</sup>:

- 31 ومكانه يسوع مد يده فاخذه وقال له يا قليل الايمانه في ماذا شككت،  
 32 فلما صعد الى السفينه هدت الريح،  
 33 وان الذين كانوا في السفينه اتوا فسجدوا له وقالوا حقا انت ابن الله  
 34 سبت حدا عشر فلما عبروا جوا الى ارض جنسارط  
 35 فعرفوهم رجال

Sinai, Ar. 74 reads: Folio 23r.

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(له) the omission of (في) (omission of) Lk 15:11 (وانه قال انسان كان ابني) (the omission of) Jn 18: 23 (وان وان يسوع قال له ان كنت بيسر... (the double occurrence of (وان) (وان) And also see the omission of Jn 21: 17 based on an overlap from the first ثلثه to the second.

19 The Text is from Henricus Orthobius Fleischer, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum orientalium Bibliothecae Regiae Dresdensis: Scripsit et indicibus instruxit* (Lipsiae: Typis et Impensis Fr. Chr. Guil. Vogel., 1831), 584.



- 31 ومكانه مد يسوع يده فاخذه وقال له يا قليل الامانه فيماذا شككت  
 32 فلما صعد الى السفينه هدت الريح  
 33 وان الذين كانوا في السفينه اتوا فسجدوا له وقالوا حقا انت بن الله  
 34 فلما عبروا جوا الى ارض جنسارط  
 35 فعرفوه رجال....

Five variations occur in these verses:

1. Leipzig reads مد يسوع and Sinai مد يسوع. Leipzig reflects more accurately the Greek *Vorlage* even by rendering the word-order of the original, which in Arabic is cumbersome. The scribe of the Sinai Manuscript transposes مد يسوع to present better Arabic. Certainly Leipzig preserves an older text here;
2. Leipzig codex adds the liturgical mark;
3. Sinai reads فيماذا and the Leipzig codex في ماذا. Here, however, the Sinai seems to have preserved an older text than Leipzig;
4. Leipzig reads ابن and Sinai, still more archaic, reads بن;
5. Leipzig reads فعرفوهم (they recognized them) and Sinai reads فعرفوه (they recognized him). The expression فعرفوهم is the difficult reading and lacks textual support.

The few verses above show that both the Leipzig and Sinai codices have been edited and that neither of them reflect the original text of the archetype. When these two passages are collated against the text of Vatican, Borg. Ar. 95, this claim becomes more certain.

Vatican, Borg. Ar. 95 reads on folio 26v.

- 31 ومكانه يسوع مد يده واخذه وقال له يا قليل الامانه فيماذا شككت  
 32 فلما صعد الى السفينه هدت الريح  
 33 وان الذين كانوا في السفينه اتوا فسجدوا له وقالوا حقا انك بن الله  
 34 فلما عبروا جوا الى ارض جنسارط  
 35 فعرفوهم رجال...

Codex Vatican, Borg. Ar. 95, (which according to Guidi is from the eighth century and according to Graf from the ninth century) contains the earliest witness and is the closest to the archetype. We read: يسوع مد (as in Leipzig); فيماذا (as in Sinai); بن (as in Sinai); فعرفوهم (as in Leipzig). However, at the end of verse 33 the scribe seems to have exchanged انت for انك, either deliberately to smooth the flow of the sentence, or accidentally because of the close resemblance between انت and انك.

#### 4.3.4.2. Collation of Sinai, Harris 9 against Sinai, Ar. 74 and Vatican, Borg. Ar. 95

Codex Sinai, Harris 9 (identified today as Gregory 0137) is a bilingual, Greek-Arabic, fragmentary parchment leaf of the ninth century which preserves the text of Mt 13:46-52. Another three folios of the same manuscript are today in the national Library in St. Petersburg (shelf mark Gr. 281 and identified as Gregory 0136).<sup>20</sup>

The text of Harris 9 reads:<sup>21</sup>

Verso (col. 2) Mt. 13:49-52	Recto (col. 2) Mt. 13:46-48
هكذا	كثير الثمن
يكون في انقضاء	[ذ]هب فباع
هذا العالم	شي له.....
تخرج الملا	اشتراها.....
يكة فيفرزون	[ا]يضا يشبه..
الاشرار من بين	السموات.....
الصدّيقين	كة.....
ويلقوهم	كل <sup>22</sup> .....
في قامين	في البحر.....
نار	ناس جمعت..
هناك يكون	امتلات.....
البكا وصرير	صعدوا.....
الاسنان	على الشط..
وقال لهم يسوع	جلسوا.....
فهمتم هذا كله	فاختاروا.....
فقالوا	في انيه.....
له نعم يا [رب]	والاشرار برا طرحوا
وهو قال لهم	

The text of Sinai, Ar. 74 reads as follows: (the words in bold are the ones which Lewis was not able to read in the Harris Codex):

- 46 [وانه وجد لولوه] كثيره الثمن فذهب وباع كل شي له واشتراها ◇  
 47 ايضا يشبه ملك السموات شبكه القيت في البحر فجمعت من كل الاجناس  
 48 فلما امتلات اصعدوها على الشط وجلسوا فاختاروا الخيار في الانيه، والاشرار طرحوا برا

<sup>20</sup> See Aland, *Kurzgefasste Liste*, 32.

<sup>21</sup> The text is from the appendix of Agnes Smith Lewis, *Catalogue of the Syriac MSS*, *Studia Sinaitica*, vol. 1 (London: C. J. Clay and Sons, 1894), 105.

<sup>22</sup> It is most probably ال (of القيت) instead of كل.

49 هكذا يكون في انقضا العالم تخرج الملايكة، فيفرزون الاشرار من بين الصديقين  
 50 فيلقوهم في قامين نار هناك يكون البكا وصرير الاسنان  
 51 فقال لهم يسوع فهمتم هذا كله فقالوا له نعم يا رب  
 52 وان يسوع قال لهم...

Four variations occur between the Harris 9 and Sinai, Ar. 74 codices:

1. Sinai, Ar. 74 reads on verse 47 فجمعت من كل الاجناس and Harris 9 most probably جمعت [من كل الاجناس]. The transposition of جمعت in Codex Harris 9 follows the Greek accurately; καὶ ἐκ παντὸς γένους συναγαγούση
2. The expression الانيه in verse 48 lacks a definite article in codex Harris 9, which is also the case in the Greek ἄγγη
3. Sinai, Ar. 74 reads طرحوا برا and Harris 9 transposes and reads برا طرحوا as in the Greek ἔξω ῥαλον
4. Harris 9 adds هذا in verse 49. The Greek column in Harris 9 reads τοῦ αἰῶνος· τοῦτου<sup>23</sup> as opposed to the majority Greek witnesses which omit τοῦτου
5. In verse 52, Sinai, Ar. 74 reads وان يسوع قال لهم and Harris 9 وهو قال لهم. The Greek parallel in Harris 9 reads ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς. Sinai, Ar. 74 follows the Greek manuscripts C N S 1241 *pc* which adds ὁ Ἰησοῦς.

Sinai, Ar. 74 and Harris 9 are two manuscripts which contain the same Arabic version. The variation units show that the Greek text-type behind the Arabic texts varies. This is obvious from the addition of هذا (τοῦτου) and from the reading وهو قال لهم (ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς). Another remark is that the text of Harris 9 seems to be more faithful to the Greek especially with respect to the order of words. It is worth comparing these two texts with Vatican, Borg. Ar. 95 especially since Vatican, Borg. Ar. 95 sometimes preserves an older text than Sinai, Ar. 74.

Vatican, Borg Ar. 95 reads on folio 24v as follows:

[وانه وجد لولوه] كثيره الثمن فذهب وباع كل شي له واشتراها ◊ ايضا يشبه ملك السموات شبكه القيت في البحر فجمعت من كل الاجناس فلما امتلئت اصعدوها على الشط وجلسوا واختاروا الاخيار في الاينه، والاشرار طرحوا برا هذا كذبي يكون في انقضا العالم تخرج الملايكة فيفرزون الاشرار من بين الصديقين فيلقوهم في قامين النار هناك يكون البكا وصرير لاسنان فقال لهم يسوع فهمتم هذا كله فقالوا له نعم يا رب وان يسوع قال لهم...

What we can see is that Vatican, Borg Ar. 95 agrees constantly with Sinai, Ar. 74 against Harris, 9. This could show that either the archetype of Vatican, Borg. Ar. 95 and Sinai, Ar. 74 have been corrected at a very

23 The Greek text is from: J. Rendel Harris, *Biblical Fragments from Mount Sinai* (London: C. J. Clay and Sons, 1890), 25-26.

early stage against a Greek *Vorlage* (in which the expression τούτου is omitted, and it reads λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς), or still more likely, that the Arabic text in the second column of Harris, 9 has been amended to follow the Greek of the first column. If the first claim is true then it is possible to argue that the archetype of family *a* is certainly pre-ninth century since Harris' codex dates from the early ninth century. If the second is true then one can easily argue that the scribe of Harris 9 has not made a fresh translation but used a pre-ninth century Arabic Codex which was in circulation at the time, and corrected it against his Greek manuscript. In either case we are dealing with an Arabic version that goes back to the eighth century if not earlier. This claim is reinforced by the fact that in the ninth century there was a need to revise and improve the Arabic style of these manuscripts. Sinai, Ar. 72, which was copied in 897, and is a copy of earlier manuscripts of the same text, is a clear example of this.

#### 4.3.5. General Remarks about the Various Witnesses of Family A

The test passages and the apparatus of family *a* show that:

1. The text of Sinai, Ar. 71 is the farthest from the original *Vorlage*. Most of the variations are stylistic for the purpose of improving and smoothing the Arabic original. The scribe does not seem to correct his manuscript against any Greek, Latin or Syriac *Vorlagen*.
2. Codex Sinai, Ar. 72 is another, still earlier, attempt to revise and improve the Arabic style of Family *a*, but on a smaller scale.
3. Codex Harris 9 is a bilingual manuscript and the Arabic text seems to have been corrected against the Greek text parallel to it.
4. Sinai, Ar. 74, Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 14 and 16, Vatican, Borg Ar. 95 and Leipzig, University Library, Cod. Tischend. XXXI (Or. 1059A) seem to have undergone fewer corrections than the others, and are probably closer to the archetype.
5. All this evidence suggests that the archetype of this family goes back to the seventh or eighth century at the latest. The above evidence shows that by the ninth century:
  - a. Family *a* was already widely in circulation and extensively copied;
  - b. The Arabic style needed revision and correction;
  - c. The Arabic text reflects at least two different Greek text-types.

4.3.6. The *Vorlage* of Family A4.3.6.1. A Greek *Vorlage*

Scholars who have worked on one or more witnesses of family *a* agree that the *Vorlage* of this family is a *Greek* version. Levin was the first to argue that this version has the characteristics of the Caesarean text-type including features in common with the Syro-Palestinian Lectionary as well as Tatian's Diatessaron; Arbache and Garland both agree with Levin's conclusion. All three scholars worked extensively on the Gospel of Mark.

In this section another attempt will be made to study the *Vorlage* of this manuscript based on the unit-variations in *Text und Textwert*, and the Gospel of Luke will be taken as a case study (see appendix two, §13.1.1). The result is as follows:

1. Seven out of fifty-four have variations which cannot be clearly determined through the Arabic translation, mainly because the Greek variants are synonymous (1, 9, 15, 16, 25, 33, 39). (7/54);
2. Twenty-seven are only Byzantine readings (3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 12, 14, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 24, 26-31, 36, 41, 46, 48-50, 52, 53). 57.45% (27/47);
3. Thirty-six are Byzantine readings and possibly other readings (3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 12, 14, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 24, 26-32, 36-38, 40, 41, 43, 44-46, 48-54) (36/47) 76.59%;
4. Ten variations are not Byzantine readings (2, 4, 10, 11, 13, 20, 23, 34, 42, 47): 21.28% (10/47). The table below presents these variations (abbreviated as "v.") with a particular emphasis on the uncial Greek manuscripts<sup>24</sup>:

v.2	v.4	v.10	v.11	v.13	v.20	v.23	v.34	v.42	v.47
						P45			
						P75	P75		
01C1		01	01			01	01	02	
						02*			
03			03			03	03	03	
								04	
			05				05	05	
			019		019	019	019	019	
								022	
032			032						

24 The abbreviations used throughout this study are either from NA<sup>27</sup> or IGNTP depending on the source to which the Arabic readings are compared.

v.2	v.4	v.10	v.11	v.13	v.20	v.23	v.34	v.42	v.47
					033		033		
038					038			038	
040			040						
							044		
						0211		0211	
	10 27C 64 67 71 76 85 86								51 66C 79

5. Seven out of ten unit-variations agree with the Greek Sinaiticus 01 (2, 10, 11, 23, 34, 35, 42) and five out ten with the Vaticanus 03 (2, 11, 23, 34, 35, 42) against the Byzantine.
6. Fifteen out of forty-seven differ from Manuscript 038 (this manuscript is, according to Streeter, a primary authority of what is called the "Caesarean" text-type).<sup>25</sup> The unit-variation numbers are: 4, 10, 14, 23, 26, 27, 30, 34, 36, 37, 45, 47, 49, 52. (31.91%).

#### 4.3.6.2. Possible Peshitta (or Pre-Peshitta) Influence

It is worth asking whether the Peshitta has had any influence on this version. A wider textual analysis of various families of the Arabic Gospels indicates that the Peshitta may have played an important role in the development of the Arabic Gospel texts especially at an early stage. There is no doubt that the language behind this version is Greek, but to what extent do the available witnesses reflect the archetype accurately? Has this version already been contaminated by the Syriac Peshitta in the ninth century?

One of the best ways to answer this question is to take Matthew as a case-study and try to find unit-variations in the Arabic version which are found in the Peshitta version only, and/or the Vetus Syra, but not the Greek. The result is tabulated in appendix two, §13.1.2.

The outcome of the case-study shows that traces of the Peshitta version are not totally absent, however their presence is minimal. What

<sup>25</sup> See Bruce M. Metzger, "The Caesarean Text of the Gospels," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 64, no. 4 (1945), 463.

seems obvious is that there has been no deliberate and systematic correction of the text against the Peshitta. To a certain extent the text has preserved its original purity.

#### 4.3.7. Conclusion

This Arabic version of the Gospels was probably in circulation among the Greek-Arabic (Melkite)<sup>26</sup> community in the eighth century at the latest. In the ninth century, this version was already widely in use and had been corrected against other Greek manuscripts. One clear example is Codex Harris 09.

Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 14 and 16, which were originally one codex, were copied in 859<sup>27</sup> and thus represent the earliest surviving dated Gospel manuscript. This codex with the other twelve codices of this family are all copied from earlier codices, unavailable to us today. The Arabic follows the Greek accurately, but a few manuscripts (e.g. Sinai, Ar. 71 and 72) have been stylistically amended to present a more smothered Arabic text. This syntactical editing seems to have begun in the ninth century. Traces of the Syriac Diatessaron, possibly the *Vetus Syra*, and the Peshitta are present but only minimally. The Greek text-type of this version is pre-Byzantine and the Arabic text differs less than 30% from the Byzantine witness.

### 4.4. Family B: Translated From Greek Showing Occasional Syriac Influence Especially in the Gospel of Matthew

#### 4.4.1. General Introduction

In many ways, family *b* deserves a full study on its own. The manuscripts of this family are from the newly-discovered Sinai collection of St.

26 The dating system used in the colophon shows that this version was circulated among the Melkite community. See the following footnote. On the various dating system used in Arabic manuscripts, see, François Déroche, *Manuel de codicologie des manuscrits en écriture Arabe* (France: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2000), 347.

27 The date in the colophon reads as follows (on folio 3r).

في سنة من سنين الدهر سنة ستة الاف وثلاثة مائه وثمانية وستين \* ومن سنين الروم سنة ثمان مائه وتسعة [وخمسين]...

Catherine's Monastery.<sup>28</sup> Textually, it is indisputably the most important Arabic Gospel text known to have survived. A full edition of this family will follow the submission of the present book. Before I give a description of the manuscript, reflect on its paleographical features, and discuss the dating and the *Vorlage* of its archetype, I shall present a table of the manuscripts of this family:

#### 4.4.2. Table of Manuscripts of Family B

Sigla	Ms Number	Passages collated	Date
<i>b</i> <sup>1</sup>	Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 8, 28	TP	8 <sup>th</sup> /9 <sup>th</sup>
<i>b</i> <sup>2</sup>	Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 24	Mt 14:8-16; Mt 16:1-4	10 <sup>th</sup> <sup>a</sup>
<i>b</i> <sup>3</sup>	Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 44	John 6:30-35; John 7:18-31	9 <sup>th</sup> /10 <sup>th</sup>

The earliest and most complete codex of family *b* is Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 8, 28 (originally one codex). It is selected here as the collated base and representative text.

#### 4.4.3. A description of Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 8 and 28<sup>29</sup>

The only reference to Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 8 and 28 is found in Meimaris's Greek-Arabic catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts, published in 1985.<sup>30</sup> This is a catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts of the newly-discovered Sinai Collection. The information given in the catalogue is minimal and a new description should be given before any attempt is made to study the two manuscripts textually.

MSS Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 8 and 28 were originally one codex, and Meimaris seems not to have detected this. Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 8 ends with John 17:25a and Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 28 starts with John 17:25b, so

28 On the newly-discovered collection of St. Catherine's see, Yiannis Meimaris, *Katālūg al-Makṭūṭāt al-'arabiyyah al-muktashfah ḥadīthan bi-Dayr Sānt Kātrīn al-Muqaddas bi-Ṭūr Sīnā*, The National Hellenic Research Foundation (Centre for Greek and Roman Antiquity: Athènes: 1985), 1-14.

29 I have originally published an article on this Ms. See H. Kachouh, "Sinai Ar. N.F. Parchment 8 and 28: Its Contribution to Textual Criticism of the Gospel of Luke". *Novum Testamentum* 50 (2008): 28-57. I have re-used most of the article in this section.

30 Meimaris, *Katālūg al-Makṭūṭāt al-'arabiyyah*.



that the text is continuous. Moreover, linguistically, as well as on codicological and palaeographic ground, there is no doubt that these two manuscripts were originally one codex.<sup>31</sup> Therefore they will be referred to as “Codex Sinaiticus Arabicus” (CSA).<sup>32</sup>

CSA is a palimpsested parchment codex, originally with 144 folios in 18 quires of which 143 folios survived (the first folio is missing). Each gathering is made of eight leaves. It is undoubtedly one of the earliest surviving Arabic Gospel manuscripts. It was possibly copied in the second half of the eighth century or early ninth century. Layers of Greek, Latin, and Arabic were detected in some of its folios, and this makes this codex unique. Some of the Greek and Latin palimpsested texts might go back to the fourth and fifth century.

The make-up of CSA is also unique; many of the folios of this codex are made up from small pieces of parchment (some with four or five pieces for each folio) and sewing these pieces into a folio would have required hard work and perseverance. The size of folio varies throughout the manuscript. It ranges between 170-190 cm long and 124-138 cm wide. The written surface ranges between 155-175 cm and 115-120 cm, with 24 to 29 lines per page. All that has survived of the binding is a detached and worn-out spine. The parchment is extremely thin and fragile, especially when it is compared with ninth century Arabic Gospel parchment codices. Generally speaking, the leaves are in good enough condition to enable us to read the Arabic script and some of the palimpsested texts. Some of the folios, especially at the beginning and the end of the codex are worn out on the external edges. In a few places the original writing (mainly Greek) was not scraped and washed off and so can be read easily.

#### 4.4.3.1. The Content of CSA

CSA contains the following:

(1) Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 8:

1. An apology – the first folio of which is missing (folios 1r-7r)
2. Matthew (folios 7r-44r)
3. Mark (folios 44r-65r)
4. Luke (folios 65r-102v)
5. John 1:1-17:25a (folios 103r-127v)

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31 Upon my visit to St. Catherine Monastery, I was also able to ascertain that Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 14 and 16 originally belonged to one codex.

32 Not to be confused with Codex Arabicus (Sinai Arabic 514). See A.S. Atiya, “Codex Arabicus,” 75-85.

(2) Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 28 continues with the following:

6. John 17:25b-21:25 (folios 1r-7r)
7. A sermon في ميلاد سيدنا يسوع المسيح (*In natalem Christi diem*) by Saint John Chrysostom (folios 7r-14r)<sup>33</sup>
8. A canon of the Apostles: هذا من قوانين السليحين (folios 14r-14v)
9. A sermon for the monks: موعظه للرهبان (folios 14v-16v)

#### 4.4.3.2. Palaeographic Features of CSA

The script is known as *Kūfic*. It is copied using thick black ink. The text seems to have been copied by one scribe. When a palaeographic comparison is made between this manuscript and other extant Arabic Gospel manuscripts, it becomes obvious that CSA has the least diacritical marks of them all.

The *alif* ( ا ) has no turning of the hand to the right (the turning of the hand to the right is common for manuscripts of Makkah and al-Madīnah), but lengthening of the strokes to below the line.

The *Dāl*, *Dhāl* and *Kāf* have an upward stroke bend to the right of the top of the letter.

The letters *Sād* and *Dād*, as well as the *kāf*, are elongated horizontally.

The ending *Fā'*, *Tā'* and *Bā'* do not have an upward stroke at the end of the horizontal stroke.

The *Nun* looks similar to the modern *Rā'* without a final upward stroke.

The tail of the final *Kāf* resembles the *Rā'* in being elongated at the beginning of the tail, vertically instead of horizontally.

The base stroke of the initial *'ayn* is elongated backward to the right.

The tail of the final *Lām* is similar to the modern *Rā'* with a small curve turning to the left.

Occasionally the tail of the final *Yā'* extends horizontally to the right and goes under the word.

There is little, if any, space between the words and, as a result, words can be divided across lines. A pause in sense is sometimes indicated by two forward slashes (/ /).

All these palaeographic features indicate the archaic nature of this manuscript. Moreover, the defective writing of the *Alif* (for instance *Baraka* instead of *Bāraka*; *Kidas* instead of *kidās*) is a seventh and eighth

33 See M. Geerard, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, vol. 2 (Brepols: Turnhout, 1974) 558-559.

century feature and adds weight to the early dating of this manuscript.<sup>34</sup>

#### 4.4.3.3. The Rubrics of CSA

Rubrics are present at the beginning of each Gospel (as well as of Chrysostom's homily, the canon of the Apostles, and the sermon for the monks). Moreover, there is one rubric in Matt 1:18 which reads قرايه ثانيه (a second reading to be read in the mass on Christmas night). This is the only liturgical calendar division in the manuscript. The last rubric is found on folio 10r. It has been struck out by the copyist. It might have come from a different source and have not been erased properly. It reads باسم الاب والابن وروح القدس [.....] نبدا بعون المسيح ربنا نكتب كلام [ملتقط؟] من الانجيل المقدس فانت يا رب كون لي ابتدا وتمام ومعين على عمل طاعتك وفعال مسرتك. Only the letter ت in ابتدا and مسرتك has the two dots, as well as the letter ب in ابتدا. All the rest are left without diacritical marks. The dating of this rubric does not seem to be much earlier than the Arabic text; it might even have been written by the same hand.

#### 4.4.4. The Eight Test Passages of Family B

The test passages and their apparatus in appendix one, §12.2.1 show that manuscripts *b*<sup>2</sup> and *b*<sup>3</sup> contain some variants which indicate that their texts have been edited stylistically, and corrected grammatically.<sup>35</sup> This linguistic editing is sporadic and inconsistent.

Manuscript *b*<sup>1</sup> seems to preserve the purest text. Since it is a copy of an earlier exemplar some omissions, mainly due to homoioteleuton, are present in its text.<sup>36</sup>

Moreover, the test passages from Matthew reveal the existence of a genetic relation in the Gospel of Matthew between family *b* and family *d* which is translated from the Syriac Peshitta (see §5.1.1 below). For this reason it is worth collating the two test passages of Matthew of family *b* and *d*. Family *d* (*d*<sup>1</sup>) will be the collated base, and will be collated against *b*<sup>1</sup> (for the first test passage) and *b*<sup>1</sup> and *b*<sup>2</sup> for the second). The collation is found in appendix one, §12.2.3.

34 See F. Déroche, "Manuscripts of the Qur'ān" *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān*, vol. 3 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 257.

35 See for instance Mt 16:1, 4; John 6:30 and also in the additional texts Mt 14:9, 10, 13, 16; John 7:18, 19, 20, 21 etc.

36 See for instance John 7:22.

The collation of the first test passage shows that the text of  $d^1$  and  $b^1$  share one ancestry. The second passage is ambiguous; there are some deviations in the text which suggest that the two passages (of the second test passage) might not share one origin. It seems there is a block mixture of texts which can not be examined properly by using only two test passages. A sporadic comparative reading of a number of passages from Mark, Luke and John of  $b^1$  and  $d^1$  suggest that such mixture is only found in Matthew. This claim can only be validated when a full collation of  $b^1$  and  $d^1$  is presented, and that is a task far beyond the scope of this study. It is sufficient at this stage simply to note the relationship between  $b^1$  and  $d^1$  in the Gospel of Matthew (or segments in Matthew). Furthermore, this relationship, which does not seem to be present in the case for Mark, Luke and John, suggests that Matthew might need to be studied separately, but also comparatively. The exemplar of  $b^1$  (or  $d^1$ ) might have been two independent sources (e.g. Matthew as one source and Mark, Luke and John as the second). This might also indicate that Matthew was in circulation independently, possibly translated at different period of time, by a different community using a *Vorlage* which language is different than the *Vorlage* of the other Gospels. For these reasons, as I indicated earlier, Matthew should be studied separately. Moreover, the linguistic features of Matthew should be compared with those of Mark, Luke and John to ascertain whether or not a relationship exists between them. It is possible that they are from totally different sources united only by being transcribed on a single codex.

Finally, it is worth mentioning that the Gospel of Matthew in family  $b$  seems to have been influenced by a Syriac version. I have examined a number of passages including Matthew 1:18-2:23 and 28:1-20. The result can be found in appendix two, §13.2.2.

#### 4.4.5. The *Vorlage* of the Gospel of Luke in Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch. 8 and 28

Coptic or Syriac is less likely to be the *Vorlage* of this manuscript. Many of the textual and linguistic variants contained in these versions are not reflected in the text of Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch. 8 and 28. The two possible *Vorlagen* of this Arabic version are Greek or an Old Latin version. Three hypotheses present themselves: First, the version is translated from an Old Latin text and thus becomes automatically less important for Greek textual scholars. The second hypothesis is that the manuscript is translated from an Old Greek *Vorlage*, which the latter shares traditionally

with the *Vorlage* of the Old Latin versions, and if so makes it of great value for both Greek and Latin textual scholars. The third hypothesis is that this text has been translated from Greek and then corrected at some point later against an Old Latin text.

None of the hypotheses suggested above should be rejected in total. The first hypothesis, a Latin origin, seems to be least likely, though not impossible. The following argument aims to show the improbability of a Latin origin. This will be done by giving a few linguistic examples and then presenting textual evidence in favour of a Greek *Vorlage*.

#### 4.4.5.1. Linguistically

The pool of linguistic variety found in the old Latin texts, and which reflects not only textual Greek variants but also different linguistic renderings of a specific Greek word, makes the argument of a *Vorlage* based solely on linguistic features almost impossible. The first example below reflects some of this reality.

1. In Luke 1: 3a the Greek reads εδοξε καμοι. Friberg points out that here the verb is “used with the dative of person and an infinitive to express one’s will or pleasure *it seems best or good, decide* (LU 1.3)”.<sup>37</sup> The Arabic scribe seems to be familiar with this construction and translated εδοξε καμοι with سررت انا ايضا (I was also pleased). The Vulgate as well as the Old Latin witnesses (except Lvt b f l q) read *visum* (perfect tense of *video*) and has the meaning of “to see, view, behold, survey etc” and also “to please, like”.<sup>38</sup> The Old Latin MSS b f l q read here *placuit* from *placeo* and means “to pleased or satisfied with one’s self”<sup>39</sup> The Arabic reading follows either the Greek or MSS b f l q.
2. Luke 1:3b the Arabic text reads ان الحفهم من فوق (*lit.* to follow them from above). This ambiguous reading renders literally the Greek ἀνωθεν (adv. from above – Latin *de-super*). This rendering is not found in the extended Latin tradition. The majority of Latin manuscripts read *a principio* (at the beginning) and MS c reads *ab initio* (from the beginning). This reading seems to follow the Greek and not Latin

37 T. Friberg, F. Barbara and N.F. Miller, *Analytical Lexicon of the Greek New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 2000), s.v. δοκεω.

38 C. Lewis, and C. Short, *A Latin Dictionary Founded on Andrews’ Edition of Freund’s Latin Dictionary: Revised, Enlarged, and in Great Part Rewritten*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1880), s.v. *video*.

39 *Ibid.*, s.v. *placeo*.

3. Luke 1:3c The Arabic text translates Θεοφιλε with حبيب الله (Θεο-φιλε – the lover of God). This translation is hardly justified if the scribe is translating from any language other than Greek. The Latin as well as the Syriac transliterate this noun since it is considered a proper noun. Latin has *Theophile/Theofile/Theopile* and the Syriac ܬܝܫܝܬܐ. This might show that the scribe was translating from Greek and not Latin. However, it could also be possible that the scribe translating from Latin was familiar with the Greek language and decided to give the full Greek meaning of Θεοφιλε in Arabic.
4. Luke 10:25a the Arabic reads عند ذلك قام نوميقي ليجريه. The noun نوميقي (*noumīk*) is a transliteration of the Greek νομικος and is found in Greek only. The Latin has *Legis peritus*. It is most probable that the scribe is translating from Greek. Otherwise we would expect متخصص في الشريعة or معلم الشريعة.
5. Luke 11:45-6: Here once again the noun نوميقي is found and is repeated twice in plural. In Luke 11:45 we read اجاب واحد من النوميقيين (al-Noumīkīin) and in Luke 11:46 فقال ايه النوميقيين (al-Noumīkīin). In both locations the Greek reads των νομικων and τοις νομικοις respectively. The Latin, however, has *Legis peritis*.
6. Luke 12:6 The Greek reads εξωμολογησεν from εξωμολογεω and means “agree, consent,” and also “praise, thank”. The Latin has *spondit/sponpondit* from *spondeo* and means “to promise solemnly, to bind, engage, to enter into an agreement” or “to warrant, give assurance of”.<sup>40</sup> The Arabic reads ويشكروه (and thank him) and renders the Greek and not Latin *Vorlage*.
7. In Luke 21:30a the Arabic MS translates προβαλωσιν with تخرج الورق (sprout leaves). The Latin however, prefers *fructus* instead of *folia* and translates with minor variations as *producunt iam ex se fructum*. If the Arabic scribe is translating from Latin we expect him to use ثمره/ثمر (fruit(s)) instead of ورق (leaves). This certainly supports the hypothesis of a Greek *Vorlage*. However, there is only one Old Latin MS which reads *folia* instead of *fructum* is MS r<sup>1</sup>. The fact that MS r<sup>1</sup> read *folia* makes the probability of a Greek *Vorlage* less certain. The following variant of the same verse might push the argument a little bit further.
8. In Luke 21:30b the Arabic text reads فاعلموا ان الحصاد قريب (harvest) has no textual support. The Greek has θερος (summer) and the Latin *aestas* (summer). The expression الحصاد in Greek is (θερισμος) and has the same root as summer

40 Ibid., s.v. *spondeo*.

(Θερος). Moreover, the first and last letters are similar, and replacing one word with another word (with similar initials and endings) is common in the transcription of manuscripts.<sup>41</sup> The Latin however, reads *aestas* (summer). "Harvest" in Latin is *messis*. The two words do not share a common root (as is the case with Greek) and are far from being similar. A mistake of this kind is unlikely if the scribe was translating from Latin. It is more likely that the Greek is the *Vorlage* of this verse.

9. Luke 22:17 and 22:19: In verse 17 Jesus "took the cup" and in verse 19 "took the bread". The Greek has two different verbs for "take". In verse 17 and 19 the verbs δεχομαι and λαμβανω are used respectively. This distinction is faithfully preserved in the Arabic text as opposed to the Latin witnesses. The Arabic has in verse 17 قِيلَ كاس (δεχομαι) (a very unusual usage with the noun كاس) and in verse 19 اخذ (λαμβάνω). This distinction shows that Greek and not Latin is the *Vorlage* of this reading. The majority of Old Latin MSS, as well as the Vulgate, have in both places *ac-cepto*. MS d has in both places *accipiens*, MS c has in verse 17 *accepit* and in verse 19 *accepto*, and finally MS e has *accepit* in verse 17 and omits the reading in verse 19.

The few examples mentioned above favour a Greek as opposed to a Latin *Vorlage*. However, these examples do not eliminate the possibility that the Arabic text once translated from Greek, has been subject to emendation made against the Latin. This can hardly be proven and requires a more thorough textual and linguistic examination of the text, and in general the result is far from satisfactory. The following discussion is an attempt to show that *textually*, and not only linguistically, it is unlikely that this manuscript has been translated from Latin.

#### 4.4.5.2. Textually

The *textual* argumentation, on whether or not the Arabic text is translated from Latin, all depends to what extent the extant Latin texts reflect the holistic Latin tradition. If the extant Latin texts reflect very little of the variants found in this tradition, a textual comparison of the Arabic and Latin texts become less important and any hypothesis less conclusive. Since the presupposition is that the extant Latin texts reflect part and not the whole Latin tradition, no conclusive decision will be taken here.

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41 Cf. A. Dain, *Les Manuscrits*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn. (Paris: Société d'édition, 'Les Belles-Lettres', 1975), 42-43.

The critical apparatus below shows that about seventy variants, out of two hundred and thirty, have no textual support in the extant Latin texts. Seven readings seem to follow only the Latin texts.<sup>42</sup>

In addition, since the apparatus below overlooks variants which *agree* with Byzantine text, another exercise is worth undertaking: finding variants which *agree* with the Byzantine text-type but *disagree* with Old Latin witnesses. For instance, in Luke 23:25 the Arabic reads السجين والقتل (στασιν και φονον) and agrees with the Byzantine text-type. However, the extant Latin manuscripts transpose and read *homicidium et seditionem*. Here the Arabic disagrees with the Latin and is not referred to in the apparatus below—simply because the Arabic agrees with the Byzantine text-type (against the Latin). Another example could be Luke 9:1 The Arabic reads فدعا يسوع الاثنا عشر (Συγκαλεσαμενος δε τους δωδεκα) and agrees with the Byzantine text (as well as P<sup>75</sup> A B D etc.) against the Latin extant texts (except MS “d”).

In summary, although the apparatus below shows a close agreement with Old Latin MSS, about 30% of the readings disagree completely with the extant Latin MSS. Moreover, further investigation might show some textual disagreement might be present between some Arabic readings (supported by the Byzantine text-type, or Byzantine and Alexandrian text-types against the Western text-types—and thus not mentioned in the Apparatus below) and Old Latin witnesses.

If the first hypothesis is less likely to be the case, than the inclination is to support the second or third hypothesis, which suggests an Arabic text translated from Greek with or without being corrected against an Old Latin text. The common factor between the last two hypotheses is that Greek is the original *Vorlage* of this version. Anything beyond that is mere speculation. It is almost impossible to know with some certainty whether this manuscript has been corrected against the Latin or not. Take, for instance, Luke 1:28. The Angel said to Mary سلام يا ممثله النعمه الرب معك. This is one of the most confusing verses in this manuscript. If the scribe is translating from Greek we would expect يا ممثله النعمه (passive participle; Greek κεχαριτωμένη) instead of يا ممثله النعمه (full of grace) a reading found in no Greek witnesses but rather in the Latin tradition; *gratia plena* (and also the Peshitta ܡܠܬܐ ܕܥܪܡܝܬܐ). The Old Syriac is defective here). And if the scribe is translating from Latin (or Syriac) we expect يا ممثله النعمه but also *benedicta tu in mulieribus* (ευλογημένη συ εν γυναιξιν). The last addition is omitted in the Arabic manu-

42 However, other variants in some of the same verses, where these seven readings are found, show disagreement with the Latin tradition. Moreover, there is no single Latin manuscript which shows a consistent agreement with the Arabic text.



script and disagrees with the Latin tradition (as well as the Syriac Peshitta). The omission is only attested by S B L W Ψ 1 131 565 579 700 1215 1241 1582 Sj (4 mss.) Cs Cb (mss.) Ar Gg (I). If this manuscript is translated from or corrected against the Latin we expect this important addition, “blessed art thou among women”, to be present. And if this manuscript is translated from Greek we expect *المنعم عليها* (κεχαριτωμένη) instead of *الممتلئ النعمة* (*gratia plena*), unless the scribe was influenced by external textual or liturgical factors. To suggest that this manuscript is only translated from Greek, we find ourselves trapped with some variants hard to justify, and to say that this manuscript is corrected against a Latin witness, would not solve the problem that there are many important variants found in the Latin tradition omitted in this manuscript.

#### 4.4.6. A Textual Study in the Gospel of Luke

The aim of the collation in §13.2.1 is not just the variant in question. I have provided on many occasions the textual context of the variant to help the reader to better evaluate the variant and the Arabic translation. The Byzantine reading<sup>43</sup> is presented first, then a square bracket followed by the Greek reconstructed variant based on the Arabic text, then the Arabic reading between brackets, and finally the Greek manuscripts and the early versions which support the reading in question. The patristic quotations are only mentioned when none of the extant Greek manuscripts and early versions supports an Arabic variant in question. This seems to be the case with only one variant (see variant twenty-one below).

##### 4.4.6.1. The Variants

The variants selected §13.2.1 are far from being exhaustive. The intention was to select variants which disagree with the Byzantine text-type and which are less likely to have coincidentally converged with Greek, Latin, Syriac, Coptic etc. readings. This is a difficult task and requires a careful examination of each variant, as well as a wider knowledge of the translation techniques which were used for making Arabic versions. When a variant is ambiguous or doubtful (on whether or not it is a *textual* variant), the preference in general was to include the variant

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43 As it is found in M.A. Robinson and W.G. Pierpont (eds.), *The New Testament in the Original Greek: Byzantine Textform*, 2005 (Southborough: Chilton Book, 2005).

rather than exclude it. And by doing so the reader is provided with an opportunity to make his own judgment.

Arabic as a Semitic language shares many of these techniques with the Syriac language, so that our knowledge of the translation techniques used in the Syriac versions can help us better understand Arabic translation techniques.<sup>44</sup>

The list below gives guidelines to help us put little emphasis on variants which seem to be merely of translation convenience and not necessarily a reflection of a textual variant. These include:

1. Inclusion or omission of a definite article
2. Inclusion of possessive pronouns (e.g. تلاميذه instead of التلاميذ), especially inherent possession (e.g. رجليه ; يده)
3. Word order, especially reversal of paired items and subject-verb transposition
4. Inclusion, omission and variation in the use of conjunctions (esp. και and δε)
5. Inclusion of the name يسوع (Ιησους)
6. Replacing a pronoun in the *Vorlage* with a proper noun in the translation
7. Addition of الرب (Κυριος) to the proper noun يسوع (Ιησους)
8. The addition of objective pronouns, especially the following construction: preposition + attached pronoun added to the verb قال (λεγω)
9. Variations in the number of the noun (esp. السماء/السماوات)

#### 4.4.7. An Assessment of the Critical Apparatus

CSA seems to be a mixture of Alexandrian and Western text-types.<sup>45</sup> The apparatus in §13.2.1 consists of 230 variants, 36 of which are not witnessed by the extant Greek manuscripts. This does not mean however, that none of them reflect a *textual* Greek variation. Some of the readings are witnessed by more than one version, and might show a Greek *Vorlage* which has not survived to our day. For instance, the variant in Luke 7:1a is attested by the Old Latin MSS a aur b c ff<sup>2</sup> l q, and also the Syriac Harclean version. Luke 7:1b is attested by Old Latin MSS

44 On the Syriac translation technique see, P.J. Williams, *Early Syriac Translation Technique and the Textual Criticism of the Greek Gospels*, (Texts and Studies: Contributions to Biblical and Patristic Literature, Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2004).

45 For a critique on the use of text-types, see D.C. Parker, *An Introduction to the New Testament Manuscripts and their Texts*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 171-174.

Lvt a b c ff<sup>2</sup> l r<sup>1</sup>, and also the Syriac Sinaiticus, the Peshitta and Georgian versions. Luke 9:26b is supported by the Syriac Curetonian and the Peshitta, and also Sahidic, Bohairic and the Ethiopian versions. However, one should not eliminate the possibility that some of them have diverged from the Greek *Vorlage* because of internal linguistic demands and have coincided with readings found in other biblical versions.

#### 4.4.7.1. CSA Versus Greek Manuscripts

The table below shows the agreements between CSA and a specific Greek manuscript. The first column has the MS number; the second column gives the number of times a specific Greek manuscript agrees with the Arabic. The number in brackets is the percentage based on the total number of unit-variants of the Apparatus (230 unit-variants); the third column gives the percentage based only on variants which have at least one Greek witness supporting the variant in question (230 – 35 = 195); and the last column gives the average of the figures in column two and three.

S	98/230 (42.60%)	98/194 (50.51%)	46.56%
D	97/230 (42.17%)	97/194 (50.00%)	46.09%
B	78/230 (33.91%)	78/194 (40.21%)	37.06%
P <sup>75</sup>	51/165 (30.91%) <sup>46</sup>	51/143 (35.66%)	33.29%
P <sup>45</sup>	14/50 (28.00%)	14/43 (32.56%)	30.28%
C	25/105 (23.80%)	25/91 (27.47%)	25.64%
118 (a representative of f <sup>1</sup> )	47/230 (20.43%)	47/194 (24.23%)	22.33%
Θ	29/230 (12.61%)	29/194 (14.95%)	13.78%
13 (a representative of f <sup>3</sup> )	27/230 (11.74%)	27/194 (13.92%)	12.83%
A	7/230 (03.04%)	7/194 (03.60%)	03.32%
S	98/230 (42.60%)	98/194 (50.51%)	46.56%
D	97/230 (42.17%)	97/194 (50.00%)	46.09%
B	78/230 (33.91%)	78/194 (40.21%)	37.06%
P <sup>75</sup>	51/165 (30.91%)	51/143 (35.66%)	33.29%
P <sup>45</sup>	14/50 (28.00%)	14/43 (32.56%)	30.28%
C	25/105 (23.80%)	25/91 (27.47%)	25.64%
118 (a representative of f <sup>1</sup> )	47/230 (20.43%)	47/194 (24.23%)	22.33%

46 p<sup>75</sup> has only 165 variants because it is fragmentary. This is also true for P<sup>75</sup> and C.

Θ	29/230 (12.61%)	29/194 (14.95%)	13.78%
13 (a representative of $\rho^3$ )	27/230 (11.74%)	27/194 (13.92%)	12.83%
A	7/230 (03.04%)	7/194 (03.60%)	03.32%

The table above clearly supports the hypothesis that CSA's *Vorlage* is a mixture of Alexandrian and Western text-types. The Caesarean is unlikely to be the text-type of the *Vorlage*. Another important statistic is that 50/230 (21.74%) (or 50/195 (25.64%)) are the number of variants which agree with Codex Bezae against Codex Sinaiticus.

#### 4.4.7.2. CSA Versus Latin Manuscripts

As far as the Latin MSS are concerned:

1. 158/230 (68.70%) readings agree with one or more Old Latin MS/MSS (and some Greek MSS etc.)
2. 64/230 (27.83%) readings agree with one or more Vulgate MS/MSS (plus Greek, Old Latin MSS etc.)
3. 7/230 (3.04%) readings agree only with one or more Old Latin MS/MSS
4. 2/230 (0.87%) readings agree with the Vulgate (plus Greek, etc.) but not the Old Latin MSS.

From the apparatus above, it seems obvious that there is a common tradition behind the Old Latin and CSA. The chart below shows to which Latin manuscript CSA is closer. (Fragmentary Old Latin MSS were discarded).

MS	Number of Readings Agreeing with CSA	Defective Readings	Percentage	Percentage incl. Defective Readings
D	95/158	0	60.13%	
l	77/158	0	48.73%	
A	75/158	0	47.47%	
ff <sup>2</sup>	71/158	7	44.94%	48.73%
E	71/158	5	44.94%	48.10%
r <sup>1</sup>	71/158	0	44.94%	
C	70/158	0	44.30%	
B	62/158	16	39.24%	49.37%
aur	53/158	0	33/54%	
g <sup>1</sup>	51/158	0	32.28%	

Q	40/158	6	25.32%	29.11%
F	36/158	0	22.78%	

The table above shows that MS d has the highest percentage of readings which agree with CSA. The Old Latin d is the Latin text of Codex Bezae (about 400 A.D.),<sup>47</sup> and the Greek text of this codex also agrees closely with CSA.

Old Latin MS a of the 4th century, which is considered to represent the early form of the European Latin text, has one of the highest percentages (47.47%) as opposed to MS q (considered to have an Italian text) which has one of the lowest percentages (25.32%).

MS e (which is, after k, the most important witness to the African Latin text) has a relatively high percentage of agreements with CSA. If we include the defective readings as a possible supportive to CSA (five variants) then MS e will have a higher percentage than a.

#### 4.4.7.3. CSA Versus Other Early Versions

Firstly, as far as the Coptic manuscripts are concerned, 101/230 readings agree with one or more Bohairic MSS; 91/230 readings agree with one or more Sahidic MSS. In general both the Sahidic and the Bohairic versions agree with the Alexandrian text type. Nevertheless, it is generally agreed that the Sahidic has many Western readings especially in the Gospels and Acts.

Secondly, as far as the Syriac MSS are concerned, 75/230 readings agree with the Sinaiticus; 64/230 with the one or more Peshitta MSS; 56/230 with the Curetonian; 50/230 with Syriac Jerusalem Lectionaries; and three readings agree with the Syriac only.

Thirdly, 61/230 readings agree with one or more Ethiopian MS/MSS, and 3/230 agree with the Ethiopian versions only.

Fourthly, 48/230 readings agree with the Arabic Diatessaron and two readings agree with the Arabic Diatessaron only; 39/230 readings agree with the Persian Diatessaron and one reading agrees with the Persian Diatessaron Only.

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47 See D.C. Parker, *Codex Bezae: An Early Christian Manuscript and its Text* (Cambridge University Press, 1992) 27-30.

#### 4.4.8. The Text-Type of The *Vorlage* of The Gospel of Luke in CSA

CSA has an unusual mixture of Alexandrian and Western text-types. On the one hand there are variants showing clear affinities with the Sinaiticus, Vaticanus, P<sup>75</sup>, P<sup>45</sup> (and also with the Sahidic (partially Alexandrian) and Bohairic Coptic versions), and on the other hand with Codex Bezae, Old Latin version, and the Syriac Sinaiticus text. Some of the readings are extremely archaic; they are supported by a few of the earliest Greek manuscripts, and reflect the archaic nature of the *Vorlage*. CSA agrees with a relatively high number of Old Latin readings, but also Old Syriac readings and reflects a Greek *Vorlage* which underlines both Latin and Syriac traditions. Textually speaking, CSA stands as unique among the extant Arabic Gospel manuscripts. It witnesses to the richness of the Greek biblical text which was in circulation before the eighth century.

#### 4.4.9. Conclusion

The collection known as the “New Finds” at St. Catherine Monastery has preserved an exceptional Gospel text that makes a significant contribution to Biblical scholarship. Family *b* deserves primary attention and thorough investigation. §13.2.1 highlights its textual significance, and the test passages collated in §12.2.3 reveal a genetic relationship (in Matthew only) between family *b* and family *d*. Many questions about its location, date, text, *Vorlage* and relationship to other manuscript still await an answer. The hope is that a full monograph of this manuscript will be undertaken for the benefit of biblical textual scholars as well as orientalist and Arabicists. The study of this family shows that the Arabic Gospel manuscripts have much to contribute to the history of the transmission of the text, as well as to enhancing our knowledge of the biblical tradition.

There are still important areas in family *b* which need further investigation. A Greek reconstruction of the Arabic text (of the Four Gospels) is first needed to help non-Arabicists to benefit most from this codex, and to make their own contribution. An extensive textual examination of the Four Gospels of family *b* is certainly essential, and will follow this study in the near future. A clear relationship between the Arabic text and old Latin versions still needs to be established.

On a linguistic level, Arabicists might find this text crucial and a publication of the Four Gospels is certainly worth undertaking. A closer palaeographic examination might help us date the witnesses of

family *b* with more accuracy. It remains extremely difficult to be confident whether CSA was copied in the early eighth century, middle eighth century or early ninth century. The second half of the eighth century seems to be most likely. The question which remains unanswered is when the Archetype of CSA was first produced. Is it in the fifth, sixth or seventh century? This question may never receive a satisfactory answer. All that we know is that the text of CSA was in circulation in the eighth century.

The geographical location of this manuscript is still a mystery. Generally speaking the ninth century Arabic Gospel manuscripts have emerged in South Palestine and Syria. Is this true for CSA? Should we consider other possibilities? Which church did this manuscript belong to? What kind of relationship exists between CSA and other Arabic Gospel manuscripts of the ninth century? All these questions await an answer. Now we turn to Family C.

#### 4.5. Family C: Translated from Greek showing Occasional Syriac Influence

##### 4.5.1. Introduction to Family C

Codex Sinai, Ar. 75, the chief representative of family *c*, has been the subject of some previous investigation. F.C. Burkitt considers Sinai, Ar. 75 to be "very similar to" codex Vatican, Borg. Ar. 95,<sup>48</sup> and includes it among manuscripts translated from Greek.<sup>49</sup>

Constance E. Padwick, in her article on "Al-Ghazali and the Arabic Versions of the Gospels" gives a short description of the manuscript (supplied to her by Yassa Effendi Abd Masih of the Coptic Museum) and agrees with Burkitt in terms of its *Vorlage*.<sup>50</sup>

Graf believes that this codex is an offshoot (*Ableger*) of Vatican, Borg. Ar. 95 (see §4.3.1 above), and mentions it among manuscripts of Greek origin. Moreover, Graf points out that the Gospel of Matthew has been much more stylistically revised than John. He asserts, fur

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48 In this work Codex Vatican, Borg. 95 has the sigla  $\alpha^3$  (see §4.3.1 above).

49 Burkitt, "Arabic Versions," 136.

50 Padwick, "Al-Ghazali," 134-5.

thermore, that in Matthew chapter one proper nouns, originally translated from Greek, have been substituted by Syriac names.<sup>51</sup>

S. Griffith, who follows Graf in his postulation, places Sinai, Ar. 75 in its socio-literary context; he argues that

Sinai Arabic Ms 75 thus represents the culmination of the attempt on the part of a group of Palestinian Christians to achieve an Arabic version of the Gospel in the early Islamic period which could pass for Literary Arabic.<sup>52</sup>

Valentin, in his examination of Matthew 28, questioned the dependency of Sinai, Ar. 75 upon Sinai, Ar. 74 (and its group). Linguistically, he points out that its text has the characteristics of Middle Arabic, which had also previously been noted by J. Blau.<sup>53</sup> As for the *Vorlage*, he argues that “notre manuscrit paraît mélanger des éléments pris du texte grec et d’autres qui proviennent d’une version syriaque.”<sup>54</sup> Valentin seems to be the only scholar (among those mentioned above), to have a copy of Sinai, Ar. 75. We shall see below that, although my conclusions about the *Vorlage* of this manuscript were reached long before I came across Valentin’s article, we both share similar convictions about its *Vorlage*.

As for the relationship between Sinai, Ar. 75 and family *a*, this shall be discussed in Chapter Nine. Since the text varies considerably and the relationship between this manuscript and *family a* is less conclusive I decided to place it in a separate group/family.

The above mentioned scholars did not know that the text of Sinai, Ar. 75 has survived in other manuscripts as well. This text is found in four manuscripts (incl. Sinai, Ar. 75). In addition, I was able to discover portions of the same text in some manuscripts with mixture versions. The Gospels of Mark and Luke, in the bilingual Syriac-Arabic Codex Leipzig 1075, are one good example to be mentioned here (§8.1.3.1 below). Their text is very close to the text of Sinai, Ar. 75 and has been corrected against the Peshitta found in the first column.

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51 Graf, *Geschichte*, 146. J. Blau reached the same verdict, see J. Blau, „Über einige christlich-arabische Manuskripte,” 105, 107, and Also Blau, *A Grammar*, vol. 267, 30.

52 Griffith, “The Gospel in Arabic,” 155.

53 On the characteristics of the Middle Arabic see: Blau, *A Grammar*, vol. 267, 50-56.

54 Valentin, “Les évangélistes arabes,” 427-434.



## 4.5.2. Table of Manuscripts of Family C

Below is a list of manuscripts which contain the text of family *c*:

Sigla	Ms Number	Passages Collated	Date
<i>c</i> <sup>1</sup>	Sinai, Ar. 75	TP	9 <sup>th</sup> <sup>a</sup>
<i>c</i> <sup>2</sup>	Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 6 [5, 63]	Mt, Mk, Lk	9 <sup>th</sup> (possibly late 8 <sup>th</sup> century)
<i>c</i> <sup>3</sup>	Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 15	John	9 <sup>th</sup> /10 <sup>th</sup>
<i>c</i> <sup>4</sup>	Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 64 [36]	Lk 23:12-23; 24:44-53	10 <sup>th</sup> <sup>a</sup>

Witnesses of this version do not seem to have survived beyond the tenth century. Codex Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 6 was originally one codex with Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 5 and 63.<sup>55</sup> The shape of the script in manuscript *c*<sup>2</sup> indicates the archaic nature of this codex. Among many important palaeographic features, the head of the letter ξ is always written with two oblique strokes, with no joining horizontal stroke. This is one of the features found in Arabic manuscripts from the seventh and eighth centuries. Manuscript *c*<sup>2</sup> does not seem to be earlier than the first half of the ninth century, but the scribe might have been imitating an eighth century model. Manuscript *c*<sup>3</sup> contains the Gospel of John only, and manuscript *c*<sup>4</sup> contains two fragments from Luke. None of these manuscripts are later than the tenth century.

A concise description of *c*<sup>1</sup> will be presented below, then the test passages followed by an examination of the *Vorlage*.

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<sup>55</sup> Manuscript *c*<sup>2</sup> starts with Matthew 1:1 and ends on John 4:38. Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 5 continuous in John 4:38 and ends with John 8:59. Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 63 starts on John 8:59 and ends on John 21:25. The text of the Gospel of John belongs to a different version than family *c*. For this reason, and also since manuscript *c*<sup>2</sup> is, today, a separate set of folios and has an independent shelf-mark, it will be studied separately. The text of John will be examined in a different chapter (see §8.1.1).

4.5.3. A Description of Codex C<sup>1</sup>

Manuscript *c*<sup>1</sup> has been selected as the representative text since it contains the entire text of the four Gospels.<sup>56</sup> Some of its folios are torn on the edges. The manuscript is written with old and clear Kufic. It has no colophon. Constance E. Padwick dated it to the tenth century (based on the judgements of Robertson Smith and Professor Karabacek).<sup>57</sup> S. Atiya and Valentin dated it to the ninth century, and Graf between the ninth and the tenth centuries. None of the scholars mentioned above, except S. Atiya, seemed to have had access to the physical manuscript; all of them were working from photographs or microfilms. When I compared the palaeographic and codicological features of this codex with other dated and undated manuscripts from the ninth century, during my visit to St. Catherine's, I came to agree with Atiya's claim. In any case, it is important to point out here that the manuscript has obvious omissions and corrections in the text which indicate that it is a copy of an earlier exemplar. More importantly, manuscript *c*<sup>2</sup> is most likely to be copied in the first half of the ninth century and contains the same text of *c*<sup>1</sup>. It is likely that its textual tradition goes back to at least the second half of the eighth century.

On folio 222v there is a note, written in a much later hand, which gives the date 392 Hijrah (1014); this is probably when the codex became "a religious endowment" (*wakf*) of the Sinai Monastery by طمور المسمى [عبدالله], the Bishop of that Monastery. On folio 223r there is another note which says that the moon and the sun eclipsed on the 14<sup>th</sup> and 28<sup>th</sup> of Rajab in the year 380 Hijrah (1001/2), respectively.

## 4.5.4. A Critical Apparatus of the Eight Test Passages

In addition to the eight test passages collated in appendix one, §12.3.1, I have collated Lk 23:12-23 as manuscript *c*<sup>4</sup> is fragmentary and does not contain any of the eight test passages (see appendix one, §12.3.2).

Unfortunately, since *c*<sup>4</sup> is fragmentary, *c*<sup>3</sup> contains the Gospel of John only, and *c*<sup>2</sup> lacks John, it is not possible to compare the test passages of *c*<sup>4</sup>, *c*<sup>3</sup> and *c*<sup>2</sup> with each other. All that can be done is to collate each manuscript individually against *c*<sup>1</sup> (and in the case of Lk 23:12-23,

56 In addition the manuscript contains a few treatises and testimonies. For a description of these treatises and testimonies see Padwick, "Al-Ghazali," 135.

57 Padwick, "Al-Ghazali," 134-5.

collate  $c^1$  against  $c^2$  and  $c^4$ ). More on the variants found in the test passages shall be discussed in §4.5.5.1 below.

#### 4.5.5. The *Vorlage* of Family C

Our study of the *Vorlage* will be divided into two main sections. The first section will summarize the textual variants which can be ascertained from the test passages, and the second section will independently examine the textual features of family *c* with other portions of the Gospels.

##### 4.5.5.1. *Vorlage* Based on the Test Passages

The main purpose of the test passages found in appendix one, §§12.3.1, 2 is to identify manuscripts from the same family; manuscripts  $c^1$ ,  $c^2$ ,  $c^3$ ,  $c^4$  clearly belong to one family. In addition, we can learn from these passages the following:

1. Concerning manuscripts  $c^1$  and  $c^2$  (test passages of Mt, Mk, Lk), one can clearly find readings supported by a Greek *Vorlage* (against the Peshitta) and others by the Syriac Peshitta against the Greek. Moreover, sometimes  $c^2$  agrees with the Greek against  $c^1$  (which the latter agrees with the Peshitta) and in other places (which is more common)  $c^2$  agrees with the Peshitta against  $c^1$  (which the latter agrees with the Greek). This shows that contamination (probably Syriac contamination) has taken place at an early stage in this version, and in some readings, independently.
2. Manuscripts  $c^1$  and  $c^3$  (two test passages of John) contain some minor linguistic variants but no textual variants. Both manuscripts seem to follow the Greek (in verse 23 the omission of يسوع; 26a and 27 read الصفا instead of سماعان/شمعون; in verse 26b معه في البستان instead of (معه في البستان). However, in John 18:20 and 23 the scribe adds له وقال له for the verb اجاب, a reading not attested by the Greek manuscripts. This addition is a scribal habit, occurs elsewhere in the Gospels and is not a textual variant.
3. As for the relationship between manuscripts  $c^1$ ,  $c^2$  and  $c^4$  below are some linguistic and textual remarks:
  - a. In Luke 23:13 there is an important variant: Manuscript  $c^1$  reads واراكنه الامه والجموع (ἄρχοντας τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ τὸν λαὸν (or τοὺς λαοὺς)). The Greek manuscripts 16 348 1216 and Old Latin (e a b ff<sup>2</sup> 1 r<sup>1</sup>) as well as Lvg (1ms.) Dta Dtp Cs (mss.) read ἄρχοντας τοῦ

λαοῦ, and all the other manuscripts read ἄρχοντας καὶ τὸν λαόν. This variant is also present in the Peshitta manuscripts. Some manuscripts read ܠܠܚܝܡܝܢܐ ܕܠܥܡܝܢܐ and others ܠܠܚܝܡܝܢܐ ܕܠܥܡܝܢܐ. In *c*<sup>1</sup> we have a conflation of readings—the scribe has incorporated both readings in his text.

Manuscript *c*<sup>4</sup> reads والكتبه والكنيه. The variant الكتيه is only supported by one Georgian manuscript (Gg II), and is most probably coincidental. It is possible that the scribe of *b*<sup>4</sup> has replaced the cumbersome expression اراكنه الامه (*lectio difficilior*) with a more simple expression (الكتيه).

Manuscript *c*<sup>2</sup> retains اراكنه الامه but replaces الجميع الناس with روجميع الناس, a reading found in the Old Syriac (Sinaiticus and Curetonian) ܪܘܟܡܝܢܐ ܕܠܥܡܝܢܐ as well as Codex Bezae and Lvt (c d).

- b. In Luke 23:14 the addition of تزعمون in *c*<sup>1</sup> and *c*<sup>2</sup> follows, with minor variants, the Curetonian ܬܙܥܡܝܢܐ. Manuscript *c*<sup>4</sup> reads وذاكرتم and agrees with the Syriac Sinaiticus (ܬܙܥܡܝܢܐ).
- c. In Luke 23:15 manuscripts *c*<sup>1</sup> *c*<sup>2</sup> and *c*<sup>4</sup> read اذ ارسلتكم اليه (ἀνέπεμψα γὰρ ὑμᾶς πρὸς αὐτόν) and follow A D W Ψ<sup>f</sup> MT Lat sy<sup>h</sup>.
- d. In Luke 23:17 manuscripts *c*<sup>1</sup> *c*<sup>2</sup> and *c*<sup>4</sup> add اسير with 27 66<sup>c</sup> 71 229<sup>c</sup> 348 1194 1216 1220 1355 1458 1510 1579 2613 1524 11761 Lvt (c q) Lvg (2 mss.) Ss Sh Cb (2 mss.) Gg II.
- e. In Luke 23:18a manuscript *c*<sup>2</sup> reads جميع الناس with the Syriac (ܠܠܥܡܝܢܐ ܕܠܥܡܝܢܐ), manuscript *c*<sup>4</sup> الجميع with the Greek (παμπληθεϊ) and *c*<sup>1</sup> read الجميع with possibly the Syriac.
- f. In Luke 23:18b manuscripts *c*<sup>1</sup> *c*<sup>2</sup> and *c*<sup>4</sup> read بربا with the Greek.
- g. In Luke 23:23 manuscript *c*<sup>2</sup> adds يصيخوا with no textual support. The addition is stylistic.
- h. In Luke 24:45 manuscripts *c*<sup>1</sup> and *c*<sup>2</sup> (*c*<sup>4</sup> lacunae) read فتح لهم عقولهم with the Greek (διήνοιξεν αὐτοῦν τὸν νοῦν). The Syriac read ܕܠܥܡܝܢܐ (فتح عقولهم).
- i. In Luke 24:51 manuscript *c*<sup>1</sup> read تتحا منهم and follow the Greek literally διέστη ἀπ' αὐτῶν. Manuscript *c*<sup>2</sup> replaces منهم with the more idiomatic preposition عنهم. Manuscript *c*<sup>4</sup> replaces تتحا with اغب.

Both Greek and Syriac readings (as well as a fusion of both) are also present in the two passages of Luke examined above. Some of the readings above suggest that manuscripts *c*<sup>2</sup> and *c*<sup>4</sup> have stylistically improved the text of *c*<sup>1</sup>.

4.5.5.2. *Vorlage* of the Synoptic Gospels Versus the Gospel of John

## 4.5.5.2.1. Preliminary Remarks on the Linguistic features of the Synoptic Gospels versus the Gospel of John

A *linguistic* comparison of the Synoptic Gospels with the Gospel of John shows, with some degree of certainty, a close relation between them (in the text of Sinai, Ar. 75). The vocabulary, the orthography, and the scribal style used in both the Synoptics and John are very similar. This is even more obvious when one compares the same narratives from one of the Synoptic Gospels on the one hand, with the Gospel of John on the other. For example if one takes the narrative of Jesus entering Jerusalem (Mark 11:1-10 and John 12:12-16), similar language is used in both narratives (e.g. السلام (the peace) an unusual translation of ὡσαννά (syr. ܡܫܚܡܐ) on folio 42r line ten (for Mark), and for John, folio 93r line four (though it must be noted that in Mark the scribe adds to السلام the expression في المجد and, on one other occasion والمجد, this might indicate that John has preserved a purer text than Mark); عفوا (for ὀνόριον, where in Syriac it reads ܡܨܚܡܐ (حمار); and also ركب (for καθίζω)).

However, one remarkable linguistic variant between the Synoptic Gospels and the Gospel of John is the translation of Φαρισαῖος (syr. ܦܪܝܨܝܐ). In the Synoptic Gospel it is always translated with الفريسيين, and in John as الاحبار (learned men).<sup>58</sup> The use of الاحبار for the Pharisees is found in other families and is not unique to this manuscript (see for instance Vatican, Ar. 13; Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 8; Beirut, B.O., Or. 432 and family *d*). The reason behind such a variant in family *c* is at this stage unknown, and it will remain an open question.

The *linguistic* examination is an important step prior to the *textual* examination. It shows, with the exception of Φαρισαῖος, that there is a very close linguistic connection between the Synoptic Gospels and the Gospel of John, and thus one cannot clearly argue for two independent sources joined together in codex *c*<sup>1</sup> (Sinai, Ar. 75). However, this cannot be conclusive, especially when we see that codex *c*<sup>2</sup> (Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 6 [5, 63]), has the same text in the Synoptic Gospels as Sinai, Ar. 75, but differ in the Gospel of John. Moreover, codex *c*<sup>3</sup> (Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 15), which belongs to this family, contains the Gospel of John *only*. This seem to be a clear indication that, although there is a clear linguistic connection between both (the Synoptic Gospels and the Gospel of John), the Gospel of John has circulated independently. This cir-

58 In Islamic context: "a non-Muslim religious authority."

culatation seems to have happened prior to Sinai, Ar. 75, and the study of the *Vorlage* seems to point to the same direction.

#### 4.5.5.2.2. The *Vorlage* of the Gospel of John

The best way to proceed in the study of the *Vorlage* of family *c*, is to start with the Gospel of John. A textual examination of the entire Gospel of John shows that its text follows the Greek of the Byzantine text-type closely. There are almost no traces of a clear Peshitta influence on the text. Some variants in the Gospel of John reflect pre-Byzantine readings. The variants are listed in appendix two, §13.3.1.

#### 4.5.5.2.3. The *Vorlage* of the Synoptic Gospels

There seem to be a clear Peshitta contamination of the text of the Synoptic Gospels. Valentin refers to a few variants in Matthew 28 some of which agree with the Byzantine while others agree with the Peshitta. The test passages show that this phenomenon (Byzantine-Peshitta mixture readings) is also found in Mark and Luke. This becomes even more obvious when a full examination of the Gospel of Mark is undertaken. This textual examination can be found in appendix two, §13.3.2 (with a focus on Mark chapters 2-10).

The conclusion which has been reached so far is that the text of family *c* was originally translated from the Greek of Byzantine-text type (with some pre-Byzantine readings). The Synoptic Gospels contain Peshitta contamination. This contamination should not be perceived as a systematic revision of the Arabic text against the Peshitta at one point in time, but rather a process of assimilation in its textual history.

Since more than one witness of this family has survived, it is worth examining the textual features of this family, not only with Greek and Syriac but also with the various Arabic witnesses against the Greek and Syriac. This exercise has already been carried out on a small scale with the test passages discussed above. Here I will focus on two specific passages. The first is from the genealogy of Matthew 1 (focus on verses 3-4) and the second is from Mark 1:1-45. In the first exercise below I have listed the proper nouns extracted from three manuscripts (Sinai, Ar. 74 (*a*<sup>1</sup> translated from Greek); 2. Sinai, Ar. 75 (*c*<sup>1</sup>); 3. Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 6 (*c*<sup>2</sup>)) with the Greek and Peshitta equivalents.<sup>59</sup> In the second

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59 For a similar exercise but without *b*<sup>2</sup>, which is crucially important here, see Valentin, "Les évangéliques arabes," 428.

exercise I have concentrated on  $c^1$  and  $c^2$  only and compared them with the Greek and Syriac *Vorlagen*.

#### A. Exercise One:

	Greek	$a^1$	$c^1$	$c^2$	Syriac
Verse 3	Ἰουδαῖς	يهوذا	يهود	يهودا	ܝܗܘܕܝܐ
	Φάρεις	فارس	فارص	فارض	ܦܪܝܝܬܝܐ
	Ζάρα	زارا	زارا	زارح	ܙܪܚܐ
	Θαμάρ	ثامر	ثامر	تامر	ܬܡܪܐ
	Ἑσρώμ	اسروم	حصروم	حصرون	ܥܨܪܘܡܐ
	Ἀράμ	ارام	ارام	ارام	ܐܪܡܐ
Verse 4	Ἀμιναδάβ	اميناذب	عمينذاب	عميناذاب	ܥܡܝܢܐܕܐܒܐ
	Ναασσών	ناسون	نحشون	نحسون	ܢܚܨܘܢܐ
	Σαλμών	سلمون	سلمون	سلمون	ܣܠܡܘܢܐ
Verse 5	Βοῶζ	بوز	باغز	باغز	ܒܥܙܐ
	Ῥαχάβ	omit	راحب	راحب	ܪܚܒܐ
	Ῥοβήδ	يوبيد	عبيذ	عوبيد	ܥܘܒܝܕܐ
	Ῥοῦθ	روث	راعوث	روث	ܪܘܬܐ

The exercise above shows the following:

1. Manuscript  $a^1$  (of family  $a$ ) closely follows the Greek.
2. The scribe of manuscript  $c^1$  seems to have attempted to bring the proper nouns closer to the Syriac while, intentionally or unintentionally, retaining some Greek elements in them (for instance the letter  $\phi$  at the end of *حصروم*; the ending of *زارا*).
3. The scribe of manuscript  $c^2$  has also attempted to bring the proper nouns closer to the Syriac *but seems to have done that independently* (for instance,  $c^2$  reads *يهودا* while  $c^1$  *يهود*;  $c^2$  reads *فارض* while  $c^1$  reads *فارص* (see also *عوبيد/عبيذ*; *حصرون/حصروم*; *نحشون/نحسون*; *عبيذ/عوبيد*). Interestingly, the scribe of  $c^2$  has retained Greek elements which  $c^1$  has carefully eliminated and, removed Greek elements which  $c^1$  did not. On the one hand,  $c^2$  retained *روث* (from Greek) while  $c^1$  reads *راعوث* (conformed to the Syriac). On the other hand,  $c^1$  read *زارا* and *حصروم* (from Greek) while  $c^2$  carefully eliminated any Greek elements and conformed his text to the Syriac (*زارح* and *حصرون*). In summary,  $c^1$  and  $c^2$  seem to have been influenced *independently* by Syriac sources, and attempted, not necessarily in a meticulous way, to bring their text closer to the Syriac version. This Syriac contamination is also perceived in other portions of the Synoptic Gospel in family  $c$ . The second exercise will focus on chapter one of Mark.

## B. Exercise Two:

This exercise, which can be found in appendix two, §13.3.3, is divided into two sections. In section one (§13.3.3.1) I have collated the Arabic text (in both *c*<sup>1</sup> and *c*<sup>2</sup>) against the Byzantine text-type and recorded all the readings which differ from the Byzantine text. In the second section (§13.3.3.2) I have collated the Arabic text against the Syriac Peshitta.<sup>60</sup>

This exercise confirms the conclusion reached in Exercise One. Once again, we are confronted with Peshitta readings, some of which are found in *c*<sup>1</sup> and *c*<sup>2</sup>, and others entered each of the two texts independently.

## 4.5.6. General Conclusion with Respect to Family C

Family *c* contains the four Gospels in Arabic. Originally it was translated from the Greek prior to the ninth century. The text-type seems to be Byzantine. Occasionally, the text follows pre-Byzantine readings. The omission of Mark 11:26 and John 7:53-8:11 are two obvious examples of its pre-Byzantine features.

At an early stage (pre-Sinai, Ar. 75) the Gospel of John seems to have circulated independently. Its linguistic features are very similar to the ones in the Synoptic Gospels; though at least one important variant (e.g. الاحبار) is worth noting.

The Synoptic Gospels have, also at an early stage, been influenced by the Peshitta. This Peshitta contamination should not be seen *as a systematic revision of the Arabic text against the Peshitta at one point in time, but is rather a process of assimilation in the history of the Arabic text*. The Gospel of John shows no traces of Peshitta influence. This also supports the fact that it has circulated independently. Linguistically, the manuscript is well written. Divergence, mainly because of internal syntactical demands, happens more often than, for example, in family *a*. The addition of expressions for clarification is not uncommon in this version (in both the Synoptics and John). The text certainly flows better than the text of family *a*. Features of classical Arabic are clearly seen throughout the text. However, the interrogative pronoun τίς is still translated with لايشي or لايشي (dialectic form) instead of لماذا (classical form).

Below is a summary of the features of each witness of family *c*:

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60 There are a few stylistic additions in the text which were not recorded and they seem not to agree with the Greek or Syriac extant manuscripts.



Generally speaking, manuscript  $c^1$  seems to contain a closer text to the archetype than manuscripts  $c^2$ ,  $c^3$ ,  $c^4$  (but when it comes to specific readings, each should be weighed independently).

Manuscript  $c^2$  shows signs of linguistic correction to bring the text even closer idiomatically to the Arabic than  $c^1$ . Textually,  $c^2$  seems to have assimilated more than a few Syriac readings not present in  $c^1$ . Nevertheless, on a few occasions, some variants in  $c^2$  agree with the Greek against  $c^1$  (which the latter agrees with the Peshitta).

Manuscript  $c^3$ , which contains the Gospel of John, seems to follow the same Greek *Vorlage* as  $c^1$ , but with minor linguistic variations.

Since manuscript  $c^4$  is fragmentary, little can be said about its linguistic and textual features. The two passages collated from Luke show close affinities with  $c^1$  though  $c^4$  seems to have slightly improved the text linguistically.

This is another intriguing family. Its textual and linguistic complexity invites scholars to give more attention to the history of the Arabic Gospel tradition and the date when the manuscripts were first translated. Based on linguistic and textual features, there is little doubt that a textual history and transmission of family  $c$  was in place by the late eighth century. At this stage, we can claim that the Gospel of John had already been copied independently and Syriac readings had already been allowed to contaminate, on more than one occasion, the text of the Synoptic Gospels. The question which remains unanswered is when this family was first translated into Arabic. Was it in the seventh century, in the early or middle eighth century? This is a question which shall remain open for now. We move to examining family  $d$ .

## 5. The Grouping of Arabic Gospel Manuscripts of Syriac *Vorlagen*

### 5.1. AGM of Syriac *Vorlagen* Showing no Greek Influence

#### 5.1.1. Family D of Peshitta Origin

Family *d* is represented by one manuscript only: Sinai, Ar. 70 (hereafter: *d*<sup>1</sup>). There is no evidence that the text of this codex has ever been studied in detail. Graf, in his survey of the Arabic manuscripts of the Gospels, includes this codex with manuscripts „mit Evv-Texten Unbekannter Herkunft.“ Recently, Valentin examined Matthew 28 and came to a conclusion that the *Vorlage* of this manuscript is “soit la peshitto syriaque elle-même, soit, [...] une version syriaque proche de la peshitto canonique mais conservant des variantes éparses remontant à la vetus syra.” He was able to discover “une variante de la vetus syra” from Matthew 4:7. It reads لربك والالهك and agrees with the Syriac Curetonian version (ܠܪܒܟܐ ܘܐܠܗܟܐ).<sup>1</sup>

##### 5.1.1.1. Description of D<sup>1</sup>

Manuscript *d*<sup>1</sup> is an undated parchment codex. The shape of the characters, as well as other evidence, makes it fairly certain that it was copied in the early ninth century. The script is simple *Kūfī* and written with thick black ink. Folios 108-113 were written on paper *circa* the thirteenth century. The second scribe tried to imitate the handwriting of the original scribe. He introduced, however, the التنوين and الشدة. Vowels at the beginning of each Gospel were added later with a different ink and color. The manuscript is divided according to the Jerusalem ecclesiological calendar.

The shape of the script reflects an old version; perhaps the most important feature of this script is the placing of one dot under the letter ڤ, a feature common among manuscripts of the eighth century. The

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1 Valentin, “Les évangélistes arabes,” 445.

codex is from early ninth century but might reflect an archetype from as early as the eighth century. There are a few corrections in the margin and some omissions in the texts, which show that *d*<sup>1</sup> is a copy of a much earlier exemplar.<sup>2</sup>

Linguistically, the Arabic terminology used in this version approaches the Syriac closely, and the language is Middle Arabic. For example, the scribe used the colloquial لايش for the word لماذا (see for instance, Mt 6:28; Mk 2:8; Jn 18:22-23). However, لماذا is also used (Jn 10:20 لماذا تسمعون and Mt 9:4). In some places the dual and the feminine plural are used, features which are uncommon in Middle Arabic.

#### 5.1.1.2. The Test Passages of Manuscript D<sup>1</sup>

The test passages in appendix one, §12.4 show that the text of this manuscript is dissimilar to any other text examined in this study, with two exceptions: The text of Matthew in Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 8 (see §4.44 above), and Matthew in Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 36 (see §8.1.2 below). I shall return to the relationship between the texts of various families in Chapter Nine. These test passages show how closely *d*<sup>1</sup> follows the Syriac; not only in the word order, but also in the choice of words. (See below).

#### 5.1.1.3. The *Vorlage* of D<sup>1</sup>

I have thoroughly examined ten chapters from the Gospel of Luke (chapter 10-19) to ascertain how closely the Arabic text follows the Peshitta. Chapters 10-19 were selected because the *Vetus Syra* (the Sinaiticus and the Curetonian) are not defective in these chapters, and therefore a comparison of the Arabic text with the *Vetus Syra* and the Peshitta is possible.<sup>3</sup> Whenever the Arabic text differs from the Peshitta, it is noted in appendix two, §13.4.

2 For example in Lk 23:44 (fol. 86r) the phrase وصارت ظلمه على جميع الارض [...] تسع ساعات is added in the margin. It is a homoioteleuton omission which follows the phrase ست ساعات. See also the addition in the margins of folios 8v, 76r and 99v.

3 Valentin has examined the Gospel of Matthew randomly and found one reading which follows the Curetonian against the Peshitta (Mt.4:7) (see Valentin, "Les évangéliques arabes," 445). The Curetonian is defective in the Gospel of Mark (except a few versions from chapter 16). As for the Gospel of John only the following verses survived in both the Curetonian and the Sinaiticus version (John 1:25-1:42; 3:5-4:37; 5:6-5:25; 5:48-8:19; 14:10-14:29). It seems convenient to have selected the ten consecutive chapters of Luke.

This case study demonstrates how closely the Arabic text follows the Syriac Peshitta. Only in rare cases does the Arabic text divert from the majority Peshitta manuscripts. This diversion is most often based on internal stylistic demands. In four places the Arabic follows a variant found in one or a handful of Peshitta manuscripts.<sup>4</sup> In only one place (Lk 13:23) does the Arabic text follow the Curetonian against the Peshitta manuscripts collated in Pusey's *Tetraeuangelium Sanctum*.

One can safely conclude that the ten chapters examined above (Luke 10-19) follow strictly the Peshitta version. This version seems to have not been influenced by any other *Vorlage(n)* (e.g. Greek, Coptic, Latin). It was originally translated from the Peshitta, possibly in the second half of the eighth century at the latest, and has preserved in codex *d*<sup>1</sup> its textual and linguistic purity.

### 5.1.2. Family E of Peshitta Origin

Family *e*, possibly an *ad hoc* translation, is represented by one bilingual Syriac-Arabic codex: Vatican, Syr. 269. This codex contains the four Gospels with some lacunae in the text. It starts with some Syriac lectionaries (folios 1-14r) and Matthew 1:1 starts on folio 14v. The Gospel of John ends on folio 318r. The Arabic text is written by one scribe with a thick black ink. The style of the Arabic script is similar to the *naskhi*, while preserving some *Kūfic* features (e.g. the ك is elongated horizontally; shortening the tail of the final م). The chapter titles in the Syriac text, as well as the dots above the letters, are red in color. The Arabic text does not contain liturgical signs or chapter divisions. The Syriac stands on the right hand side which might show that the Arabic is a translation of it and not vice versa.

On folio 319r there are some Syriac and Arabic marginalia written in several hands; some of these are not legible. However, the reference is to a priest called يعقوب الحاج يوحنا who was in charge of selling olives, and this seems to have taken place on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of May 1679 (Greek Year في تاريخ ثالث والعشرين بشهر نيسان سنة ألف وستماية وتسع وسبعين سنة يونانيه والسيح) دايم الله... This date is equivalent to 1367 A.D.<sup>5</sup> On paleographic grounds

4 Verse 26 of Mark 11 is omitted in this manuscript (see fol. 49v) and follows the Syriac Sinaiticus as well as one Peshitta manuscript (Codex Crawfordianus I of the sixth century). A full examination of the four Gospels might show some additional readings which agree with a few early Peshitta manuscripts.

5 The Greek (or sometimes called the Alexandrian or Dioclean) era starts on the 29<sup>th</sup> of August 284. Cf. Déroche, *Manuel*, 347. Mai gives the date 1368 A.D.

the codex seems to be written a considerable time before this date, probably in the eleventh or twelfth century.<sup>6</sup>

According to Mai, the Syriac text contains the Peshitta version and the Arabic text is a translation of it.<sup>7</sup> Graf follows Mai and includes it among manuscripts translated from the Peshitta.<sup>8</sup> Other scholars, like Lagarde, Guidi and Vööbus made no reference to this manuscript.

It is worth mentioning before examining the *Vorlage* of this version, that the eight test passages are found in appendix one, §12.5. They do not contain a critical apparatus as this family is represented by a single manuscript.

#### 5.1.2.1. The *Vorlage* of E<sup>1</sup>

When sections from the Syriac text are compared with Pusey's *Tetraeuangelium Sanctum*, it becomes clear that the Syriac on the right-hand side of the codex is of the Peshitta version. A comparison between the Arabic and the Syriac texts shows the full dependency of the Arabic text upon the Syriac in parallel. The main question which presents itself is whether or not the Arabic is a fresh translation from the Syriac Peshitta in parallel. Could the Arabic text of Vatican, Syr. 269 be a re-worked edition of a more archaic Arabic version, originally translated from Greek? Has the scribe, who prepared this edition, used an Arabic text in circulation at his time, corrected it against the Peshitta version and improved it linguistically? The external evidence, which is mainly concerned with a comparison of this version with other families, will be discussed in Chapter Nine, however an internal examination will be conducted here. The methodology is mainly to compare, the Arabic text of as many passages as possible, with the Peshitta in parallel. The aim is to ascertain textual variants in the Arabic text which differ from the Syriac in parallel and agree with the Greek (or other versions). These readings, if they exist, might reflect the original Arabic version used by the scribe, and which were, presumably, unwittingly overlooked by the scribe who prepared this version.

The first fifteen chapters of Matthew were taken as a case study for that purpose and revealed that the Arabic translation follows the Syriac literally; there are only two additions in the Arabic text which are not found in the Syriac. The first is a scribal addition of a doxological ex-

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6 Compare, for instance, the script of this codex with Sinai, Ar. 106 copied in 1056 A.D.

7 Angelo Mai, *Scriptorum nova collectio e Vaticanis codicibus edita*, vol. 6, (Romae: Typis Vaticanis, 1831), 5.

8 Graf, *Geschichte*, 151.

pression سبحانه found in Matthew 4:4 after the word الله (folio 20v). The second is the addition of the word كلمه in مثل الزارع in Matthew 13:18. Other than these two additions, the Arabic follows the parallel Syriac text closely and faithfully.

A few other variants in the Arabic text seem to deviate from the Syriac version. These are listed and assessed in appendix two, §13.5. They are unlikely to be *textual* but more likely *stylistic* variants.

#### 5.1.2.2. Conclusion

The textual analysis of the first fifteen chapters of the Gospel of Matthew shows little, if any, Greek influence on the text. This leads us to conclude that either this text has been a fresh translation from the Syriac Peshitta, without being influenced by any Arabic-Greek archaic version, or that the scribe meticulously corrected his Arabic text against the Peshitta version which was at his disposal.

Concerning the first supposition (a fresh translation of the Syriac), this version could be an *ad hoc* translation with little circulation. At least one variant (transposition of ليكرز ويعلم in Mt 11:1—see appendix two, §13.5 no.6), might suggest that the archetype might have been translated from a Syriac Peshitta slightly different from what the parallel text of codex Vatican, Syr. 269 contains. Certainly, a thorough textual analysis of the four Gospels needs to be undertaken to better evaluate this claim.

Concerning the second supposition (e.g. the scribe used an Arabic text and corrected it against the Peshitta, without necessarily making a fresh translation), the internal textual examination of this codex, surprisingly, points to exactly the opposite; not a single variant in the first fifteen chapters indicates that the scribe might have used an already existing Arabic text of Greek origin. In Chapter Nine, an external investigation will be undertaken; a linguistic comparison of this text with the texts of other Arabic versions will be examined and the results assessed. We shall turn now to examining family *f*.

## 5.1.3. Family F of Peshitta Origin

Family *f*, which survived in three codices, is translated from the Syriac Peshitta in the early tenth century at the latest.<sup>9</sup> According to the colophons of codices Vatican, Ar. 17 and 18, this version was in circulation in about the tenth century in Egypt and in Constantinople. Codex Vatican, Ar. 17 was copied by a Muslim Arab called حمدان علي. This might indicate the context in which it was used. The language of this version closely approaches the language of the Qur'ān. Many of the verses rhyme elegantly. In various places the translator seems to paraphrase instead of translate literally. As for the proper nouns, the scribe has adopted the Qur'ānic renderings for these nouns. For instance, Ἰησοῦς (يسوع) is translated as عيسى instead of the يسوع/ايسوع/ايشوع. The name Ἰωάννης (يوحنا/يحنأ/يوحنان) becomes يحيى instead of يوحنا/يحنأ/يوحنان. The linguistic features of this manuscript are significant and require an in-depth examination. Curt Peters, for instance, noticed the unusual use of الخضر for the prophet Elijah (Luke 9:30, 33) instead of ايليا, and the use of شعيب for "Isaiah" instead of اشعيا.<sup>10</sup> Since this family was the subject of a PhD Thesis, and a full study of this version is due to be published,<sup>11</sup> I shall only list the witnesses represented in this version and the test passages with a critical apparatus.

9 This version is rightly believed to be translated from Syriac. See for instance, Curt Peters, „Von arabischen Evangelientexten,“ 124-128 and Graf, *Geschichte*, 164. However, the following websites

[http://www.ibiblio.org/expo/vatican.exhibit/exhibit/h-orient\\_to\\_rome/Easter\\_lang.html](http://www.ibiblio.org/expo/vatican.exhibit/exhibit/h-orient_to_rome/Easter_lang.html) and

<http://www.loc.gov/wiseguide/aug03/timbuktu.html> and

[http://www.africa.upenn.edu/Vatican\\_GIFS/About\\_1159.html](http://www.africa.upenn.edu/Vatican_GIFS/About_1159.html)

(accessed October 2006) point out that codex Vatican, Ar. 18 is translated from a Coptic original which is incorrect. The test passages below clearly show a Syriac *Vorlage* behind this version. The following are a few variants which agree with the Syriac against the Coptic Bohairic version: Mt 16:3 قالوا; Mt 16:4 omission of ثم اجاب وقال; Mk 6:14 عرف; Mk 6:15 وقال لهم; Mk 6:15 omits الاولين; Mk 6:16 addition of اقام من الملوك..السلاطين; Lk 8:10 singular of عذوهم; Lk 8:10 omits ويسمعون; Lk 8:12 adds الكلمة; Luke 8:12 reads عذوهم; Lk 8:14 add الكلمة; Lk 8:14 omits الساعين/الذاهبين; Luke 15:11 وقال عيسى; Lk 15:11 omits لابيه; Lk 15:12 قال عيسى; Jn 18:19 قال له عيسى; Jn 18:22 omits عيسى; Jn 18:23 قال عيسى; Jn 18:24 adds عيسى; Jn 18:26 شمعون; Jn 18:27 شمعون.

10 Curt Peters, „Von arabischen Evangelientexten,“ 128-130.

11 Josephine Ibrahim Nasir, „Taqdim Makhtūt Injīl Lūqā wa Taḥqīqihī wa Fahrasatihi: Al-qarn al-Thālith al-Hijrī / al-Tāsi' Milādī,“ (PhD thesis, St. Joseph University, Beirut, 1997). I am truly grateful to Father S.K. Samir for providing me with this information and for access to his library.

## 5.1.3.1. A List with the Witnesses of Family F

Although  $f^1$  was copied later than the other two manuscripts, it was selected as the collated base and the represented text. This is not only because the whole text of  $f^1$  is available to me, but also because  $f^2$  has a lacuna in the text and as a result of that seven out of eight test passages were transcribed and collated.<sup>12</sup> Manuscript  $f^3$  which was copied in 993 A.D. contains the Gospel of Luke only.

Sigla	Ms Number	Contents	Date
$f^1$	Leiden, University Library, Cod. 561 Warn	TP	15 <sup>th</sup>
$f^2$	Vatican, Ar. 17	TP (except Mark 13:5-10)	1009
$f^3$	Vatican, Ar. 18	Luke 8:9-15; 15:11-20	993

## 5.1.3.2. The Test Passages of Family F

The collation of the test passages (see appendix one, §12.6) shows that manuscripts  $f^{1,2,3}$  share one exemplar. Relatively speaking, the number of variants found in this family is minimal. As for the test passages of Luke, it is clear that  $f^2$  and  $f^3$  are closer to each other than to  $f^1$ . In John 6:35,  $f^2$  has an unusual reading and then the text is corrected in the margin.<sup>13</sup>

## 5.1.3.3. Conclusion

This version, which is represented by three manuscripts, is translated from the Syriac Peshitta. The earliest witness is dated from 993 A.D. Its language is sophisticated and its terminology moves closely toward the Qur'ān's. The archetype of this version must have emerged in an Islamic milieu translated by possibly a Christian Arab whose aim was to communicate a Gospel, the linguistic features of which are familiar to the Muslim ear. It is not possible to determine how early this version is; any date between the eighth and early tenth century is a possibility.

12 I have not had the time to examine  $f^2$  thoroughly, but one example could be found on folios 225 and 226. Folio 225v of  $f^2$  ends with Mark 10:32 and folio 226r starts with Mark 13:10.

13  $f^2$  reads *اني لحبيب* لا يُماء بعضكم بعضا فما منكم احد يستطيع *الحياة من ياتني ليس من الساعيين ومن كان بي من المؤمنين فليس الى الابد من الظالمين*.



This version is another independent translation; it seems that other Arabic versions had no influence on it, and vice versa. This text might contain some important variants which agree with the old Syriac versions of the Gospels. Linguistically, a full examination of the use of terms, especially those loaded with theological connotation, is worth undertaking. The publication of this work (see §5.1.3 above) will soon make its own contribution to this invaluable version.

#### 5.1.4. Family G of Peshitta Origin

##### 5.1.4.1. A Description of the Representative Manuscript

Codex Beirut, B.O., Or. 430 (hereafter *g*<sup>5</sup>) is the sole manuscript which has survived of this family. The information given in the ALAGM is concise but sufficient to give us an idea about the codicological features of this manuscript. As far as the script is concerned, it is a *naskhi* copied with a nineteenth century hand using black ink. The chapter and verse divisions follow, with some variants, the modern division.<sup>14</sup> The verse numbers are written in violet. The manuscript seems to be written by one hand. By the end of the Gospel of John the script becomes smaller and the words much closer to each other so as to save space. Some simple but nice decorations are found at the beginning of each Gospel. The text throughout the manuscript is placed in a square box. There are a few corrections in the manuscript which appear to be by the same hand.<sup>15</sup> The manuscript has three colophons each on a separate page (fol. 182r, 183r and 183v). The colophons reveal valuable information and are worth particular attention.

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14 These are based on Stephen Langton and Hugo do Sancto Caro made between 1227 and 1248 A. D. (for the chapters) and Robert Estienne in his 1551 edition (for the verses). However, the verse numbers in B.O., Or. 430 sometimes differ from the modern practice. All the verse numbers mentioned in this chapter are based on the modern standard and not on the codex B.O., Or. 430.

15 The corrections are: (1) Matthew 15:1 the expression الكتبة is added in the margin by probably the same hand. (2) Luke 22 verse 23 (21 in the text) is added in the margin (folio 133v.); (3) Luke 24:2 the word فالقنين is added in the margin (fol. 138r.); (4) John 15:26 روح الحق is added in the margin at the end of folio 173r.; (5) John 20:20 (19 in the text) the scribe adds وجنبه in the margin to correct رجله in the text (fol. 180r.).

5.1.4.1.1. Colophon One (folio 182r)<sup>16</sup>

The first colophon indicates that the Bishop of Ba'albak (north of Lebanon) has made an effort (سعى) in this Gospel. This Gospel was copied on Monday twenty-second of March year 1500 of Alexander (1189 A.D.) and it was copied from a manuscript dated Tuesday the twelfth of Tut 976 of the church (984 A.D.),<sup>17</sup> which is seven hundred of Diocletian (984 A.D.).

The first colophon reveals the existence of two manuscripts of this version: one copied in 1189 A.D. (hereafter: g<sup>3</sup>), and a second dated 984 A.D. (hereafter g<sup>2</sup>).

5.1.4.1.2. Colophon Two (folio 183r)<sup>18</sup>

The second colophon gives, in addition to the same dates found in colophon one, the *Hijrah* equivalence. Moreover, this colophon reveals the existence of a third manuscript (*sigla* g<sup>1</sup>) which was the exemplar from which the scribe of manuscript g<sup>2</sup> (984 A.D.) copied his manuscript. His gives the name of the scribe who copied manuscript g<sup>1</sup>. His name is قسطنطين اندراوس known as ابو عيسى. Unfortunately g<sup>1</sup> is undated.

In short, the second colophon reveals the existence of manuscript g<sup>1</sup> which could date back to the ninth century or the first half of the tenth century.

16 The colophon in Arabic reads:

المجد لله دائماً سعى في هذا الانجيل المبارك الحقيق [مسماون] رئيس الكهنه مطران بعلبك الرب الاله يغفر للكتاب والقارئ ولمن قال امين وكان مطران على ايام [ابهاثنا الكهنه] وهم الخوري يوسف والقس ابراهيم والقس يوسف والقس موسى

كان الانجاز من هذا السفر الشريف المقدس يوم الاربعه الثاني والعشرون من شهر اذار سنة 1500 للاسكندر نقل من نسخه تاريخها نهار الثلاث اثنني عشر خلت مرقوت (من توت) سنة 976 للبيعه وهي سنة 700 لفليطيانوس

17 The date of the church could be the same as the date of the incarnation. To obtain the A.D. date one needs to add 8 or 9 years (976 + 8 = 984). The date 984 corresponds with the date 700 of Diocletian. See, Graf, 151 and Samir, "The Earliest Arab Apology" 63.

18 The second colophon gives similar information it says:

كمل نسخ الاربعه اناجيل المباركه المقدسه بعون الله وتسبيحه وتمجيده وتسديده يوم الاربعه الثاني والعشرين من شهر اذار سنة الف وخمسماية للاسكندر بن فيلفوس المتقادوني الموافق للثالث من شهر صفر سنة خمس وثمانون وخمسماية نقل من نسخه تاريخها يوم الثالثه لاثني عشر خلت من توت سنة سته وسبعين وتسع مائه للبيعه وهي سنة سبعماية لثقليطيانوس الموافق العشر لبال خلون من تسع الاف سنة وسبعين وثلثمائه للهجره نقل من نسخه بخط اندراوس قسطنطين وهو ابو عيسى رضى الله عنه ورحمه من تطرقه ودعا بالرحمه والمغفره لاسحيا الحقيق وللعالم التحرير امين.

5.1.4.1.3. Colophon Three (folio 183v)<sup>19</sup>

The third colophon reveals the existence of a fourth manuscript (hereafter *g*<sup>4</sup>) which was copied on the first of February 7146 of Adam (1636 A.D.). This manuscript could be the exemplar from which the scribe of *g*<sup>5</sup> has copied his manuscript.

What we know so far is the following:

1. Manuscript *g*<sup>1</sup> was copied by اندراوس قسطنطين (known as ابو عيسى) possibly between 850 and 950 A.D. at the latest. This manuscript is missing.
2. Manuscript *g*<sup>2</sup> was copied in 984 A.D. This manuscript is also missing.
3. Manuscript *g*<sup>3</sup> was copied in 1189 A.D. and was in the possession of Gabriel Mokhalla'. Cheikho had access to it in the late nineteenth early twentieth century (see below). Its location is unknown today.
4. Manuscript *g*<sup>4</sup> was copied in 1636 A.D.; its location is unknown.
5. Manuscript *g*<sup>5</sup> (codex Beirut, B.O., Or. 430) was copied in about 1885 according to Cheikho and is today in the *Bibliothèque Orientale* in Beirut, Lebanon.
6. In addition to the five manuscripts mentioned above, I was able to find evidence of another manuscript of this version through a comparative study of the variants found in the Apparatus of Ibn al-'Assāl's version and the text of *g*<sup>5</sup>.<sup>20</sup> This codex (hereafter *g*<sup>6</sup>), used by Ibn al-'Assāl in about 1200 A.D., seems to have no colophon and contained the Gospel of Mark, Luke and John only. Ibn al-'Assāl did not know the date of his copy nor the translator, however he mentioned it with the manuscript translated from Syriac.

Among the six manuscripts mentioned above, only Beirut, B.O., Or. 430 (*g*<sup>5</sup>) survived. Future research might show the existence of other witnesses of this version in libraries and monasteries in the Middle East. This version was certainly in circulation in about the ninth century in Egypt as well as Lebanon and possibly Syria and Palestine. As we will see below the version is translated from the Syriac Peshitta.

19 The third colophon reads:

كانت تمت هذا الانجيل الشريف نهار الاربعاء في اول شباط شهر اب المبارك في سنة سبع الاف ومائه وستة واربعون  
لايينا ادم عليه السلام على يد احقر العباد وازلها فرح باسم مطران يحننا ببيت حزير ابن الحاج عطالله المرحوم ومن كتب  
هولا الاسطر يدعى له بالمغفرة ويكون له نصير ذلك

20 See §§7.1.5.3, 4 below.

## 5.1.4.2. A Review of Previous works

Cheikho's catalogue of the manuscripts of *La bibliothèque orientale* has minimal information. As far as codex g<sup>5</sup> is concerned, he gives a concise codicological description of the manuscript and mentions that this codex was copied in Alexandria in about 1885 A.D. (information not found in the colophon) from a manuscript belonged to Gabriel Mokhalla'. Moreover, he transcribes a section from the colophon and points out that this manuscript is archaic and elegant.<sup>21</sup> Finally, he notes that the proper nouns and the doxology in Matthew 6:13 are closer to the Syriac than any other language.<sup>22</sup>

Apart of the colophon, little is known about either the manuscript which, according to Cheikho, was in the possession of Gabriel Mokhalla', or the exemplar from which the scribe of g<sup>5</sup> copied his manuscript. It is probable that this manuscript contains the same text as g<sup>5</sup>. Later we shall see that it was copied in 1189 A.D. The question which needs investigation is whether or not Cheikho had access to Mokhalla's codex.

5.1.4.2.1. Did Cheikho have access to codex g<sup>3</sup> (of Gabriel Mokhalla')?

In previous works, Cheikho made reference to the version of Mokhalla' and from these references it is clear that Cheikho had access to the text of this manuscript. In an article published in 1901, he refers to an Arabic version translated from Coptic dated in year 1500 (1189 A.D.) and

21 I believe Cheikho is right to suggest that the text is archaic and elegant (see Louis Cheikho, *Catalogue raisonné des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque orientale: Philosophie et écriture sainte*, 4: *Mélanges de L'Université Saint-Joseph Beyrouth*, 10, fasc. 5 (Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1925). The language and terms used in this version are not similar to what one might find in, for instance, Families *a*, *b*, *c*. The Arabic language is not what Blau would call "middle Arabic" and which was found in and around Palestine. The archaic feature of this codex is perceived in words like قسط (نعمه وقسطا) for حق in John 1:14; اصبغ and يصطبغون (see for instance John 1:26, though John 3:23 and 24 have بعمد) in John 1:45 (see also 1:45, 7:19, 8:17) and السنن in John 7:23 and 49, 10:34, 18:31, instead of الناموس; and the expression is the ختن found in John 2:9 instead of العريس; in John 10:41 we read لا جريحه واحد اجترح instead of واحده/ايه واحد; John 5:26 has قنومه instead of ذاته; John 11:13 رقاد السنه instead of رقاد النوم; John 11:24 and 25 البعث instead of القيامة (and also 20:9: الانبعاث), but John 21:3 has رقام من بين الاموات; John 15:5 الجبله instead of الكرمة. Some of these terms are used by the Qur'ān. For بعث See Sūrah 16:38 and 17:49. Moreover, Jonah in Matthew 16:4 is called يونس (instead of يونان) as in the Qur'ān. See for instance Sūrah 4:163 and 6:86 etc.

22 Graf as well included codex B.O., Or. 430 among manuscripts translated from Syriac. (cf. Graf, *Geschichte*, 151).

belonging to Mokhalla' in Alexandria. Cheikho also transcribed the colophon of the codex.<sup>23</sup>

The information in the colophon (that the manuscript was copied from a manuscript dated "Tuesday the 12<sup>th</sup> of Tut 976 of the church, which is seven hundred of Diocletian (984 A.D.)..." and that the 984 A.D. version is a copy of an earlier manuscript copied by اندراوس قسطنطين (ابو عيسى) is found in the second colophon of g<sup>5</sup>, and it is obvious that g<sup>5</sup> is either a direct copy of it, as mentioned by Cheikho, or more likely a copy of a manuscript (copied in 1636 A.D. – see the colophon above) the latter of which is a copy of Mokhalla's codex.

Three years later, in 1904, Cheikho refers to this manuscript with almost the same information as he did in 1901 but this time he asserts that this manuscript is translated from Syriac and not Coptic. Moreover, he pointed out that Mokhalla' had shown him the codex which is dated 1189 A.D. Unfortunately, this codex seems to be missing today, but its text has survived in g<sup>5</sup>.

Both the colophons of Codex g<sup>5</sup> (Beirut, B.O., Or. 430) and g<sup>3</sup> (Mokhalla') tell of the existence of manuscript g<sup>2</sup> dated 976 of the church. It is worth investigating whether or not Cheikho had access to this invaluable codex as well.

#### 5.1.4.2.2. Did Cheikho have access to codex g<sup>2</sup> (dated 976 of the church)?

In 1896 Cheikho transcribed various passages from a number of early Arabic manuscripts and published them in *Elementa Grammaticae Arabicae*. Among these passages, he transcribed the parable of the ten virgins in Matthew 25:1-14 introduced by the following sentence: *Ex Versione Alexandrina facta an. Martyrum 766 [C. 976] Ms. Univ. Beryt. p. 83-84.*

Later we will see that there are two major errors in this sentence, by which Graf and Vööbus were misled in the nineteen fifties.

Cheikho's introductory statement shows that this version was translated from Coptic (Alexandrina) and copied in 976 A.D. Cheikho also suggests that it is among the collection of the "Univ. Beryt" which is today the *Bibliothèque Orientale*.

Graf in his *Geschichte* mentions that this codex is missing from the *Bibliothèque Orientale*. I conclude that Cheikho did not have access to

23 See, Cheikho, "Nisakh 'arabiyyah," 102. According to Cheikho the colophon reads the following:

نقل من نسخه تاريخها يوم الثلثة (كذا) لاثني عشر خلت من ثوت سنة ست وسبعين وتسع مائه للبيعه وهي سنة سبعمائه  
لذاقبطيانوس الموافق لعشر ليال خلون من ربيع الاول سنة سبعين وثلثمائه للهجرة نقل من نسخه بخط اندراوس قسطنطين  
وهو ابو عيسى رضي الله عنه.

this manuscript because nowhere in Cheikho's catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts of the *Bibliothèque Orientale* is there a direct reference to this manuscript nor does he mention that this manuscript was ever in his possession, or that it was later lost which would be reasonable if it were in his library collection.

Furthermore, nowhere in Cheikho's articles on the early AGM is there a description or a direct reference to this manuscript, although he provides descriptions and direct references for most/all other manuscripts he deals with.

However, in the catalogue as well as in some other articles there is an *indirect* reference to this manuscript. In 1901 he refers to Mokhalla' codex with an emphasis on the colophon which says that the manuscript is a copy of an earlier manuscript dated in 976.<sup>24</sup> In 1904 the same information is given but, he indicates that the manuscript is translated from Syriac and not Coptic.<sup>25</sup> In 1925 he deals with it in a similar manner but with more emphasis on the archaic nature of this manuscript.<sup>26</sup>

In Cheikho's article in 1901 there is an intriguing footnote which might carry the argument further. While giving a description of Mokhalla''s codex, he mentions that he earlier transcribed the parable of the ten virgins which was published in the *Elementa Grammatica* from *this version*. This surprising footnote suggests that Cheikho might have used the codex of Mokhalla' to transcribe the passage of the ten virgins, which was copied from a manuscript dated in 976.

If this is the case, the puzzle is partially solved, however it is still not clear why Cheikho refers to this manuscript as if it belonged to "Univ. Beryt" (which is the *Bibliothèque Orientale*), when it was actually in Alexandria and belonged to Mokhalla'. Did Cheikho purchase it for his library? Most probably not. Nowhere does Cheikho mention that Mokhalla''s manuscript was purchased or given to the *Bibliothèque Orientale*, moreover this manuscript is not mentioned in his thorough catalogue of the library manuscript in 1925.

Codex g<sup>5</sup> may provide the answer. As mentioned earlier, this codex is from the nineteenth century and is among the *Bibliothèque Orientale*'s collection. The colophon shows that this codex was copied from a manuscript dated 1189 A.D. and that the latter was copied from a manuscript dated 976 of the church. It is most probable that Cheikho transcribed the text of Matthew 25:1-14 from g<sup>5</sup>, which was available to

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24 See Cheikho, "Nisakh 'arabiyyah," 102.

25 Louis Cheikho, "Al-makhtūṭāt al-'arabiyyah fī Khazānat Kulliyyatina al-Sharqiyyah," *Al-Mashriq*, 7 (1904): 37.

26 Cheikho, *Catalogue raisonné*, 157.

him, and then ascribed it to manuscript  $g^2$  (dated in 976) in 1896 in *Elementa* and then to  $g^3$  (Mokhalla's codex) in 1901. Cheikho's concern seems to be the contents and not the physical manuscript. Since all the manuscripts contain the same version *Cheikho was not hesitant to ascribe the transcribed passage of  $g^5$  (Beirut, B.O. Or. 430) to any of them.*

What strengthens this conclusion is that both the text transcribed by Cheikho and the page numbers are identical to the text of  $g^5$ . Fortunately, Cheikho mentions the page numbers where the parable of the ten virgins is written (pp. 83-84), and this is exactly where this incident is mentioned in manuscript  $g^5$ .

In the light of this, we can better interpret (as well as correct) the introductory sentence of Cheikho which reads *Ex Versione Alexandrina facta an. Martyrum 766 [C. 976] Ms. Univ. Beryt. p. 83-84.*

1. '*Ex Versione Alexandrina*': Until 1904, Cheikho believed that this version was translated from Coptic, however he later changed his mind. Graf and Vööbus were misled by this phrase and took the word "Alexandrina" to mean the "Alexandrian Vulgate" (family  $k$ ), and both argued that the earliest witness of the "Alexandrian Vulgate" goes back to 766 of the Martyrs (Graf and Vööbus give the A.D. equivalence: 1048 A.D. See the argument below).<sup>27</sup> The corrected reading should be *Ex Versione Syriaca* instead of *Ex Versione Alexandrina*:
2. *facta an. Martyrum 766 [C. 976]*: It is clear that the date 976 comes from codex  $g^3$  and  $g^5$ , but in both  $g^3$  and  $g^5$ 's colophons the date of the Martyr is 700 and not 766. It is most probably a typing error. Certainly Graf and Vööbus did not have access to the manuscript and were not able to check the dating as found in the colophon. They took the date 766 and converted it to 1048 A.D. thinking that Cheikho wrongly converted it to 976 A.D.<sup>28</sup> However, the exact date is 700 of the Martyr which is equal to 984 A.D. The date 976 is also found in the colophon but is the date of the church, and to obtain the *anno domini* year one must add 8 years:  $976 + 8 = 984$  A.D. This figure is equal to 700 of the Martyr. In this way we get the exact date of the manuscript. What should have been written is *facta an. Martyrum 700 [C. 984]* and neither *facta an. Martyrum 766 [C. 976]*, nor as Graf and Vööbus thought *facta an. Martyrum 766 [C. 1048]*.
3. *Ms. Univ. Beryt. p. 83-84*: This reference refers to codex  $g^5$  of the nineteenth century pages 83-84. Cheikho should have made it clear

27 Graf, *Geschicht*, 156 first paragraph; Vööbus, *Early Versions*, 289, 294 (incl. footnote 2).

28 See Graf, *Geschicht*, on page 156 where he quotes Cheikho "ex Versione Alexandrina facta an. Mart. 766" and corrects the date to "[1048]. Ms. Univ. Beryt."

that the text transcribed is from a nineteenth century manuscript, the text of which goes back to the tenth century. In this way he would have avoided more than a century of confusion.

This evidence seems to leave no room for doubt that Cheikho was transcribing from g<sup>5</sup> of the nineteenth century which goes back to 984 A.D. He certainly had access to g<sup>3</sup> (Mokhalla's codex of 1189 A.D.) and might have compared passages from both g<sup>5</sup> and g<sup>3</sup>. What is certain is that Cheikho did not have access to manuscript g<sup>2</sup> (copied in 984 A.D.). All that he knows about it comes from the colophons of g<sup>5</sup> (Beirut, B.O., Or. 430) and g<sup>3</sup> (Mokhalla's codex).

No access to codex g<sup>1</sup> (copied by اندراوس قسطنطين), is mentioned by any scholar, and no passages have been extracted from it. This is also true for manuscript g<sup>4</sup>. Only the colophon of manuscript g<sup>3</sup> was transcribed by Cheikho. Manuscript g<sup>5</sup> contains the entire text of the Gospels while in manuscript g<sup>6</sup>, only words and phrases from the critical apparatus of Ibn al-'Assāl survived.

#### 5.1.4.3. The *Vorlage* of g<sup>5</sup>

##### 5.1.4.3.1. Textual Evidence

Textually, the eight test passages transcribed in appendix one, §12.7.1 follow the Syriac Peshitta closely. Graf has already pointed to its Syriac Peshitta origin.<sup>29</sup> Ibn al-'Assāl made use of a Gospel manuscript whose text was similar to codex Beirut, B.O., Or. 430 in the late twelfth/early thirteenth century. He pointed out that the text is translated from the Syriac. Moreover, a close reading of the four Gospels in g<sup>5</sup> confirms with a high degree of certainty that this manuscript consistently agrees with the Peshitta as its *Vorlage*. In appendix two, §13.6.1 I detected sixty-nine variants from the Gospel of John which agree with the Peshitta against the Greek Majority text.<sup>30</sup> Eleven readings follow neither the Peshitta nor the Greek Majority text. Most of these readings are either stylistic or scribal errors (see appendix two, §13.6.2). Three out of eleven might reflect a pre-Peshitta readings (see appendix two, §13.6.2.2, no.1,2,11).

<sup>29</sup> Graf, *Geschicht*, 151.

<sup>30</sup> In addition to these readings there are a significant number of variants which agree with the Peshitta against the Byzantine text-type but were not all referred to in the Appendix. For instance, the frequent addition of ܐܡܝܢ when it is absent in Greek; exchanging ἀποκρῖνομαι for λέγω; the addition of the pronoun μου or ἡμῶν to κύριος etc.



## 5.1.4.3.2. Linguistic Evidence

Linguistically, Cheikho has already noticed that proper nouns like ايشوع and اليشيع are closer to the Syriac than other languages. The following is a list of ten expressions I have extracted from the Gospel of John:

1. ܡܠܝܚܡ becomes فيلفوس (for instance John 1:46; 6:5; 12:21 and 22)
2. ܡܠܝܚܡ (bridegroom) becomes الختن (John 2:9)
3. ܡܠܝܚܡ (Siloam) becomes شيلوحا (John 9:7 and 11)
4. ܡܠܝܚܡ becomes قنومه (John 5:26)
5. ܡܠܝܚܡ becomes شمعون (John 1:40, 41, 42 etc.)
6. ܡܠܝܚܡ becomes فارقليطا (John 14:16, 26) or بارقليط (John 15:26; 16:7)
7. ܡܠܝܚܡ becomes مالخ (John 18:10)
8. ܡܠܝܚܡ becomes فيلاطس (John 18:29, 31, 33)
9. ܡܠܝܚܡ becomes ابن ابا (ابن ابا) (John 18:41)
10. ܡܠܝܚܡ becomes قليفوا (John 19:25)

## 5.1.4.3.3. The Pericope Adulterae in John 7:53-8:11

My analysis of the Gospel of John shows that the text of g<sup>5</sup> follows the Peshitta version closely. Only three variants might reflect a pre-Peshitta reading (John 4:10, 5:11 and 21:25); eight variants seem more likely to be scribal errors.<sup>31</sup>

The last intriguing textual variant is the inclusion of John 7:53-8:11 (*Pericope Adulterae*) in g<sup>5</sup>. This passage cannot be authentic and must have been added later. There are two reasons for this:

1. The *Pericope Adulterae* is apparently absent from the Sinaiticus, Curetonian and the Peshitta versions collated by Pusey in his *Tetraevangelium Sanctum*.<sup>32</sup> It is found, however, in codex A of the Palestinian Syriac Lectionaries.<sup>33</sup> Since there is little, if any, doubt that family g is translated from the Syriac Peshitta, the hypothesis which presents itself is that the passage of the adulterous woman was not originally in the Arabic text, but inserted later from another source.

31 Some omissions which are obviously scribal mistakes are not included here (see the previous footnote). On the other hand, the scribe seems to have a tendency sometimes to added phrases like بعد هذه الخطوب (see for example John 6:1, 7:1, 19:38 and 21:1) and also الاقاويل (as in John 6:59, 9:6, 11:11, 13:21, 16:33, 17:1, 18:1, 21:19). These do not reflect a textual variant.

32 See Kiraz, *Comparative Edition* and Pusey and Gwilliam, *Tetraevangelium*, ad loc.

33 Verse two is missing from the pericope. See Lewis and Gibson, *the Palestinian Syriac Lectionary*, 242-3.

2. I was able to find three expressions in this passage which have never been used in the Gospel of John:
  - a. In John 8:2 the Pharisees are called *المعتزله*. Nowhere in the Gospel of John does this expression occur. The Pharisees are always called *الاحبار*;
  - b. In John 8:5 the *νόμος* is translated by *ناموس*. There are fourteen occurrences of the *νόμος* in the Gospel of John (excl. John 8:5) and in none of them did the scribe translate it by *ناموس*; it is either *توراه/توريه* or *سنة/سنن*;
  - c. In John 8:7 and 11, Jesus is called *السيد ايشوع*. This combination is not found in the Gospel of John. Even *السيد* seems to be, in most places, replaced by *الرب* or *المعلم*.

The fact that the style and vocabulary differ clearly from the rest of the Gospel of John, leaves no doubt of its later insertion in the text.

The question which presents itself is whether or not *g*<sup>5</sup> has borrowed his text from another Arabic version available to him. I shall turn to this now.

#### 5.1.4.3.4. Possible *g*<sup>5</sup> Source Material

When the pericope of John 7:53-8:11 is compared with the same pericope found in other AGM and versions, one finds evidence that *Pericope Adulterae* in *g*<sup>5</sup> was borrowed from an Arabic manuscript, the text of which belongs to the Alexandrian Vulgate (Family *k*). I have placed both narratives (of John 7:53-8:11 from *g*<sup>5</sup> and *k*<sup>1</sup>) in parallel in appendix one, §12.7.2.

This exercise shows that both texts (from *g*<sup>5</sup> and *k*<sup>1</sup>) are almost identical. The variants, in addition to the fact that *g*<sup>5</sup> always reads *ايشوع* and *k*<sup>1</sup> *يسوع* (for the name of Jesus) are:

1. In version one, *g*<sup>5</sup> has *واما ايشوع* and *k*<sup>1</sup> has *ومضي يسوع*. (the addition of *ومضي* has no textual support).
2. In version two, *g*<sup>5</sup> omits *ايضا* with no textual support.
3. In version three, *k*<sup>1</sup> has *فقدما* and *g*<sup>5</sup> more correctly *فقدم*; moreover, *g*<sup>5</sup> has *المعتزله* (for the Pharisees) and *k*<sup>1</sup> has *الفرسيين*; lastly, *k*<sup>1</sup> has *زنا* and *g*<sup>5</sup> corrected it to *زنى*.
4. In verse five:
  - a. *g*<sup>5</sup> omits the conjunction *و*;
  - b. *g*<sup>5</sup> reads *ناموس* (*Nāmūs*) but surprisingly *k*<sup>1</sup> reads *السنة* (*al-Sunah*);
  - c. *g*<sup>5</sup> omits *هذه*;
  - d. *k*<sup>1</sup> reads *انت ما تقول* and *g*<sup>5</sup> reads *فماذا تقول انت* which is more linguistically correct.

## 5. In verse six:

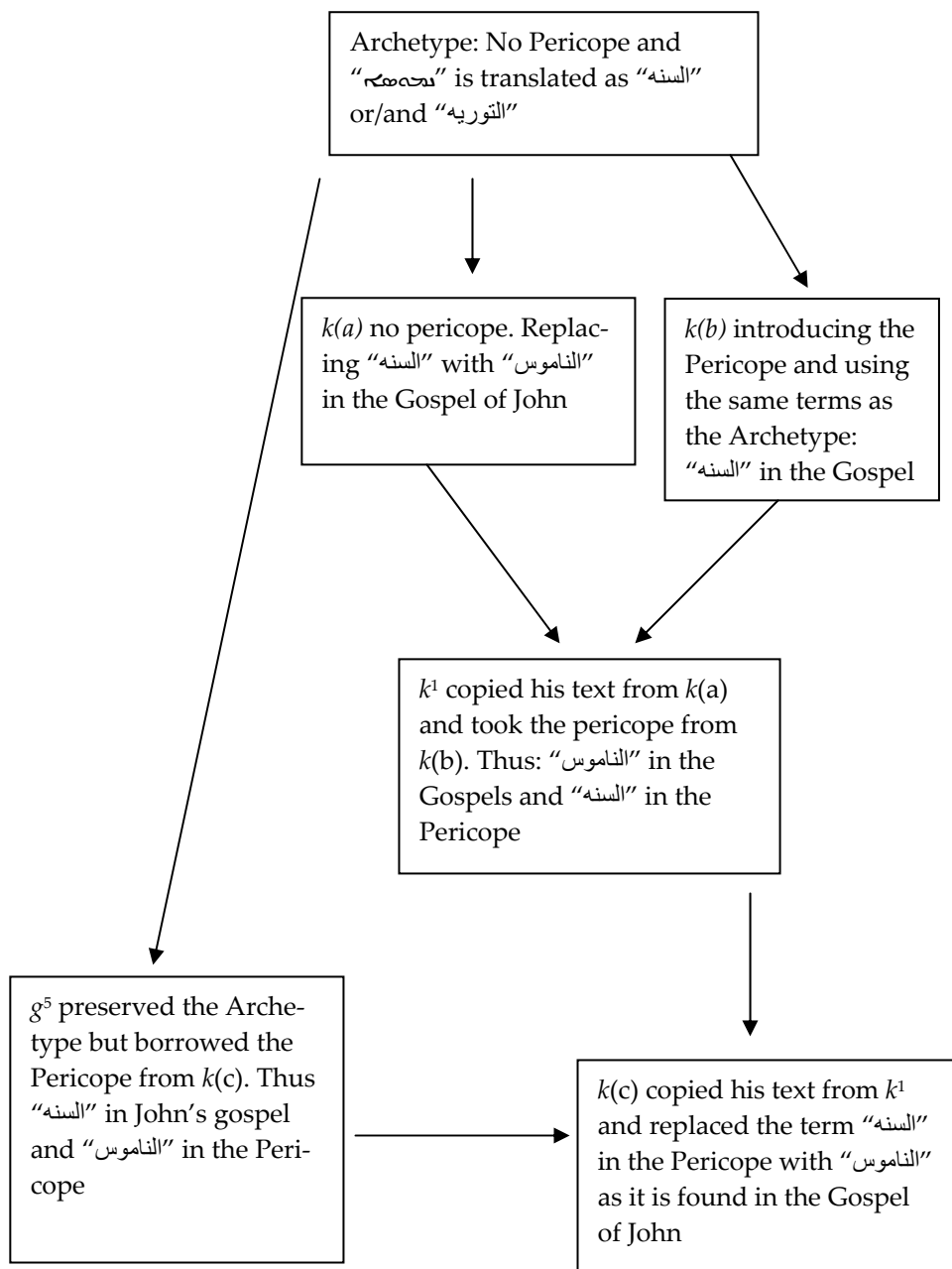
- a.  $k^1$  omits the conjunction ف;
- b.  $g^5$  omits ليجريه with no textual support. It is most probably a scribal error.

6. In verse nine,  $g^5$  adds متفهمني التبكيكيت والتعبير (with no textual support)7. In version eleven,  $g^5$  omits the conjunction و.

The variants are mainly stylistic.<sup>34</sup> The Arabic text of  $g^5$  reads more smoothly and more elegantly than family  $k^1$ . One of the most intriguing variants is found in verse four,  $g^5$  reads ناموس for νόμος—an exception in  $g^5$ . Usually either سنه/سنن or توراه/توريه is used. The intriguing thing is that سنه (and not ناموس) is found in verse four of  $k^1$  where elsewhere it reads ناموس. Why is it that family  $k^1$  reads here السنه (a reading normally found in  $g^5$  *except here!*) where in other places  $k^1$  reads ناموس (a reading found in no where in  $g^5$  *except here!*)?

This amalgamation is fascinating; it appears that the narrative of John 7:51-8:11 did not originally belong to family  $g$  but was borrowed from a different source similar to that of  $k$ . The narrative in  $k^1$  has a peculiar variant (e.g. السنه) which is found elsewhere in the text of  $g^5$  *but not in this narrative*, and vice versa—the narrative of  $g^5$  has a peculiar variant (ناموس) which is found elsewhere in the text of  $k^1$  *but not in this narrative*. It might be possible that  $g$  and  $k$  originally shared a single archetype which did not contain the woman caught in adultery. The text of John in this archetype always reads السنه or التوراه for νόμος (بصحه). Later through the transmission of the text of  $k$ , the expression السنه was replaced by الناموس. Afterward, the pericope was inserted in  $k$  from a source which has preserved السنه. Family  $g$  has preserved the expression of السنه as it is found in the archetype. Moreover, the text of  $g$ , like the archetype, did not have the periscope originally. Later, the pericope was introduced to the text of  $g$  from a source which has replaced the expression السنه with الناموس. The chart below tries to explain this amalgamation graphically:

34 For a study on the Greek *Vorlage* of this pericope in  $g^5$  and  $k^1$  see appendix two, §13.6.3.



In conclusion, family *g* is represented by six manuscripts. Only one manuscript of this version, *g*<sup>5</sup> (Codex Beirut, B.O., Or. 430), seems to have survived. This version is written in elegant language and preserves archaic renderings. Although the surviving codex is from the nineteenth century, there is strong evidence that it was in circulation by at least the first half of the tenth century. Its archetype, translated from the Syriac Peshitta version, goes back much earlier. There are few, if any, traces of pre-Peshitta readings in the text of *g*<sup>5</sup>. The inclusion of the pericope of the woman caught in adultery is intriguing. It reflects the amalgamation of this version with other manuscripts from family *k*. The text of the pericope is very similar to the text found in Sinai, Ar. 101 (representative of family *k*). The *Vorlage* of the Pericope seems to have come from a Greek text of a mixture of text-types. The relationship between family *g* and other Arabic Gospel families (e.g. family *h* and *k*) will be investigated in Chapter Nine.

#### 5.1.5. Family H of Peshitta Origin

The text of family *h* survives in a single codex: Codex Vatican, Ar. 13 (hereafter: *h*<sup>1</sup>). Since *h*<sup>1</sup> represents *the earliest text of the extant AGM*, I shall give a limited amount of additional attention to the textual as well as linguistic features of this codex. The eight test passages are found in appendix one, §12.8. I shall start with a concise review of the literature which concerns manuscript *h*<sup>1</sup>, give a new description of the codex, highlight some palaeographical and linguistic features, reflect on the translation technique, study the *Vorlage* and suggest a date for the archetype.<sup>35</sup>

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35 A number of PhD theses could be written on this codex. They could focus on: (a) The linguistic and textual features of this codex; (b) A reconstruction of the Greek text of the Epistles with a collation of the text against the Textus Receptus; (c) A comparative study of some passages from Vatican, Ar. 13 with the Qur'an and Sunna; (d) A comparative study of Vatican, Ar. 13 with biblical citation in Christian and Muslim writings; (e) The relationship between this version and other Arabic (and possible Ethiopian) versions of the New Testament; (f) The paleographical features of Vatican, Ar. 13 and other Arabic Christian documents.

## 5.1.5.1. Previous Research

Codex Vatican, Ar. 13 (*h*<sup>1</sup>)<sup>36</sup> contains the earliest surviving text of the Gospels<sup>37</sup> in Arabic by far. According to Mai, this codex is an “Arabic primitive version [...] derived from the Greek text.” The text is written in an “elegant style” for the “Oriental Christians” who, after the Islamic occupation, made use of the Arabic language in their sacred books.<sup>38</sup> In addition, Mai points out that this codex is believed to be copied in the eighth century, a claim which he considers still unjustified.<sup>39</sup> Finally he gives the name of the scribe mentioned on the last folio: “Iusto filio Leonis, fil. Abilualidi.”<sup>40</sup>

In 1888 Guidi considered Mai’s description “incomplete” and “inexact” and gave a more accurate codicological description of the codex. He noticed that the first surviving quire starts with Greek Sigla αα which suggests that ten quires are missing from the beginning (80 folios). According to the Greek colophon written at the end of the codex (which Guidi transcribed in the footnote), this manuscript originally belonged to a Daniel of Emesa, and contained the Psalms, the four Gospels, the Catholic and Paul’s Epistles.

Textually, Guidi claims that the earliest part of the codex is translated from Greek in the eighth century. To support a Greek origin, he transcribed the text of Mt 10:28-41 and Mt 26:1-13.<sup>41</sup> Furthermore, he points out that the translation is “libera e quasi perifrastica.”<sup>42</sup> In addition, Guidi argues that the less ancient parts of the codex (folios 1-15, 47-55 according to Guidi), show a close relation with the Syriac. He then transcribed the text of Mt 1:18-2:12 to support his argument.

Ten years later, F.C. Burkitt wrote an article on the Arabic Versions based mainly on Guidi’s work. He divided his work into five main segments (more or less as Guidi did—manuscripts translated from Greek, Syriac, Coptic, Eclectic Revisions and Singular). The major differences, which are not explicitly mentioned by Burkitt, are that he

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36 Called by Tischendorf ar<sup>vat</sup> (Greg. Cod. 101). See F.C. Burkitt, “Arabic Versions,” 136, and also Metzger, *Early Versions*, 261.

37 The Epistles in Vatican, Ar. 13, however, are the product of a typical eighth/ninth century school of translation.

38 Angelo Mai, *Scriptorum nova collectio e Vaticanis codicibus edita*, vol. 4 (Romae: Typis Vaticanis, 1831), 12.

39 See *ibid.*, 13, where Mai says: “Is vero codex, quem ad octavum Christi seculum haud immerito referas.”

40 *Ibid.*

41 Guidi, *Traduzioni*, 9.

42 *Ibid.*, 7.

starts with manuscripts translated from Syriac (as opposed to Guidi who started with the Greek), and although he does not state it, he clearly disagrees with Guidi as far as the *Vorlage* of Vatican, Ar. 13 is concerned. It is worth mentioning here his insightful note on Vatican, Ar. 13:

The oldest representative of this class, perhaps the oldest monument of Arab Christianity, is the tr[anslation] of the Gospels in a manuscript formerly belonging to the Convent of Mar Sābā near Jerus[alem]. [...] and generally assigned to the eighth cent[ury]. [...] The style is somewhat paraphrastic, but internal evidence conclusively shows that the Gospels have been tr[anslated] not directly from the Gr[ee]k, but from the Syriac Vulgate (Peshitta). This free tr[anslation] from the Sy[riac] Vulg[ate] was probably made in some locality where Syr[iac] had been the ecclesiastical language, and seems to have been soon discarded at Mar Sābā for a more literal version made directly from the Greek. In other words, the Gospel text of Ar. *vat* was already obsolete by the ninth cent[ury] A.D. No other Arabic version can claim such a high antiquity.<sup>43</sup>

Burkitt considers this codex “the oldest monument of Arabic Christianity” and that the *Gospels* are translated from the Peshitta and not the Greek, as previously claimed by Guidi.<sup>44</sup>

Peters, like Burkitt, disagrees with Guidi and argues from Mt 10:28-41 for a Syriac origin for both the ancient and more recent texts of Vatican, Ar. 13. Furthermore he sees traces of Old Syriac (esp. Diatessaron) in the text.<sup>45</sup>

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43 F.C. Burkitt, “Arabic Versions,” 136.

44 It is worth noting here that the Epistles are translated from Greek and not the Peshitta. From the style and vocabulary they seem to have not been translated by the same scribe who translated the Gospels. Vööbus agrees with F.C. Burkitt, against Guidi, that Vatican, Ar. 13 “certainly goes back to a Syriac base in its older, as well as younger, part.” (Vööbus, *Early Versions*, 290).

45 B.M. Metzger, based on Peters’ observation, claims that the text of Vatican, Ar. 13 “occasionally preserves Old Syriac readings.” At this stage, this has not been proven. Peters referred to sixteen variants in Mt 10: 28-41 to support his claim. It is worth mentioning here that nos. 1, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11 follow undoubtedly the Peshitta and not necessarily Old Syriac or the Diatessaron; nos. 2, 3, 4 more likely follow the Peshitta, though not, necessarily, literally (e.g. هلاك instead of قتل for the Syriac محملا etc.). These variants are due to the style of the scribe and not textual. No. 8 seems to follow the Curetonian, a phenomenon, as we shall see below, which occurs elsewhere in the manuscript. No. 9 which transposes and reads بين الاب وابنه instead of الابن على ابيه might be a harmonization with Lk 12:53 (as asserted by Peters) (Though, Lk 12:53 reads differently: (ابن) حل هذه الدنيا). Nos. 12 (احب), 15 (add هذه الدنيا) and 16 (احيانا) might also be a harmonization attempt with John 12:25. However, this might have happened accidentally and not deliberately. No. 13 adds also في هذه الدنيا and no. 14 adds في الاخرى القسوى which has neither textual support, nor are they found in John or elsewhere in the Synoptic Gospels. In summary, the variants mentioned by Peters

Graf seems to depend totally on Guidi's and Peters' judgment concerning the text of Vatican, Ar. 13. He includes the codex among manuscripts translated from both Greek and Syriac. On this, Blau ironically says that Graf's statements do "not only contradict" Guidi's claims but "are even self-contradictory."<sup>46</sup>

### 5.1.5.2. Contents and Scribes

According to a Greek colophon written in majuscule, already mentioned by Guidi, *h*<sup>1</sup> originally contained the Psalms, the four Gospels, Acts, the seven Catholic Epistles, and the fourteen Letters of Paul (the Letter to the Hebrews is considered to be written by Paul). Of those, only Mt 1:1-28:11, Mk 5:19b-16:8, Lk 3:31-7:11, and the fourteen Letters of Paul survived. This parchment codex today contains one hundred and seventy-nine folios, some of which are copied by later scribes. There are at least four different scribes who have taken part in the copying of the codex (hereafter: S<sup>a</sup>, S<sup>b</sup>, S<sup>c</sup>, S<sup>d</sup>). A small note on folio 179r gives the name of S<sup>b</sup>. It says *الشكر لله المعين على الخير السابغ نعمائه على عبادته المرشد وسليحه بقوه وجبروته الذي اعان وسلم عبده نسطاس بن ليون بن ابي الوليد الضعيف*. Moreover, an anonymous hand (S<sup>e</sup>) made a few corrections in the text copied by S<sup>a</sup>. The handwriting of this scribe is close but not totally similar to S<sup>b</sup>.<sup>47</sup>

### 5.1.5.3. Palaeographical Features and the Dating of the Codex

Although this codex was written in five different hands, this study will examine in depth only S<sup>a</sup> which is the most important, by far. Significant features of the work of this scribe are that:

1. The writing of the *Alef* in S<sup>a</sup> is unique among AGM. At the base of the *Alef*, there is a turning of the hand to the right. According to Ibn al-Nadim, a tenth century scholar from Baghdad, this peculiar form of the *alef* is common among manuscripts of Makkah and al-

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cannot suggest a clear relationship between the Diatessaron (or old Syriac) and Vatican, Ar. 13. Further textual investigation is needed in this regard.

<sup>46</sup> Blau, *A Grammar*, vol. 267, 33.

<sup>47</sup> Here is a list of the five scribes and the texts they copied: 1<sup>st</sup> scribe (S<sup>a</sup>), early 9<sup>th</sup> century, copied folios 15-46 (Mt 10:27b- 26:17a); folios 55-56 (Mk 5:19b- 6:9a); folios 83-86 (Mk 6:9b-7:12a); folios 57-64r (Mk 7:12b-10:29a); folios 75-82 (Lk 3:31-7:11). 2<sup>nd</sup> scribe (S<sup>b</sup>), early 9<sup>th</sup> century, copied folios 64v-74 (Mk 10:29b-16:8); folios 87v-179 (Paul's Epistles and the Letters to the Hebrews); 3<sup>rd</sup> scribe (S<sup>c</sup>) about the 10<sup>th</sup> century copied folios 1-6 (Matthew 1:1-6:18a); 4<sup>th</sup> scribe (S<sup>d</sup>) about the 12<sup>th</sup> century copied folios 7-14 (Matthew 6:18b-10:27a) and folios 47-54 (Mt 26:17b-28:11). Folios 47-54 are in disorder and should be read as follows: 47, 53, 52, 51, 50, 49, 48.



Madinah, in the south of Arabia, copied in the first and second centuries AH (seventh/eighth centuries A.D.).<sup>48</sup>

2. In general, the middle *'ayn* and *ghayn* are written with two oblique strokes only (without a horizontal stroke joining them together).
3. The tail of the final *mīm* is short and has a slant which makes it look like the *ra'*.
4. The final *ba'* and *ta'* do not end with a vertical stroke.
5. The semi-circle (or the curve) of the final *nun* is pointing more forward then upward.
6. Some of the initial and independent *'ayn* have the lower base extended to the right.

These archaic features are typical of manuscripts of the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. When the AGM, including *h*<sup>1</sup>, are compared with the seventh century Hijāzī qur'anic codex BnF, Ar. 328, for example, it becomes clear that *h*<sup>1</sup> is far closer palaeographically to codex BnF Ar. 328 than any other Arabic Gospel manuscript studied in this investigation.

A comparison of this kind shows not only the antiquity of *h*<sup>1</sup> (though codex BnF, Ar. 328 is older than *h*<sup>1</sup>) but also the similar geographical milieu of both codices.

In spite of these archaic features, one cannot agree with Guidi and Burkitt that *h*<sup>1</sup> dates to the eighth century. There are some other palaeographic features which seem to argue in the opposite direction:

1. The two dots on the *qāf* (though not always present) might indicate a feature from the ninth century onwards.
2. The head of some of the middle *'ayn* and *ghayn* are joined with a horizontal stroke.
3. The *dāl* and *dhāl* do not have an upward bend at the top, a feature common among manuscripts of the seventh and eighth centuries.<sup>49</sup>

Moreover, it is known that S<sup>a</sup> and S<sup>b</sup> were writing the codex at the same period of time, which rules out, with a reasonable degree of certainty, an eighth century claim. S<sup>a</sup> seems to have been charged with copying the Gospels, though S<sup>b</sup> helped him with the last seven chapters of

48 See, Francois Déroche, *The Abbasid Tradition: Qur'ans of the 8<sup>th</sup> to the 10<sup>th</sup> Centuries AD. the Abbasid Tradition*, (Oxford: The Nour Foundation, 1992), 27.

49 It is, however, important to notice that the two strokes of the *dāl* and *dhāl* ڟ / ڟ are very close to each other with almost no space in between. This way of writing the *dāl* and *dhāl* is found in a manuscript dated in 737 A.D. and mentioned by A. Grohmann as „Memorialinschrift vom Gebel Usais im National museum in Damaskus (Inv. No. 15403/ع)“. See Adolf Grohmann, *Arabische Paläographie*, vol. 1, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften: Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Denkschriften, 94 – Band (Wien: Hermann Böhlau Nachf., 1967), 74.

Mark, which he started on the *verso* of folio 64—a clear indication that S<sup>b</sup> was working with and at the same time as S<sup>a</sup>. S<sup>b</sup> was the copyist for Paul's Letters, and on palaeographical grounds, the text of S<sup>b</sup> is unlikely to be placed in the eighth century. For the above reasons, it seems reasonable to suggest that *h*<sup>1</sup> was copied *circa* 800 A.D.

The seventh and eighth century features found in the text of S<sup>a</sup> may be there because S<sup>a</sup> was imitating the script of his exemplar. This phenomenon is well-known among textual critics and should not be underestimated here. There are other clear linguistic and orthographic indications in the text which possibly point to a pre-eighth century original or even earlier. I will return to them below.

If this is the case, then this is a possible indication of the region where the example of *h*<sup>1</sup> might have been produced and circulated. The writing of the *alif* may indicate that the exemplar was produced and circulated in the south of Arabia (Najrān?) instead of south Palestine? The linguistic peculiarity and the translation technique of this codex are not shared with any of the AGM known to have emerged from among Palestinian Christians. Furthermore, the text of *h*<sup>1</sup> does not belong to the "Middle Arabic" (to use the language of J. Blau) or Arabic of south Palestine.

In summary, the palaeographical features of this codex (mainly in the oldest texts—copied by S<sup>a</sup>) point back to an archaic Arabic exemplar which seems to have emerged in the south of Arabia in the seventh or early eighth century at the latest. What might add weight to this claim are the linguistic features of this codex to which we now turn.

#### 5.1.5.4. Linguistic Features

The linguistic characteristics of *h*<sup>1</sup> suggest, with a high degree of certainty, that this codex, unlike other codices of the eighth/ninth century, was not produced in South Palestine. Blau, who erroneously included *h*<sup>1</sup> among the sixty-two "South-Palestinian Texts" of the first millennium (in his three volumes on *A Grammar of Christian Arabic*), appears at some point to have been sceptical about its linguistic features.<sup>50</sup> He stated that "not all the parts of this ms., it seems, belong to ASP [e.g. Ancient South-Palestinian (Christian Arabic)]."<sup>51</sup> Blau's claim is based mainly on a few passages and facsimiles published by Guidi, Scholz

50 The only reason, which I can think of for Blau to include this codex among the South-Palestine corpus, is the fact that it comes from St. Sābā. But, as we shall see, the text is unlikely to have been translated in this monastery.

51 Blau, *A Grammar*, vol. 267, 33.



pyri of the eighth century which do not belong to the South-Palestinian corpus.<sup>58</sup>

In summary, the linguistic features of *h*<sup>1</sup> are of classical Arabic.<sup>59</sup> It emerged in a milieu very different from the majority of the AGM of the eighth and ninth century. The scribe who was involved in the translation is clearly a linguist as much as a theologian. The language he uses is rich and well elaborated.

#### 5.1.5.5. Mistakes Pointing Back to the Archaic Nature of the Exemplar

Codex *h*<sup>1</sup> is not the autograph of the translator. There are clear indications in the text that the earliest hand (*S*<sup>a</sup>) has copied this manuscript from a much earlier and more archaic exemplar. The omissions in the text (mainly due to homoeoteleuton errors) clearly point in this direction.<sup>60</sup> This fact is shared with all the AGM studied in this present work. As far as I could see there is no surviving Arabic Gospel text about which one can say that this is the autograph of the translator.

With *h*<sup>1</sup>, it is not unreasonable to push this argument further and claim that its archetype might go back to at least the seventh century if not earlier. This is what makes this version extremely relevant for un-

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*Grammar*, vol., 279, page 482 (paragraph 377.1, line 12). Blau refers to Mt 10:30 in his discussion on the *فاما انتم فقد احصى...* usage (فاما انتم فقد احصى...) However, Blau makes it clear that this usage “occurs very often” in Classical Arabic; Page 489 lines 15, 16, Blau refers to the common use of the same verbs in perfect tense which are almost synonymous. He mentions Mt 2:11 of Vatican, Ar. 13. Here again he quotes this verse incorrectly as saying *فخروا له سجدوا وافتحوا او عيتهم*... (!) *فخروا له سجدوا وافتحوا او عيتهم*. The verse, however, actually reads *فخروا له سجدوا وافتحوا او عيتهم*. The text is perfectly well written and the language is classical Arabic; page 513 lines 8-10, Blau seems to object to the location of *من مصر* directly after *ان القائل* in Mt 2:15 *القائل ان من مصر دعوت ابني* and sees it as one of the Middle Arabic Characteristics. However, the phrase *من مصر* (from Egypt) is placed deliberately before the verb *دعوت* for emphasis, and has nothing to do with South-Palestinian characteristics. This verse is a fulfillment of a prophecy which is concerned with a *location*. It is from “Egypt” (and not elsewhere) I have called my son. Moreover, the Arabic text follows closely the Peshitta in inserting *من مصر* before *دعوت*. (On the same topic Blau refers to Lk 4:3.); page 589 line 19 (Lk 4:7 where *ان* is not immediately followed by the verb *فان انت خرجت* *فان انت خرجت*). Here the same can be said; the pronoun *انت* is not only for emphasis but is also found in the Vetus Syra and the Greek; page 591 footnote 10, Blau referred to the expression *ان كان* in Lk 4:1 to show how “*in*-clause was wrongly used in place of a temporal clause”. Here again Blau quotes Vatican, Ar. 13 incorrectly. The text reads instead *واذ كان يسوع ممثليا* (see folio 75r line 8).

58 Cf. Blau, *A Grammar*, vol. 267, 19.

59 For the “Classical Arabic” in pre-Islamic time, see C. Rabin, “Arabiyya”, *EP*, vol. 1, 564-5.

60 See for example Mt 15:18, the omission of *الذي يخرج من فم الانسان هذا الذي ينجسه*. See also Mt 26:59-60; Mk 6:20; Mk 12:31-32; Mk 14:51.

veiling historical data about the text and tradition of the Gospels in Arabic. The mistakes found in the text of  $h^1$  indicate that the exemplar from which the scribe is copying is extremely old, has a text with no diacritical marks on letters with similar skeleton shape, and that by 800 A.D. some of the vocabulary used in the text is unknown, even to the scribe involved in the copying process.

As discussed in §5.1.5.3, there are *palaeographical* features which point to a seventh/early eighth century script of the exemplar. *Textual* features which point in the same direction will be discussed later in this study. From a *linguistic* point of view, a similar conclusion might be reached, but before presenting the linguistic renderings and errors in the text of  $h^1$  (which point to a pre-eighth century exemplar), it is crucial to make two preliminary remarks:

1. As is the case with most, if not all, the AGM studied in this present work, the copyists appear to have given themselves some freedom to change, "correct" or adapt the text they are copying. This means that grammatical correction, which is sometimes actually a distortion, and linguistic replacement of archaic words (to give an example of a well known one would be جبل for (طور) is common among these manuscripts and manuscript  $h^1$  has clearly not escaped such emendations. As we shall see below the text of  $h^1$  has only been corrected sporadically. These corrections have mainly been a replacement of archaic words with more familiar ones.
2. One major contribution of this study is the discovery of a linguistic and textual relation between  $h^1$  and family  $g$  (which goes back to the ninth/early tenth century). This is a link which all scholars who worked on the AGM, including Cheikho whose library owned codex  $g^5$  (see §5.1.4 above), have apparently failed to notice. I shall argue below that the text of  $g$  is a re-working of the text of  $h$  (hence, not a fresh translation). There is sufficient evidence to suggest that by the ninth century the text of  $h$  was edited to bring it *literally* closer to the Peshitta. The scribe eliminated additional expressions and phrases found in the text of  $h$  (but omitted in the Syriac Peshitta). Moreover, he replaced some, but not all, of its archaic language. Many of the archaic renderings of  $h$  are still present in  $g$ . This makes the text of  $g^5$  of great value since its textual history goes back to the seventh century at the latest. I shall make use of the text of  $g^5$  throughout the linguistic examination of this codex.

The *linguistic* evidence, mistakes, deviations and arguments which indicate a pre-eighth century archetype are too many to mention them all

here.<sup>61</sup> Below is a brief reflection on these linguistic “indicators” in the text of *h*<sup>1</sup>:

61 Here are some examples: Mt 1:7 رحيب ارحيحاب

(رحيحاب ارحيحاب). The Syriac reads رحيب. How do we explain the Arabic divergence? A possible reason behind this divergence is palaeographic. The scribe is copying his Arabic text from an Archaic exemplar which (1) does not have the dotting and (2) the final *ḥ* is so archaic that the tail of the *ḥ* does not go under the line (vertically) but has a horizontal tail similar to the Archaic *ḥ* (without the final upper stroke). This shape of *ḥ* is found in the seventh and early eighth century MSS (Cf. Grohmann, *Arabische Paläographie*, 691 A.D., 712 A.D., 715 A.D., 720-1 A.D.).

In Mt 3:3, S<sup>c</sup> has الفقر (سيف الفقر) a mistake for الفقر.

In Mt 3:8, S<sup>c</sup> has توافق (توافق) a mistake for توافق.

Mt 7:29 reads الكنهه (الكنهه), a mistake for الكنهه. This mistake is possible because the two letters (middle *ṭ* followed by *ḥ*) are similar to the archaic middle *ṭ*.

Mt 11:28 reads اللغين اللغين الحاملين (اللغين اللغين الحاملين), a possible mistake for اللغين (the weary and tired ones).

Mt 12:7 reads تشحبوا (تشحبوا), a mistake for تشحبوا (cf. B.O., Or. 430).

Mt 12:20 reads المصباح الناس (المصباح الناس). Could it be a mistake for الناس (from نوس)? B.O., Or. 430 reads ينش.

Mt 12:44 reads فادعا (فادعا), a mistake for فارغا. The scribe does not write the letter *ṭ* with the upper stroke leaned to the front. فادعا means “distorted”. The Syriac, however, has الفارغ، الخالي).

Mt 15:12 reads وافموا (وافموا), probably a mistake for وافموا (as in B.O., Or. 430).

Mt 15:19 reads السفاج (السفاج), a mistake for السفاج.

Mt 15:37 reads صفاف (صفاف). B.O., Or. 430 reads قفاف.

Mt 16:24 reads فليكر نفسه (فليكر نفسه). It is either a mistake for فليكر نفسه (as in B.O., Or. 430) or فليكر نفسه. It is either miswritten or misread by the scribe.

Mt 21:10 reads رخت (رخت), probably a mistake for رجت. B.O., Or. 430 has ارتجت (trembled).

Mt 21:12 reads يتبايعون ويتبعون (يتبايعون ويتبعون). B.O., Or. 430 has يتبايعون ويتبعون and the Peshitta يتبايعون ويتبعون.

Mt 21:26 reads بدعه من الناس يبغي الشعب (بدعه من الناس يبغي الشعب). B.O., Or. 430 has يفرق. يبغي means “to act wrongfully”. The Syriac has بدعه من الناس يبغي الشعب. بدعه means خاف.

Mt 21:34 reads طالع امان الثمار (طالع امان الثمار). B.O., Or. 430 has اوان. Both meanings render the Syriac امان. The expression امان means “the season of a thing”. And اوان means “a season, time” (a mistake of this kind is possible since the *ḥ* goes under the line and thus detached from the previous letter).

Mt 22:13a reads الباديه / الباديه / الباديه. The syriac has الباديه.

Mt 22:13b reads تحريف الانسان (تحريف الانسان). The text does not seem to read تحريق (grating the teeth) but تحريف (altering?). Elsewhere in parallel passages Vatican, Ar. 13 reads تحريف (grating). It might be a mistake for تحريف (B.O., Or. 430 reads تحريف).

Mt 23:14 reads بيت الاتامي (بيت الاتامي). Is it a mistake for بيت الاتامي. B.O., Or. 430 has بيت الارامل.

It is difficult to ascertain which readings were:

1. misread by the scribe of *h*<sup>1</sup> because his exemplar was too archaic and did not contain diacritical marks (a perfect example would be الاربا and الارداء (for the *disciples*));
2. miswritten by the scribe of *h*<sup>1</sup> (a good example might be الفقر instead of القفر);
3. misread or miswritten by the scribe who first prepared the edition of *g*<sup>5</sup> (he also seems to have used an archaic text of *h*);
4. deliberately replaced by *g*<sup>5</sup>, or
5. misread because of the handwriting of *h*<sup>1</sup>.

This certainly needs a more thorough examination. The data, however, is sufficient to show two crucial points: firstly, the exemplar of *h*<sup>1</sup> contains vocabulary which was unfamiliar to the scribe who was copying it in about 800 A.D.; and secondly, his exemplar contains few if any diacritical marks. An exemplar from the sixth or seventh century might explain both the linguistic errors found in the text of *h*<sup>1</sup> and its difficult language.

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Mt 24:3 reads (منع العالم وقلوبه) and انتهى العالم وقلوبه probably a mistake for وقفاه.

Mt 25:15 reads قناطير (ماطير) a mistake for قناطير (the old middle ن has a very short vertical stroke like قناطير قناطير).

Mt 26:44 reads هاتف (هاتف) a mistake for خاف (see Luke 22:44).

Mt 27:16 reads ابن ما (ابن ما). This mistake comes from the text of S<sup>d</sup> (who replaced the text of S<sup>a</sup>). The scribe wrote underneath it ابن ابا.

Mk 5:38 reads (مكتنين وهم يرون) مكتنين وهم يرون. Could it be a mistake for مكتنين (مكتنين)?

Mk 5:40 reads مسجاء (مسجاء). It means "still, quiet". B.O., Or. 430 has wrongly مسجاء.

Mk 5:42 reads يتمشا (يتمشا) a scribal mistake for يتمشا.

Mk 6:9 reads (ليبتلغوا) ليتلغوا/ ليتلغوا. Could it be a mistake for ليتلغوا?

Mk 8:10 reads بلاد لمانوثا (بلاد لمانوثا), a mistake for بلاد دلمانوثا. It has been miswritten by the scribe.

Mk 8:11 reads ويجاوزونه (ويجاوزونه), a mistake for ويجاوزونه.

Mk 9:11 reads (اولا) او لا, a mistake for اولاً.

In Mk 12:30 S<sup>b</sup> has رتيك رتيك (رتيك رتيك). B.O., Or. 430 has رايك. It might have been originally رتيك (and the first ي for the *hamza*).

In Mk 13:30 S<sup>a</sup> has القليله (القليله) a mistake for القليله.

Lk 5:4 reads (الصيد او القنص فاجاب) للصيد او القنص فاجاب. It is probably a mistake for القنص (hunt).

Lk 6:3 reads شعب (شعب) and above it is written هقم. The expression شعب is a mistake for سغب (to become hungry) (see also Mt 21:18).

Lk 6:39 reads (الزقه/الزبيه/الوهيه) في [الزقه/الزبيه/الوهيه] B. O 430 reads الوهيه.

### 5.1.5.6. Some of the Linguistic Characteristics and Translation Techniques of H<sup>1</sup>

#### 5.1.5.6.1. Introduction

This study does not deal specifically with the linguistics of the AGM, however the linguistic characteristics of *h*<sup>1</sup> are crucial because they are unique and not shared with other manuscripts studied in this study, and they point strongly suggest that the archetype of *h*<sup>1</sup> was produced before the seventh century; a date when the majority of the AGM were first translated.

*The linguistic characteristics of h<sup>1</sup> can only be appreciated when one becomes familiar with the linguistics of other Arabic versions of the Gospels from the eighth/ninth century (e.g. family a, b, c, d etc.) and their translation techniques. With this wider picture in mind, one becomes able to better value and date manuscript h<sup>1</sup>.*

The linguistic characteristics of *h*<sup>1</sup> are many, but I have focused this investigation (see §5.1.5.6.2 below) on a randomly selected chapter, which in this case is Mark chapter five. Other verses from Matthew and Luke were consulted, when necessary, to present a holistic but concise overview of this issue.

Before reflecting briefly on these characteristics, it is worth remembering that today codex Vatican, Ar. 13 (which has the sigla *h*<sup>1</sup> for the Gospels in this study) contains not only the Gospels but also St. Paul's Epistles. This study focuses on the Gospels only. The Gospels should be studied separately from the Epistles because:

1. The epistles are translated, not from Syriac, as is the case with the Gospels, but from Greek.
2. The language of the Gospels is much more archaic than the language of the Epistles. The Epistles were probably translated some time in the eighth century and reflect the characteristics and translation techniques found in other versions of the same period. However, the Gospels were first translated at a much earlier stage.
3. The translation of the Gospels is freer than the Epistles (which is more literal). There are sufficient differences between both to claim their separate origin. They have been translated independently, from a different source, in a different period of time, and using different translation techniques.<sup>62</sup>

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62 See for example (1) the expression الناموس which has never been used in the Gospels (except once in Mt 4:17 in a later hand) but frequently used in the letters. (The Gospels, however, use التوراه); (2) يهدف (Rom 2:24; 10:30, 1Tim 1:20) which is always in the



### 5.1.5.6.2. A Summary of the Linguistic Characteristics and Translation Techniques of H<sup>1</sup>

Some of the linguistic characteristics of h<sup>1</sup> include the following:

1. The frequent use of a chain of synonyms for a single word in the *Vorlage*.<sup>63</sup>
2. The addition of expressions for clarification<sup>64</sup> sometimes in a “commentary” style.<sup>65</sup>

Gospels or rarely قف (see Mt 12:32); (3) عمد is not used in the Gospels (except in Mt 3:1; 3:11 (twice) which is in a later hand). The Gospels use صبغ instead. (For عمد see 1 Cor 1:16 (twice); 1 Cor 10:2; 1 Cor 12:13; 1 Cor 15:29; Gal 2:9 etc.); (4) The earliest texts of the Gospels, which have not been edited, seem to use الياسين for “Elijah”. The Letters use ايلياس (see, for instance, Rom 11: 2); (5) in the Letters the phrase اول شئ (could be colloquial Arabic) is used often (see Rom 1:8; 1 Cor. 11:18; 2 Thess 2:3, and 2 Tim 1:5). The Gospels, however, use the classical بديا (Mt 4:24), ابدوا (Mt 6:33); Mt 7:5 بديا; Mt 8:21 بديا; Mt 23:26 بدوا (6) Relatively speaking, grammatical mistakes are common in the Letters. See for instance 2 Thess 3:4 ونحن والتقين and 2 Thess 3:6 ان تكونو 2 Thess 3:13 ان تعملون 1 Tim 1:2 ومن الله ابونا 1 Tim 1:3 ان يعملون.

- 63 To supplement a reading with a chain of synonyms is common in this manuscript. There are countless examples of this kind. This shows the translator’s acquaintance with the Classical Arabic. It is worth mentioning here, that the anonymous scribe who made this translation has no counterpart, in terms of linguistic ability, with any scribe of South Palestine who, in the eighth/ninth centuries, translated the Gospels into Arabic. The use of a chain of synonyms (two and especially three synonyms) is the primary reason behind labelling this translation as a *free* (as Guidi, Mai and others suggested) translation. Generally speaking, one should not see it as a translation without boundaries. It follows the Syriac Peshitta closely but with the freedom of embellishing the text and presenting it in an elegant manner with the chain of synonyms serving this purpose. Here are two examples:

Mark 5:31 the Syriac reads دسحيم له (pressing around you) and is translated with ترجمك [وتضغظك] وتتضايق عليك من كل ناحية (crowding against you, pressing and besieging around you from all sides).

Mt 26:8 the Syriac reads مكمه مكمه مكمه and Vatican, Ar. 13 reads وقالوا ما هذا الاسراف والتضييع والفساد.

- 64 On various occasions the scribe gives further details about an ambiguous expression or phrase. Below are a few examples:

Mark 5:20 reads من سمع ذلك. The Syriac has only مخلصه. The phrase من سمع ذلك is for clarity.

Mark 5:23 reads مريضه مدنفه شديد الحال مجهوده قد اشرفت على الموت (she was sick, seriously ill, in a bad condition, in pain, on the brink of death). The Syriac has مريضه مدنفه.

Mark 5:29 reads قد برأت من ضريرتها ووجعها (She had been healed from her affliction and pain). The Syriac has only مريضه. The same Syriac term appears in verse 34. It is translated into Arabic with وعاهاك [ووجعك] ضريرتك (your affliction [and your pain] and your disease).

- 65 For instance: In Mt 17:1 (the beginning of the transfiguration narrative) Vatican, Ar. 13 reads بعد سته ايام انطلق ايسوع بالصفاء ويعقوب ويوحنا اخيه ليتم وعده بهم (This narrative comes after Jesus’ prophecy that “some standing here will not taste death until they see the Son of Man coming in his kingdom” (Mt 16:28). The scribe of Vatican, Ar. 13 interpreted

3. The sophisticated use of terms which reflect the linguistic ability of the scribe who made the translation. Moreover, although the manuscript is translated from the Syriac, the scribe prefers to choose Arabic terms which are not borrowed from Syriac or found in his *Vorlage*.<sup>66</sup>

the transfiguration story as a fulfillment of God's promise in Mt 16:28. He adds, in Mt 17:1, the phrase *لنتم وعده بهم* (so that his promise is fulfilled in them). This appears to be a commentary on the text.

In Mt 27:62 we read *فلما كان الغد من بعد [العنروب] التي فيها صلب المسيح...* (and the next day which follows the [custom] during which Christ was crucified...). This is another example which looks like a commentary rather than giving additional information. (B.O., Or. 430 reads *العنروب* (custom) instead of *العنروب*. The Syriac reads *ܥܢܪܒܐ*.)

In Mark 6:15 we read *وقال اخرون من اهل المراء والتكذيب انه نبي من احد الانبياء* (and others said, from the people of [hypocrisy] and denial, that he is a prophet as one of the prophets). This claim made by some about Christ (that he is just a prophet as one of the prophets) seems to have been a pertinent issue at the time (when this version was copied), otherwise why should the scribe add the phrase "from the people of [hypocrisy] and denial"? This phrase shows first, the scribe's attitude to these people (they are hypocrites) and, second, their attitude toward Christ (they consider him a prophet and *deny* what? His divinity?). This is a commentary on the text with a direct message to the reader.

- 66 The translator likes to take a simple Syriac verb (e.g. *ܠܚܥܝܬܐ*) and turn it to a set of sophisticated terms. Here is an obvious example from Mark 5:19:

The Syriac text reads *ܕܡܕܢܐ ܠܡܕܢܐ ܕܡܕܢܐ ܕܡܕܢܐ ܕܡܕܢܐ ܕܡܕܢܐ* (and tell them what the Lord has done for you and how he had mercy on you). The Arabic reads *فقص عليهم ما افاض وانعم به عليك ربك من رافه ورحمته* (and tell them that your lord has poured out and bestowed his kindness and mercy upon you).

On a number of occasions the scribe:

(1) exchanges a noun with a verb (Mark 5:25 *ܡܕܢܐ* (a flow) which in Arabic becomes a verb *ينزف* (to flow). Luke 4:21 *ܡܕܢܐ* (in your ears) becomes in Arabic *الذي سمعتموه* (which you have heard);

(2) exchanges a noun with a pronoun (replacing a pronoun with a noun is common amongst versions of the Arabic Gospels). Here, however, we have an example where a noun is replaced with a pronoun simply to avoid repetition. In Mark 5:37: The text reads *ܕܡܕܢܐ ܕܡܕܢܐ ܕܡܕܢܐ ܕܡܕܢܐ ܕܡܕܢܐ* (and James and John the brother of James). It becomes in Arabic *ويعقوب ويوحنا اخاه* (and James and John his brother).

(3) avoids Syriacism: For example: (a) In Mark 5:27 the Syriac has *ܡܕܢܐ* (قربت). The scribe translates it with *بنت*; (b) In Mark 5:35 the Syriac reads *ܡܕܢܐ ܡܕܢܐ ܡܕܢܐ ܡܕܢܐ ܡܕܢܐ* (توفيت) with *ماتت*; (c) In Mark 5:38 the Syriac reads *ܡܕܢܐ ܡܕܢܐ ܡܕܢܐ ܡܕܢܐ ܡܕܢܐ* (بيت). The scribe prefers *منزل* (though he uses *بيت* elsewhere like in verse 35); (d) In Mark 5:41 the Syriac reads *ܡܕܢܐ ܡܕܢܐ ܡܕܢܐ ܡܕܢܐ ܡܕܢܐ* (قومي). The scribe translates it with *انبعثي* (and also in verse 42); (e) In Mark 5:31 the Syriac reads *ܡܕܢܐ ܡܕܢܐ ܡܕܢܐ ܡܕܢܐ ܡܕܢܐ* (also elsewhere); (f) In Mt 26:26 the Syriac has *ܡܕܢܐ ܡܕܢܐ ܡܕܢܐ ܡܕܢܐ ܡܕܢܐ* (بارك) and the Arabic *وَشَكَرَ*; (g) in Mt 27:57 the Syriac has *ܡܕܢܐ ܡܕܢܐ ܡܕܢܐ ܡܕܢܐ ܡܕܢܐ* (Greek *Ἀριμαθαίας*). The scribe translates the proper noun of the city into *الأكمة* (the hill). (For *ܡܕܢܐ* as *hill* (أكمة) see G. Cardahi, *Al-Lubāb: Ḳāmūs Suryānī-'Arabi*, Vol. 2, (Aleppo: Mardin Publishing House, 1994), 1073).

4. There are some transpositions of pair-items which seem to not reflect a textual variant,<sup>67</sup> moreover there are phrasal transpositions which can hardly be justified. It is possible that this confusion (e.g. transposition) has occurred because of the weakness of the memory of the scribe<sup>68</sup> which may suggest that some portion of the Gospels *were memorized instead of written*.
5. On a number of occasions the scribe provides a double (in one place a triple) translation for a single phrase.<sup>69</sup> The two translations do

67 Mt 15:30 has *مقعدين و عماه* instead of *مقعدين و عماه*; Mark 5:38 has *يرنون ويكون* instead of *يرنون ويكون*; Luke 4:8 has *الله ربك* instead of *الله ربك*.

68 Transposition of a simple phrase: in Mt 26:6 the phrase *سمعان الابريص* is transposed to the end of verse seven (see also Mt 9:16).

A more complex transposition: Mt 9:2 *فادنوا منه مخبلاً ملقى علي اريكه فقال لذلك [المخيل/المحيل] ثق* فرأي يسوع كثرة ايمانهم وحسن يقينهم. *يا بني فقد غفرت خطاياك فرأي يسوع كثرة ايمانهم وحسن يقينهم*. The expression *فادنوا منه مخبلاً ملقى علي اريكه* is transposed and should follow *ثقة*.

A much more intricate transposition: Mt 18:1-3 reads:

1 في تلك الساعة دنا الحواريون من ايسوع وقالوا له من عسى ان يلقا عظيماً في ملكوت السما  
3 ب انكم ان لم ترجعوا فتصبروا كالصبيان بسلاسة قلوبهم  
2 فدعا يسوع صبياً فاقامه وسطهم  
3 ا وقال الحق اقول لكم  
3 ج لن تلجوا ملكوت السما ونعيمها

Although there are three different levels of complexity in the phrasal transposition phenomenon, they all seem to share a common sense.

Each is placed in separate columns:

(a) Mt 26:6

في منزل سمعان الابريص	فبينما ايسوع في بيت عنيا
	حيث اقتربت اليه امراه ومعها دهن فايق ثمين فاقر غتها على راسه

(b) Mt 9:2

فادنوا منه مخبلاً ملقى علي اريكه	فرأي يسوع كثرة ايمانهم وحسن يقينهم
فقال لذلك المحيل ثق يا بني فقد غفرت خطاياك	

(c) Mt 18:1-3

من عسى ان يلقا عظيماً في ملكوت السما	فدعا يسوع صبياً فاقامه وسطهم وقال الحق اقول لكم
انكم ان لم ترجعوا فتصبروا كالصبيان بسلاسة قلوبهم	لن تلجوا ملكوت السما ونعيمها....

- 69 Here are ten examples of the dual (or even triple) translations:

(a) Mt 11:12 reads:

1<sup>st</sup> Trans. : والقاهرون للشهوات والذلات ينالونها ويصبرون اليها

2<sup>nd</sup> Trans. : والقاهرون للشهوات الغالبون لنيل الخبيث المحرقه [الموفقه] ينالونها ويصبرون اليها

The first translation seems to be less free than the second.

(b) Mt 11:21a reads:

1<sup>st</sup> Trans. : لو كان بصور وصيدان العجايب والايات التي كانت فيكما

او

2<sup>nd</sup> Trans. : لو كانت القوى التي كانت فيكم في صور وصيدان

The first translation closely follows the Peshitta (even the word order). The second seems to be a stylistic improvement on the first.

(c) Mt 11:21b reads:

1<sup>st</sup> Trans. : اذن لتائب اهلها باقماش المسوح والرماد  
او

2<sup>nd</sup> Trans. : اظنهم كانوا يتوبون بالقيام على المسوح والرماد

The first translation is closer to the Peshitta than the second. The second seems to bring more clarity to the meaning of the text.

(d) Mt 11:24 reads:

1<sup>st</sup> Trans. : ان سدوم يصل اليها من الطمانينه والدعه يوم القيامه  
او

2<sup>nd</sup> Trans. : ان الراحه تكون لاهل سدوم يوم القيامه

As far as the order of words is concerned, the first translation is closer to the Peshitta. The second, however, makes more sense.

(e) Mt 18:20 reads:

1<sup>st</sup> Trans. : اثنان او ثلثه باسمى  
او

2<sup>nd</sup> Trans. : رجلان او ثلثه على اسمى

The first translation follows the Peshitta literally. The second clarifies the meaning (اثنان instead of رجلان) with an attempt to improve the previous text stylistically.

(f) Mt 21:18 reads:

1<sup>st</sup> Trans. : شغب واظهر ذلك من نفسه  
او

2<sup>nd</sup> Trans. : اظهر من نفسه جوعا

The expression شغب in the first translation is more archaic than جوع in the second translation.

(g) Mt 23:32 reads:

1<sup>st</sup> Trans. : فاكملوا ما عمل اباوكم

2<sup>nd</sup> Trans. : فاتموا على ما فعل اباوكم

Both are different interpretations of the *Vorlage* and not literal translations ( ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ and also you fill up the measure of your fathers).

(h) Mt 24:8 reads:

1<sup>st</sup> Trans. : فكل هذا اول المخاض  
او

2<sup>nd</sup> Trans. : فهذه كلها انما هي ابتداء التمدخض والطلق

Here, again, the second translation seems to be freer than the first.

(i) Mt 24:43 reads:

1<sup>st</sup> Trans. : وحال بينه وبين نقب بيته  
او

2<sup>nd</sup> Trans. : يمنع عن اختراب بيته

Here we have two different ways of translating ܡܢܥܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ. The second translation appears to be closer to the Syriac than the first.

(j) Mt 26:7 reads:

1<sup>st</sup> Trans. : حيث اقتربت اليه امراه ومعها دهن فايق ثمين فاقر غتها على راسه وهو في منزل سمعان الابرص

2<sup>nd</sup> Trans. : اقتربت اليه امراه معها مخزنه من دهن طيب فايق ثمين فاقر غتها على راس يسوع وهو منكى

Concerning the transposition of see above. The second translation is closer to the Peshitta than the first, mainly because of the addition of ܡܢܥܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ. The Syriac reads ܡܢܥܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ. In this case the first reading is

- not reflect variants in his *Vorlage*. They are stylistic variants (different ways of translating the same thing) which might show that *h*<sup>1</sup> has preserved the various translations suggested in the first place, in the autograph of the translator. It is possible but less likely that *h*<sup>1</sup> has conflated two readings from two different Arabic sources.
6. There is some harmonization in the text of *h*<sup>1</sup> but not frequent. A clear passage which reflects a Diatessaron style is Matthew Chap. 26.<sup>70</sup> This harmonization might have a textual background or was caused by memory confusion.

closer to the Greek which omits both يسوع and طيب. This agreement might have occurred accidentally. As for the first reading (omission of طيب), it is also found in two Peshitta manuscripts (See Pusey, *Tetraeuangelium Sanctum, ad loc*). Moreover, the Arabic also omits مخزنه من (مخزنه من) which is supported by the Greek (as well as the Syriac). As for replacing of the proper noun (e.g. يسوع) with a pronoun (e.g. راسه), we have seen above that this phenomenon occurs elsewhere in this manuscript. It is unfeasible to argue for a Greek influence on Vatican, Ar. 13 from this verse only.

(k) Mk 8:38a is even more complicated than the previous ones. There is a triple translations.

1<sup>st</sup> Trans. وكل من استحيا من ذكرى والتبشير بي

2<sup>nd</sup> Trans. انف من بشراي والايمان بي

او

3<sup>rd</sup> Trans. او تعزز (تعزز؟ restrain) من الاقرار بي

None of the three translations follow the Peshitta literally (حل حجة منحصرا). They are three different interpretations of the *Vorlage*. They might have all come from the translator.

(l) Mk 8:38b

1<sup>st</sup> Trans. يكفر به ويجدد معرفته ابن البشر ايضا

او

2<sup>nd</sup> Trans. يانف ابن البشر من ذكره ويجدد معرفته والاقرار به ايضا

Here, once more, we have two different free translations which might have come from the translator himself (and not necessarily added later).

70 Below are four examples from Matthew 26:

Mt 26:44 reads:

فتركهم على حالهم وانطلق فصلى مره ثلثه وقال مقالته الاولى \*فترأ ملك من السماء ليقويه ويشجعه واذ هو هاتف جعل يصلي صلاه متواتره وكان عرقه كغبيط الدم\*

The addition of فترأ ملك من السماء ليقويه ويشجعه واذ هو [خائف] جعل يصلي صلاه متواتره وكان عرقه (and an Angel appeared from heaven strengthening and encouraging him, and being in fear, he prayed more earnestly and his sweat was like drops of blood) comes from Lk 22:42-43 and is a clear (though unusual) attempt to harmonize the text of Matthew with Luke.

Mt 26:50 reads:

وقال له يسوع \*يا يهوذا ابالاحباب يسلم ابن البشر \*عليك بما جيت له يا صاح

The addition of يا يهوذا ابالاحباب يسلم ابن البشر (Judas, is it with kisses that the son of man is handed over) comes from Lk 22:48. (B.O., Or. 430 reads يسلم ابن البشر (fol. 134r-134v)).

Mt 26:51 reads:

\*وان سمعان الصفا\* كان متقلدا سيفا

## 5.1.5.6.3. Possible Qur'anic Influence?

Since this version emerged in Arabia instead of south Palestine and since it is written in Classical Ancient Arabic rather than Middle Arabic, it is worth examining whether or not the text was influenced by the language of the Qur'ān.

For this purpose I shall examine a number of nouns (with a focus on the proper nouns of prophets).

## 5.1.5.6.3.1. Jesus عيسى

Vatican, Ar. 13 never uses the Qur'anic term عيسى. It either uses يسوع or ايسوع. Since the diacritical marks were not placed on the letter ش (to differentiate it from س) it is hard to ascertain whether the scribe intended to write يسوع or يشوع. The Syriac has عيسى and the text of Beirut, B.O., Or. 430 (g<sup>5</sup>) reads ايشوع. Both Syriac and Beirut, B.O., Or. 430 suggest that the scribe of Vatican, Ar. 13 might have intended to write ايشوع and/or يشوع. At that stage there was no standard use of the name "Jesus" in Arabic. The variety of renderings is also found in manuscripts copied in the ninth century in South Palestine.

## 5.1.5.6.3.2. The Disciples التلاميذ

Generally speaking, Vatican, Ar. 13 uses الاربا to denote the disciples. This expression is not used in the Qur'ān. The Qur'ān has الحواريون, a term found in fifteen different places in the text of Vatican, Ar. 13. It is not known at what stage in the history of the transmission of the text الحواريون was introduced, but it is most likely that it occurs sporadically in the text of Vatican, Ar. 13 because of later Qur'anic influence.

The translation of the expression "disciple" deserves special treatment. It is translated with five different expressions. The table below shows the five different renderings as found in the text of each of the five scribes.

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Matthew keeps the one who struck the servant of the high priest anonymous. The addition of *وان سمعان الصفا* (then Simon Peter) in Vatican, Ar. 13 comes from John 18:10. (Cf. Jn 18:10 which also omits *مجدع*).

Mt 26:75 begins with *سمعان الى سمعان* (and Jesus turned and looked at Simon). This is another attempt to harmonize the text with Luke. (cf. Luke 22:61).

Mt 10:27b- 26:17a, Mk 5:19b-10:29, and Lk 3:31-7:11

Scribe A (S<sup>a</sup>)

تلاميذ	الحواريون	اوليا	ردا	اربا
Mt 12:49	Mt 14:19	Mt 13:10 اولياوه	Mt 10:42 ردا من اردائي	Mt 11:1 لاربائه
Mt 14:12	Mt 15:23	Mt 16:24 لاوليايه	Mt 17:6 الارد	Mt 11:2 اربائه
Mt 14:15	Mt 16:20-21	Mt 17:16 اوليايك	Mt 21:1 اردائه	Mt 12:1 ارباوه
Mt 14:19	Mt 17:13	Mt 19:10 اولياوه	Mk 26:1 لاردائه	Mt 12:2 ارباوك
Mt 14:22	Mt 18:1	Mt 19:13 اولياوه	Mk 6:41 ارداه	Mt 13: 36 ارباوه
Mt 15:32	Mt 19:25	Mt 19:23 لاوليايه	Mk 8:34 اردائه	Mt 14:26 ارباوه
Mt 15:36 (2)	Mt 24:1	Mk 9:41 اوليا	Mk 9:35 باردائه	Mt 15:2 اربايك
Mt 16:5	Mt 26:17		Mk 10:23 اردائه	Mt 15:12 ارباوه
Mt 16:13	Mk 6:30		Lk 5:30 لاردائه	Mt 15:33 ارباوه
Mt 16:19	Mk 7:17		Lk 5:33 ارداوك	Mt 17:10 ارباوه
Mt 17:19	Lk 6:13			Mt 20:17 باربائه
Mt 20:24				Mt 21:20 ارباوه
Mt 21:1 <sup>c</sup>				Mt 24:3 ارباوه
Mt 23:1				Mt 26:8 ارباوه
				Mk 5:31 ارباوه
Mk 6:29				Mk 6:1 ارباوه
Mk 6:47				Mk 6:7 باربائه
Mk 8:6				Mk 6:35 ارباوه
Mk 8:27				Mk 6:45 اربائه
Mk 9:8, 14, 18				Mk 7:2 اربائه
Mk 10:10				Mk 7:5 اربايك
Lk 5:33				Mk 8:1 ارباوه
Lk 6:17				Mk 8:4 ارباوه
				Mk 8:10 اربائه؟
				Mk 8:27 ارباوه
				Mk 8:33 اربائه
				Mk 9:28 ارباوه
				Mk 9:31 ارباه
				Mk 10:13 ارباوه
				Mk 10:24 ارباوه
				Lk 6:1 ارباوه
				Lk 6:17 اربائه
				Lk 6:20 اربائه

Mk 10:29b-16:8

Scribe B (S<sup>b</sup>)

تلاميذ	الحواريون	اوليا	اردا	اربا
Mk 11:14	Mk 14:4		Mk 11:1 ردان من اردايه	Mk 10:32 باربايه
Mk 13:1	Mk 14:31		Mk 14:13 اردايه	Mk 10:46 ارباوه
Mk 14:50				Mk 11:11 ?اربابه
				Mk 12:43 ?باربايه
				Mk 14:12 ارباوه
				Mk 14:14 ?اربائي
				Mk 14:17 اربابه
				Mk 14:32 لاربابه
				Mk 16:7 لاربابه

Matthew 1:1-6:18a

Scribe C (S<sup>c</sup>)

تلاميذ	الحواريون	اوليا	اردا	اربا
Mt 5:1 التلاميذ				

Matthew 6:18b-10:27a and Mt 26:17b-28:11

Scribe D (S<sup>d</sup>)

تلاميذ	الحواريون	اوليا	اردا	اربا
Mt 26:18, 20, 40, 45, 56	Mt 26:26, 35		Mt 9:37 لاردايه	Mt 8:21 اربايه
Mt 27:64			Mt 10:1 باردايه	Mt 8:23 ارباوه
Mt 28:7, 8			Mt 27:57 ردا	Mt 9:10 اربايه
				Mt 9:11 لاربايه
				Mt 9:14 اربا (اربا يوحنا وتلاميذه)
				Mt 9:19 ارباوه
				Mt 10:2 الاربا
				26:19 ارباوه

The immediately preceding tables show that all five different Arabic readings for “disciples” are present in the earliest form of Vatican, Ar. 13 (copied about 800 A.D.). The expressions الحواريون and التلاميذ are clearly a later replacement of الاربا (الأرباء). (الحواريون possibly because of Qur’anic influence, and التلاميذ because of Syriac influence).



In Mt 21:1 we read *ارسل ايسوع اردان من اردايه* (ارسل ايسوع ~~اردان~~ اردايه). It is clear that the first hand corrected *اردان* to *تلاميذان*. In Mt 9:14 we read *اربا يوحنا وتلاميذه*. The expression *وتلاميذه* is obviously superfluous and was added later. Moreover, Beirut, B.O., Or. 430 a ninth/tenth century edition of the text of Vatican, Ar. 13 reads *التلاميذ* consistently. The expression *الحواريون* is used sixteen times, four of which come from Mark's Gospel.

The most commonly used expression in Vatican, Ar. 13 is *الاربا*. It is found more than fifty times in the surviving folios. *الأرباء* is an archaic term and is the plural of *رَبِيب* which means a person with whom one unites in [...] a covenant,<sup>71</sup> and fits perfectly well within its context in the Gospels, to refer to the disciples of Jesus. Imru' al-Qais, an Arabian poet of the 6<sup>th</sup> century A.D., used this term when he said *فما قاتلوا عن ربهم* ورَبِيبهم. Had the scribe of Vatican, Ar. 13 been influenced by the Qur'an we would have seen either *الحواريون*, or the term *الرَبِيبون* as in *Sūrah Āl 'Imrān* 3: 146: *وكأين من نبي قتل معه ربيون كثير*.

It is clear from the way the expression *الاربا* was written or miswritten (or even drawn!) in codex Vatican, Ar. 13 that the scribes/copyists were unfamiliar with this term in the eighth or early ninth century. The fact that the *hamza* was never inserted in the early manuscripts might have caused additional confusion. S<sup>b</sup> confused it with *رب* (pl. *ارباب*) and copied, for instance, in Mk 12:43 *اربابه* instead of *اربائه* (اربائه) *اربابي* instead of *اربائي* (اربائي) (Mk 14:14) and *اربابه* instead of *اربائه* (Mk. 11:11). The reading *اربابه* instead of *اربائه* is also found once in Mk 8:11 copied by S<sup>a</sup>.

This ambiguous term was replaced by *الاردا* which has a different meaning but similar skeleton shape. Since the early *alef* (ا) runs vertically under the line (thus detached from the letter before it), the expression *الاربا* can easily be read *الاردا*. Moreover, it makes sense: *رداء* (pl. *ارداء*) means "a helper/helpers."<sup>72</sup> It occurs in only fifteen places (seventeen times) in the Gospels.

One might argue that since the *Ḥijāzī alef* has a turning of the base to the right, it can easily be confused with *الاربا* (instead of *الاردا*). In this case the expression *الاردا* would be the original reading. This is less likely because *الاربا* is used fifty-one times as opposed to *الاردا* which is only found seventeen times.

71 E.W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, vol. 3, (London: Williams and Norgate), 1863, 1005.

72 See *رداء* (pl. *ارداء*) in Hans Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, (New York: Spoken Language Services, Inc., 1976) 334 and *Lisān al-'Arab*, vol. 1, 82. It is used once in the Qur'an in *Sūrah al-Qaṣaṣ* 28:34 *واخي هرون هو افصح مني لسانا فارسله معي رداً يُصَدِّقني*.

It is not possible to know when these corrections were first introduced to the text of Vatican, Ar. 13. Obviously by 800 A.D. the scribes were unfamiliar with the expression *الاربا*. Furthermore, the *exemplar* of Vatican, Ar. 13 might have already replaced *الاربا* with other renderings. (These renderings are found in the texts of S<sup>a</sup> as well as S<sup>b</sup>—and the text of S<sup>b</sup> is not a replacement but a continuation of the text of S<sup>a</sup>).

The use of *اوليا* (the loyal ones) is found seven times in the text of S<sup>a</sup> only. This is another pointer to the ambiguity of the term *اربا* and the need for its replacement in no later than 800 A.D.

In summary, five different expressions are used to translate the one Syriac word *ܐܠܚܒܐ*. The original one is *الاربا*. The other renderings emerged anytime before 800 A.D.

As far as we know, the term *الاربا* has not survived in the extant Arabic literature of the eighth and ninth century. The expression *التلاميذ* seems to have prevailed from the eighth century onwards. The term *حواريون* is also used amongst the Christians of Arabia probably because of Qur'anic influence (see for instance family *f*). The initial community for which this Gospel was prepared was most probably acquainted with this term, which seems to have become obsolete with the advent of Islam and the new translations of the Gospels prepared in the late seventh and early eighth century. How early is the text of Vatican, Ar. 13 and when was it translated into Arabic? I will return to this question when I discuss the term *الياسين*.

#### 5.1.5.6.3.3. John (the Baptist) *يحيى*

The Qur'ān uses the expression *يحيى*, which is not found in Vatican, Ar. 13. The latter uses:

1. *يوحنا* (fourteen times)<sup>73</sup> which is the closest to the Syriac and possibly the earliest form of the name (as well as the following rendering);
2. *يوحنان* (one time in Mt 11:18);
3. *يوحنا* (nineteen times)<sup>74</sup>;
4. *يحنأ* (three times).<sup>75</sup>

<sup>73</sup> See Mt 11: 4, 11, 13; 14:2, 4, 8; 16:14; 17:13; Mk 6:14, 17, 24, 25, 27; 10:35.

<sup>74</sup> See Mt 3:1,14; 4:12; 11:2, 7; 14: 3, 10; 21:26, 32; Mk 6:16, 18, 20, 28; 9:2, 38; 11:32; 13:3; Lk 5:11, 6:14.

<sup>75</sup> See Mt 3:13, 11:12, Mk 14:33.

## 5.1.5.6.3.4. The Prophet Elijah ܝܠܝܐܨ

The Qurʾān uses the expression الياس, which is not found in Vatican, Ar. 13. The closest to it is ايلياس and it is used only twice.<sup>76</sup> In general Vatican, Ar. 13 prefers the odd expression الياسين, which occurs eleven times<sup>77</sup>. In one place (Mt 17:3) ايليا is used and in other six places اليا. The renderings اليا and ايليا clearly show Syriac influence. The term الياسين is never used elsewhere in the Gospel manuscript.

Since Vatican, Ar. 13 is translated from Syriac, one expects to find either اليا or ايليا. In addition, had the scribe been influenced by the Greek text (Ἠλίᾱς) or the Qurʾān (الياس), one would expect الياس or ايلياس. However, Vatican, Ar. 13 prefers الياسين (*Eliāsīn*) and follows neither the Syriac nor the Greek (which has the same reading as the Qurʾān). Where does this term come from, and was it in use in Arabia, amongst Arab Christians, in pre-Islamic time? We can, to some extent, be certain that the community, for whom Vat Ar 13 was initially prepared understood this term and used it amongst its people. This term has no trace in any AGM whose roots go back to the seventh or eighth century. Who is then this community that has preserved its *distinctive vocabulary* without being influenced by the ecclesiastical languages (Greek or Syriac) or the language of the Qurʾān?

Returning to the term الياسين for *Elijah*, the only information we have comes from a commentary on a Qurʾānic verse written by Ibn Jaʿfar Muhammad Ibn Jarīr al-Tabarī (838-923 A.D.). The verse is from Sūrā al-Šāffāt 37:130. It reads سلم على ال ياسين. There is clearly a *space* between ال and ياسين. Had ال not been separated from ياسين, we would have a similar word to that which is found in the text of Vatican, Ar. 13. The context in which the Qurʾānic verse appears is about the prophet “Elijah” (though, elsewhere, the common Qurʾānic use is الياس). However, the term ال ياسين as it stands means peace be upon *Yāsīn*’s progeny (and not Elijah). While no one knows who *Yāsīn* is, Al-Tabarī has an important comment on this verse; he says:

واختلفت القراء في قراءه قوله (سلام على الياسين) فقرأته عامه قراء مكة والبصرة والكوفة : (سلام على الياسين) بكسر الالف من الياسين، فكان بعضهم يقول : هو اسم الياس، ويقول : إنه كان يُسمى باسمين: الياس، والياسين، مثل ابراهيم، وابراهيم، يُستشهد على ان ذلك كذلك، بأن جميع ما في السورة من قوله (سلام) فإنه سلام على النبي الذي ذكر دون اله، فكذلك الياسين، إنما هو سلام على الياس دون اله. [...]

<sup>76</sup> See Mt 27:47, 49.

<sup>77</sup> See Mt 11:14, 16:14, 17:10; Mk 6:15; 8:28; 9:4, 11, 12, 13; Mk 15:35; Lk 4:26.

وقرأ ذلك عامه قراء المدينة : (سلام على آل ياسين) يقطع آل من ياسين، فكان بعضهم يتأول ذلك بمعنى : سلام على آل محمد.<sup>78</sup>

From al-Ṭabarī's comment it can be determined that when the Qur'ān was received, the term الياسين was one of two terms already being used for Elijah, possibly by Arab Christians in the sixth and early seventh centuries. This term does not seem to have survived outside Arabia after the advent of Islam. It was a term used for Elijah in the sixth century and became obsolete with Islam and also with the emerging Arabic versions of the seventh and eighth centuries. When Vatican, Ar. 13 was translated the term *Eliāsīn* must have been in circulation amongst the community of which the translator was part and to whom he wrote, otherwise he would have used another term. The scribe, who was in charged of this translation, might have felt compelled to use the familiar term of his community (which is *Eliāsīn*) against what the Syriac text in front of him said, or what was found in Greek (and what was later found in the Qur'ān: *Iliās/Eliās*). This is one of a number of indicators (the use of الاربا for the disciples is another one, and also يوحنا for John the Baptist) in the text of Vatican, Ar. 13 which point to the fact that *the lexicography of Vatican, Ar. 13 is of an Arabic Christian community whose roots and distinguished vocabulary precede Islam*.

In conclusion, these key terms show that the archetype of Vatican, Ar. 13 might have been prepared either before the emergence of Islam (anytime between the fifth and the sixth centuries) or coincidentally with Islam (early seventh century). In any case, whether the translation was made before Islam or in the early days of Islam, the language which confronts us in the text of Vatican, Ar. 13 comes from a pre-seventh century Arabic Christian community.

#### 5.1.5.6.3.5. The Prophet "Jonah" (يهوذا)

The Qur'ān has يونس for Jonah. Vatican, Ar. 13, however, follows the Syriac and reads يونس<sup>79</sup>

#### 5.1.5.6.3.6. The Pharisees (فريسيين):

Generally speaking, the Arabic Gospel MSS use الفريسيون for the "Pharisees". Vatican, Ar. 13, however, has الاحبار. This term means "a learned

78 Ibn Ja'far Muhammad Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Jām' al-Bayān 'an Ta'wīl Āyy al-Qur'ān*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn., vol. 23 (Egypt: Sharikat Maktabat wa Maṭba'at Muṣṭafa al-Baba wa Awlādih: 1954), 94.

79 Mt 12:39, 40, 41; 16:4.

man". In "the "asās" of Ez-Zamakhshree" and "the "Ṣiḥāh" this term is used of the Jews in particular."<sup>80</sup> In Vatican, Ar. 13 it only refers to the "فريسيين". In the Qur'ān it is mentioned four times only.<sup>81</sup> The term was originally in use in pre-Islamic time in Arabia.<sup>82</sup>

In only two places does Vatican, Ar. 13 read الفريسيانيون instead of الإخبار: In Mt 16:1 and 19:3. As for the latter the text reads ثم دنا منه الإخبار الفريسيانيون. The expression الفريسيانيون is superfluous and was most probably added later. As for Mt 16:1 this variant is intriguing; why only in this narrative does Vatican, Ar. 13 read الفريسيانيون instead of الإخبار? One possibility is that Mt 16:1-4 was added later. Originally, it might have contained a different text with only verses 1 and 4. Textually we know that verses 2-3 are omitted in the Vetus Syra. Two hypotheses present themselves:

1. The archetype of Vatican, Ar. 13 was translated from an old recension of the Peshitta which omitted verses two and three, then later during the transmission of the text, the whole passage (verses 1-4) was replaced by a version closer to the standard Peshitta;
2. The text of Vatican, Ar. 13 was translated from the Vetus Syra then corrected later against the Peshitta and verses 1-4 were replaced.

It is not possible to know which hypothesis is more likely. It must be noted, however, that verses 1-4 (except for the use of الفريسيانيون) are not linguistically different than the rest of Vatican, Ar. 13, therefore, one could also argue that the occurrence of الفريسيانيون in this controversial narrative is merely coincidental.

#### 5.1.5.6.3.7. The Law نحوه

One of the remarkable linguistic features of the Gospel text of Vatican, Ar. 13 is the translation of the Syriac term نحوه (νόμος). The scribe never uses the Arabic term الناموس.<sup>83</sup> He uses either التوراه<sup>84</sup> or السنه<sup>85</sup> sometimes preceded by وصايا<sup>86</sup> or شرايع<sup>87</sup>. The reason could be either because the Arabic term الناموس (which is a transliteration of the Syriac) was un-

80 See حبر in E.W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, vol. 1, (London: Williams and Norgate), 1863.

81 Sūrah 5:44, 63 and 9:31, 34.

82 L. Cheikho, *an-Naṣrāniah wa Ādābiḥā*, (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.: Beirut: Dār al-Mashriq, 1989), 191-192.

83 Mt 5:17 is the only exception and is copied by H<sup>c</sup> of the 10<sup>th</sup> century.

84 See Mt 5:18; 7:12; 11:13; 12:5; 22:44.

85 Which means "habitual practice, customary procedure or action, norm, usage sanctioned by tradition" and is found in Mt 22:35 and Lk 5:17.

86 وصايا السنه Mt 22:36.

87 شرايع السنه Mt 23:23.

known to his community, or that the scribe has intentionally avoided the use of الناموس as its meaning is contentious.<sup>88</sup>

In summary, there is clear linguistic evidence that some terms found in the text of Vatican, Ar. 13 precede the Qur'ān (الاربا، الارداء، يوحنا، الاربيا، الاربيا، الياسين). Moreover, these terms indicate that the community which this Gospel was written for, seems to be unfamiliar with the Qur'ān, with Greek and with the Syriac Language. Otherwise we would not have seen for instance: (a) The expression الاربا، الارداء for the *disciples* instead of التلاميذ (Syriac background) or الحواريون (Qur'ānic background); (b) The expression الياسين for *Elijah* instead of ايليا (Syriac background), الياس (Qur'ānic background), or ايلياس/الياس (Greek background).

#### 5.1.5.7. The *Vorlage* of *h*<sup>1</sup>

As Burkitt and Vööbus suggest, the Gospel text of *h*<sup>1</sup> as it appears in its final form in codex Vatican, Ar. 13 is undoubtedly translated from a text similar to the Syriac Peshitta.<sup>89</sup> Some attempts to harmonise the Gospel of Matthew with Luke and John have already been mentioned. A direct or indirect connection with the Diatessaron is possible. Moreover, and in many occurrences, the text of *h*<sup>1</sup> renders pre-Peshitta readings, most of which agree with the Curetonian version. Note the list of fifty-eight pre-Peshitta variants from the Gospel of Matthew in appendix two, §13.7.2.

In summary, two hypotheses could be suggested about the *Vorlage* of *h*<sup>1</sup>:

1. The *Vorlage* of *h*<sup>1</sup> is an archaic Peshitta manuscript, possibly pre-sixth century, which has preserved some Vetus Syra readings, and seems to precede the standardizing of the Peshitta.
2. Originally the text of *h*<sup>1</sup> was translated from a Syriac text similar to the Curetonian version. Later the text of *h*<sup>1</sup> was corrected against the Peshitta. The Curetonian readings found in the text of *h*<sup>1</sup> are what have been overlooked by the editor.<sup>90</sup>

88 See M. Plessner, "Nāmūs" *EP*, vol. 7, 953-955.

89 Guidi did not seem to have examined this codex properly. I went through the whole text of the Gospels and I compared them with the Greek and the Peshitta. The Peshitta origin is certain. See vol. 3, §3.7.1 for an Arabic-Peshitta parallel of three chapters from manuscript *h*<sup>1</sup>.

90 It is worth noting here that verses 9-20 of Mark 16 are omitted in *h*<sup>1</sup> as is the case with the Syriac Sinaiticus. However, this omission is most likely because of a lacuna in the manuscript and not textual. Folio 74v ends with Mark 16:8 (لأنهما كنا مذروعا) and folio 75r starts with Lk 3:31. Moreover, the two hypotheses above suggest that verses 9-20 were more likely part of the text of *h*<sup>1</sup>. In the case of the second hypothe-

The second hypothesis is possible but lacks strong evidence. The phenomenon of correcting an Arabic text against the Peshitta is not uncommon among the Arabic manuscripts. Whether or not this is the case here is impossible to determine at this stage. Because of insufficient evidence, I shall accept the first hypothesis which suggests a Peshitta *Vorlage* different from the standard Peshitta of the sixth century onwards.

#### 5.1.5.8. The Date and Original Location of the Archetype of H<sup>1</sup>

To recapitulate, the analysis above indicates the following about h<sup>1</sup>:

1. The Gospels should be studied separately from the Epistles. The language of their *Vorlagen* is different, the Arabic terminologies vary, the date of their translation is unrelated and the translation technique is dissimilar.
2. The Gospel text of h<sup>1</sup> was translated from the Syriac. The Syriac version is an archaic Peshitta text (which preserves Old Syriac readings). It is equally possible (though this possibility lacks enough evidence) that the text of h<sup>1</sup> was originally translated from an Old Syriac version, similar to the Old Syriac Curetonian version and then corrected against the Peshitta in the eighth century.
3. The linguistic errors in the text of h<sup>1</sup> suggest that the exemplar is archaic and goes back to a period when the diacritical marks were still unallocated on the letters. In the case of h<sup>1</sup> any period between the second half of the sixth century and the second half of the seventh century (maybe even early eighth century) is a possibility.
4. The language of h<sup>1</sup> is dissimilar to the south Palestinian language and does not contain the linguistic characteristics of any AGM of this province.
5. Although the Arabic text is undoubtedly translated from the Syriac, it avoids the use of Arabic terms which have a Syriac origin, and also avoids *transliterating* Syriac terms. (e.g. تلميذ (ܬܠܡܝܕܐ); الناموس (ܢܡܘܣܐ); الفريسيون (ܦܪܝܣܝܐ)). Moreover, these terms, which are dissimilar to the Syriac, are not replaced with terms close to the Greek. This could point to the fact that the community for whom the scribe is translating the Gospels are ignorant of both Syriac and Greek.

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sis (originally translated from the Vetus Syra, then corrected against the Peshitta), it is almost impossible that the editor could have overlooked 11 verses which are present in his Peshitta text.

6. In general, proper nouns (like *يوشوع*; *ايشوع*; *يونان*; *يوحنا*) are closer to the Syriac than the Greek or the language of the Qur'ān. This indicates that there is little, if any, Greek or Qur'anic influence on *h*<sup>1</sup>.
7. The text of *h*<sup>1</sup>, as it has descended to us, has been subjected to correction and alteration even among its earliest folios. There are traces of Qur'anic influence in some parts of the text. Thus the autographed text has not been received in its full purity.
8. Terms such as *الاربا* (for the disciples of Jesus), *الياسين* (for Elijah) suggest that the translator is unfamiliar with the language of the Qur'ān and that the Arabs to whom this Gospel is addressed are not only unfamiliar with the Qur'ān, but also with the Syriac and the Greek languages. This seems to indicate that the autographed text might pre-date the seventh century (the date of the rise of Islam).
9. The phrasal transposition in the text of Vatican, Ar. 13 (as well as the textual harmony in Matthew twenty-six) might suggest that the archetype or a portion of it was transmitted orally than in literary form. The memory might have caused the deflection. This is a mere guess and can hardly be proven at this stage.

Based on this evidence, I am inclined to propose two possible hypotheses:

1. The the autographed text of *h*<sup>1</sup>, in the Gospels only, was prepared in the sixth century in a place such as al-Ḥīra in Iraq, by a scholar, possibly Nestorian, who was well acquainted with the Arabic language (far better than the eighth century Byzantine scribes of south-Palestine) for the Arab Christians of the south of Arabia (probably Najrān) who did not know or speak Syriac.<sup>91</sup> This version of the Gospels precedes Islam though it was not necessarily known outside the Christian community (or monasteries).
2. The autographed text of *h*<sup>1</sup>, in the Gospels only, was prepared in the early seventh century and coincides with the rise of Islam. It was prepared for the Arab Christians in al-Ḥīra, Baṣra or Najrān. This version precedes all other versions of the Gospels prepared in the second half of the seventh or early eighth century. This version uses the language of the Arab Christians at the time and some terms clearly pre-date the advent of Islam.

Both hypotheses claim that some of the vocabulary preserved in the text of Vatican, Ar. 13 pre-dates Islam. In the case of the first hypothesis, the translation was made in the sixth century (about a century be-

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91 For a close link between Hira and Najrān see, Johannes Pedersen, *The Arabic Book* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1984), 9.



fore Islam). Under the second hypothesis, the translation was made in the first half of the seventh century (coinciding with the rise of Islam, without necessarily being influenced by the Qur'an). Finally, neither hypothesis claims that this Arabic version was in circulation outside the Christian community.

This autographed text of Vatican, Ar. 13 has possibly been recited as well as copied and corrected in a place like Najrān. Some old terms were replaced by less archaic terms. In the eighth/ninth century, when the Greek Orthodox Church of south Palestine (e.g. Mar Sābā) felt the need to translate the Bible into Arabic, they made use of this version which was in circulation in places like al-Ḥira and Najrān. They did not bother to correct it against the Greek. They copied it with minor linguistic corrections, and introduced their Greek liturgical readings to the text. Preceded by the Psalms (which have not survived) and followed by the Catholic and Paul's Epistles (in the case of Paul's Letters which alone have survived, they are translated from Greek, probably at Mar Sābā monastery), the text of Vatican, Ar. 13, has transmitted, though not in an entirely pure form, an invaluable Gospel text that contains the earliest sacred document of the Arab Christians.

Lastly, if any of these hypotheses are sound, the language used in Vatican, Ar. 13 should exhibit an Arabic text that is comparable to that found in a sixth century document produced in al-Ḥira. Unfortunately such documents do not exist, though we know that the script used in al-Ḥira was well developed by the fifth and sixth centuries and documents must have existed.<sup>92</sup> However, we know of one Arabic Christian inscription from pre-Islamic times, found in a monastery which was built by *Hind* in al-Ḥira. This pre-Islamic inscription reads:

بَنَتْ هَذِهِ الْبَيْعَةَ هِنْدُ بِنْتُ الْحَارِثِ بْنِ عَمْرِو بْنِ حَجْرٍ الْمَلِكَةِ بِنْتُ الْأَمْلَاحِ وَأُمُّ الْمَلِكِ عَمْرِو بْنِ الْمَنْزَرِ أُمُّ أُمَّةٍ الْمَسِيحِ وَأُمُّ عَبْدِهِ وَبِنْتُ عَبِيدِهِ فِي مَلِكِ الْمَلِكِ الْخَسْرُو أَنْشَرُوَانِ فِي زَمَنِ مَارِ افْرَائِيْمِ الْأَسْقَفِ، فَالَالَهُ الَّذِي بَنَتْ لَهُ هَذَا الدَّيْرَ يَغْفِرُ خَطِيئَتَهَا وَيَتَرَحَّمُ عَلَيْهَا وَعَلَى وَلَدِهَا وَيَقْبَلُ بِهَا وَيَقُومُهَا إِلَى أَقَامَةِ الْحَقِّ وَيَكُونُ اللَّهُ مَعَهَا وَمَعَ وَلَدِهَا الدَّهْرُ الدَّاهِرُ<sup>93</sup>

When the text of the inscription is compared to the Arabic language of *h*<sup>1</sup>, the result is even more conclusive. In comparing the language of this inscription with Mt 12:31 and 16:18. They read:

92 On the Rise of the Arabic Script see 'Irfan Shahīd, "Al-Masihīyyat," 409-410; and Johnannes Pedersen, *The Arabic Book*, 3-11.

93 Yāqūt bin 'Abdallah al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, vol. 2 (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'ilmiyyah, n.d.), 612.

Mt 12:31:

ولذلك اقول لكم ان كل خطيه وافترى يغفر للناس بعد توبتهم فاما الافتري على روح القدس لا يغفر للناس ابد الدهر

Mt 16:18

وانا اقول لك ايضا انك انت الصفا وعلى هذه الصفا ابني بيعتي وابواب الجحش<sup>94</sup> لن تقهرها

Some similarities in the language are obvious:

1. بنت هذه البيعه (in the inscription) with ابني بيعتي (in Mt 16:18 of *h*<sup>1</sup>)
2. كل خطيه... يغفر للناس with يغفر خطيتها (Mt 12:31)
3. ابد الدهر with الدهر الداهر (Mt 12:31)
4. The verbs راحم, قبل, اقام in the inscription are repeatedly found in the text of *h*<sup>1</sup>.
5. The use of قوم (يقومها) instead of شعب or جمع is also repeated frequently in the text of *h*<sup>1</sup>.

In summary the language found in the inscription is very close to the language of *h*<sup>1</sup> and adds weight to the possibility of the hypothesis that the archetype of *h*<sup>1</sup> could have been produced in al-Ḥira for the Arab Christian communities anytime during the sixth or early seventh century.

### 5.1.6. Family I of Harklean Origin

#### 5.1.6.1. Witnesses of Family I

Codex, BL, Or. 2291 (hereafter *i*<sup>1</sup>) seems to be the only codex which has survived of this version; it is written in Arabic characters and contains the continuous text of the Gospels. According to Graf, the Syriac-Karshouni codex Vatican, Syr. 271, as well as some lectionary manuscripts, contain the same text as *i*<sup>1</sup>.<sup>95</sup> Cheikho referred to a codex in the Monastery of St. Mark in Jerusalem which is translated from the Syriac Harklean (see below on the *Vorlage* of this family) and might contain the same text of this version. Since lectionaries and Karshouni manuscripts are excluded from this study, and since nothing is known about Cheikho's St. Mark's codex, *i*<sup>1</sup> is the only codex examined in this family.

94 This Archaic expression was used by Quss b. Sā'idah, a Christian poet, in the sixth century: عليهم من بقايا خزهم خرقى يا ناعي الموت والملحود في جحش, see L. Cheikho, *Kitāb shu'arā' an-Naṣrāniyah qabla al-Islām*, (5<sup>th</sup> ed.: Beirut: Dar al-Mashriq, 1999), 213.

95 Graf, *Geschichte*, 155.

The test passages in appendix one, §12.9 show that this manuscript represents a separate family.

#### 5.1.6.2. A Description of I<sup>1</sup>

This codex contains the four Gospels in Syriac and Arabic. Written in parallel columns, the Syriac is found on the right hand side of each folio. The Arabic text is written in sloppy, but fairly clear, Naskhi of about the thirteenth century.<sup>96</sup> The ink is generally black and thick. Lectionary rubrics are inserted in the text. The codex contains many lacunae, especially in Matthew and in John.<sup>97</sup> Matthew starts with Matthew 12:3 (fol. 1r) and John ends with verse 12 of chapter 22 (fol. 150v). The Syriac text is the Harklean version, and according to Rieu and Graf, the Arabic text is “a literal translation of the same.”<sup>98</sup> Jesus is almost always called المخلص (the saviour) which is unusual among the Arabic Gospel versions.<sup>99</sup> The Pharisees are called المعتزله.

#### 5.1.6.3. The *Vorlage* of Family I

As is mentioned above, according to Rieu and Graf, this version is a literal translation of the Harklean version found in the first column of the same manuscript. I have examined ten chapters from the Gospel of Mark to see how close the Arabic text is to the Harklean version in the first column. The result of this investigation is found in appendix two, §13.8. The conclusion below reflects on the outcome of this exercise.

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96 The manuscript does not contain a colophon with a date. Rieu suggests a twelfth century manuscript. (see Rieu, *Supplement*, 6-7). However, based on palaeographical grounds, a twelfth century date is unlikely.

97 For instance, fol. 1r starts with Mt 12:3 and fol. 1v ends with Mt 12:16. Fol. 2r starts with Mt 12:36 and fol. 2v ends with Mt 13:48. Fol. 3r starts with Mt 21:23 and fol. 3v ends with Mt 21:33. Fol. 4r starts with Mt 22:15 and fol. 8v ends with Mt 23:37. Fol. 9r starts with Mt 24:14 and fol. 9v ends with Mt 24:30. Fol. 10r starts with Mt 24:36 and fol. 10v ends with Mt 24:43. Fol. 10v starts with Mt 24:30 and ends with Mt 24:36. Fol. 11r starts with Mt 24:43 and fol. 18v ends with Mt 26:69. Fol. 19r starts with Mt 27:22 and fol. 21v ends with Mt 27:49. Fol. 22r starts with Mt 28:7 and fol. 22v ends with Mt 28:20. For the first ten chapters of the Gospel of Mark (see the case study below): fol. 23v ends with Mark 1:12 and fol. 24r starts with Mt 2:19; fol. 24v ends with Mk 3:4 and fol. 25r starts with 3:17; fol. 26v ends with Mk 4:12 and 27r starts with 4:25b; fol. 27v ends with Mk 4:39 and fol. 28r starts with Mk 5:13; fol. 28v ends with Mk 5:27 and fol. 29r starts with Mk 5:41; fol. 36v ends with Mk 8:5a and fol. 37r starts with Mk 8:19b.

98 See Rieu, *Supplement*, 6-7, and Graf, *Gischichte*, 155.

99 In the first ten chapters of Mark Jesus is always referred to as المخلص (saviour) except in Mk 10:46 and 47 where ايشوع is mentioned.

## 5.1.6.4. Conclusion

There seems to be some Peshitta influence on this version. It might have taken place directly (the scribe had access to a Peshitta manuscript) or indirectly using an Arabic version already in circulation which is translated from the Peshitta or through liturgy or tradition—for instance the addition of ابن الله الحي (Son of the Living God) in Mk 8:29 which is not from the Harklean but the Peshitta version).

On various occasions the scribe seems to give two alternative readings in his Arabic text. The readings occasionally show a conflation of readings from the Harklean and the Peshitta (see appendix two, §13.8, no.3a). Sometimes the scribe gives two synonyms (or alternatives) for a single word found in his Syriac source (in this case both the Harklean and the Peshitta read similarly – see appendix two, §13.8, no.3b).

Although the Arabic text closely follows the Harklean version, there are traces of the Peshitta in the text. In Chapter Nine, we shall see how an Arabic text, similar to codex Vatican, Syr. 269 (of family *e*) originally translated from the Peshitta, might have been available to the scribe who might have made use of it while preparing his Arabic text.

## 5.2. AGM of Syriac *Vorlagen* Showing Greek Influence: Family J

There are over fifty manuscripts grouped in family *j*. They are divided into three subgroups (*j*<sup>A</sup>, *j*<sup>B</sup> and *j*<sup>C</sup>). Each of the subgroups will be examined independently, followed by an investigation into the relationship between each of them. The *Vorlage* will be the last to be explored.

5.2.1. Subgroup J<sup>A</sup>

## 5.2.1.1. A Review of Previous Works

Before I endeavour to review previous works dealing with some of the manuscripts included in this subgroup, the table below gives the shelf mark, date and contents of each of the manuscripts of the subgroup *j*<sup>A</sup>.

Sigla	Ms Number	Passages collated	Date
$j^{A1}$	Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Gr. 539 (1)	TP	12 <sup>th</sup>
$j^{A2}$	Sinai, Ar. 115	TP	13 <sup>th</sup>
$j^{A3}$	BnF, Suppl. Grec. 911 <sup>100</sup>	Luke 15:11-20	1043
$j^{A4}$	Sinai, Ar. 107	TP	1393
$j^{A5}$	Sinai, Ar. NF paper 51	Mark 13:5-11	1025
$j^{A6}$	Sinai, Ar. NF paper 62	Mt 7:15-20; 16:1-4	12/13 <sup>th</sup>
$j^{A7}$	Sinai, Ar. 146	Mt 28:1-14	13 <sup>th</sup>

#### 5.2.1.1.1. Graf's Reference

Graf refers to Codex BnF, Suppl. Grec. 911 (hereafter:  $j^{A3}$ ) and places it amongst the manuscripts translated from Greek. Erroneously he mentions it with a number of manuscripts from family *a* (in this study) but in a separate paragraph. This suggests that he was unaware of its contents. Moreover, he appears to assume that it is translated from Greek as it is a bilingual Greek-Arabic codex. Graf fails to see any relationship between this manuscript and Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Gr. 539 (1) (hereafter:  $j^{A1}$ ). He wrongly places the latter on a separate paragraph within a group of manuscripts from  $j^B$  (see 5.2.2.3 below).

From the seven manuscripts of  $j^A$  (found in the table above) only  $j^{A1}$  and  $j^{A3}$  are mentioned by Graf, and both are misplaced.<sup>101</sup>

In addition, Graf includes eight additional manuscripts with  $j^A$ . Two of them were examined in this study but located elsewhere, and six were discarded. Here is a short review of the eight manuscripts:

1. Graf refers to a manuscript at the *Bibliothèque Orientale* in Beirut. This manuscript, he points out, is not found in Cheikho's catalogue on the manuscripts of the *Bibliothèque Orientale*. He refers the reader to Cheikho's article in *Elementa Grammaticae Arabicae*, in which the latter tells us the following information: *Ex versione Graecorum, facta saec. IX, Ms. Univ. Beryt*. In addition Cheikho transcribes a passage from Matthew 16:14-20.<sup>102</sup> Cheikho has not mentioned a shelf mark number for this manuscript, and according to the librarian in Beirut, this manuscript is missing today. When the text of this manuscript is compared with the representatives of the two hundred

100 It corresponds to Gregory-Aland 609. See, Aland, *Kurzgefasste Liste*, 83.

101 See Graf, *Geschichte*, 147-148.

102 Louis Cheikho and A. Durand, *Elementa Grammaticae Arabicae Cum Chrestomathia, Lexico Varisque Notis* (Beirut: Typographia Patrum Societatis Jesu, 1896), 198.

plus manuscripts under investigation in this study, it becomes obvious that this ninth century missing manuscript is identical to Beirut, B.O., Or. 432 and BnF, Ar. 58 of family *o*. This text is extremely important and will be examined in §7.4.4 below. It is sufficient to mention here that this manuscript has also been misplaced by Graf.

2. Graf refers to two manuscripts in the Orthodox Patriarchate in Jerusalem. As far as the second is concerned, it is codex Jerusalem, Orthodox Patr., Ar. 103 and is placed in this study among the manuscripts of the subgroup *j<sup>C</sup>*. As for the first, Graf quotes Cheikho in *al-Marshriq* 4 (1901) on page one hundred, in which there is a reference to a tenth century manuscript from the Orthodox Patriarchate (with no shelf mark). This manuscript is not found in the catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts of the Orthodox Patriarchate in Jerusalem. Cheikho's article reads the following:

وجدنا في مكتبته القبر المقدس للروم الاورثوذكس في اورشليم نسخه قديمه منقوله من الترجمة الروميه ترتقي على ظننا الى القرن العاشر اصلها من دير القديس سابا وهي اتيقه الكتابه

The information above is all that Cheikho mentions about this manuscript. It has no shelf mark and is missing today. All that we know is that it is a tenth-century codex, and is translated from Greek. There is no text extracted from the manuscript to help us learn about its contents. For this reason it has been discarded from this study.

3. The fourth manuscript Graf refers to is "Flor. Pal. Med. Or. 11, 1" and contains „Mt Kap. 10 bis Schluss.“ This undated manuscript is from the Biblioteca Palatina Medicea in Italy. The National Library in Rome has not reproduced a microfilm of this manuscript, and it is for this reason that it is not included in this study (See the discussion in 3.12.1 above).
4. The fifth manuscript is Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hebr. Uri 79. This manuscript is written in a Hebrew and not an Arabic script, therefore excluded.
5. The sixth manuscript is „Sarfeh Ar. 2/7 (18. Jh) mit prologen.“ All that is known is that it is an eighteenth-century manuscript with an introduction. Today this manuscript is in the North-east of Lebanon (Kisrwan) in Sharfeh's Monastery. Gaining access to this manuscript is almost impossible, therefore it has been discarded from this research (see §3.12.3 above).
6. The seventh reference in Graf's work is to a „Doppelsprachig: Sinai, Proph. Ar. 43 (J. 995/6).“ This manuscript is a bilingual Greek-Arabic codex. It appears that Graf failed to notice that this manuscript is a Lectionary. Its shelf mark today is Sinai, Ar. 116. Since it does not contain the continuous text of the Gospel it was excluded

- in this research. In any case, the text is similar to Sinai, Ar. 74 of family *a*. Alas, this manuscript has also been misplaced by Graf.
7. The eighth and last reference is „Jerus. Hl. Grab. Graec. 25 (Perg., 11. Jh.), griech. u. Ar.“ This manuscript, which seems to be from the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, also has no shelf mark. Apparently it is a Greek-Arabic parchment codex from the eleventh century. Nothing more is known about this codex and the manuscript was not microfilmed for the Library of Congress in 1949-50.<sup>103</sup> As a result, it was not included here. It is worth noting that the parchment codex BnF, Suppl. Grec. 911, which is today in the *Bibliothèque Nationale de France*, came originally from the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. It is also a bilingual Greek-Arabic codex and copied in 1045 A.D.<sup>104</sup>

#### 5.2.1.1.2. Paul Géhin and Juan Pedro Monferrer Sala's Contributions

Géhin gave an outstanding description of *j*<sup>A3</sup>. He examined the codicological and palaeographical features of this manuscript, translated the Greek and Arabic colophons, and surveyed its recent “historical placements”. He argued, based on palaeographical ground, that this manuscript had an occidental origin and was copied “en Italie méridionale Byzantine ou en Sicile musulmane.” Only later “le manuscrit dut prendre assez tôt le chemin de l’Orient.”<sup>105</sup>

Géhin did not present a study of the textual features of this manuscript. However, he made this remarkable comment in a footnote: “De menues divergences entre le texte arabe et le texte grec montrent qu’on a placé en regard du texte grec une traduction arabe préexistante, effectuée sur un texte légèrement différent.”<sup>106</sup> Géhin’s language of slight

103 See Kenneth W. Clark, ed., *Checklist of Manuscripts in the Libraries of the Greek and Armenian Patriarchates in Jerusalem: Microfilmed for the Library of Congress, 1949-50* (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1952).

104 Paul Géhin, “Un manuscrit bilingue grec-arabe, BnF, Supplément grec 911 (année 1043),” in François Déroche et François Richard, eds., *Scribes et manuscrits du Moyen-Orient* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1997), 173; and Ángel Urbán and Juan Pedro Monferrer-Sala, “Some regards on Textual Criticism in a Greek-Arabic Ms BnF Suppl. grec 911 (A.D. 1043),” *Parole de l’Orient* 30 (2005): 80. In addition Géhin points out that “Au milieu du XIXe siècle, le russe Uspenskij, au cours d’un de ses voyages au Proche-Orient, préleva un bifeuillet de notre manuscrit [BnF, Suppl. Grec. 911], lequel forme maintenant le cod. 290 de la bibliothèque Saltikov-Chtchedrin de Saint-Petersbourg” (Géhin, “Un manuscrit bilingue,” 173). This manuscript, which is in Saint-Petersburg, is beyond the scope of this work.

105 Géhin, “Un manuscrit bilingue,” 172.

106 Ibid., 167 footnote 12.

divergences between the Arabic and the Greek, and the pre-existence of an Arabic text, shows his familiarity with the textual feature of this codex.

Monferrer-Sala reached a completely different conclusion. In examining Luke 3: 21-22 he points out that “La versión árabe representa, en este punto concreto, una traducción literal del texto griego.”<sup>107</sup> The language Monferrer-Sala uses of “literal translation from Greek” is reinforced later in his joint article with Ángel Urbán. While examining whether “the Arabic translator has made use of another text of different origin, besides the actual Greek text, or even whether he has used another Arabic version,” the authors assert the following:

Our Arabic translator does not get entangled with other translations that would serve him as his background. Our translator does not even take into account another Arabic translation based in another model, neither does he use a Syriac translation of the Gospel by Luke to contrast with his own. He only faces the Greek text in the manuscript, which he translates as it is, exception made of some cases where he dares—perhaps there are reasons to be borne in mind, as noted somewhere else—deviate from the text in front of him.<sup>108</sup>

The postulation of both Urbán and Monferrer-Sala must be questioned. This study shows that Géhin was correct when he argued that the Arabic version, as it is found in *J*<sup>A3</sup>, is a re-work of earlier Arabic texts. It was revised on various occasions and was originally translated from Syriac and not Greek. To respond to Urbán and Monferrer-Sala, the following textual variants<sup>109</sup> from their articles argue against their claims:

1. In Luke 4:9 the Greek reads εἰ υἱὸς εἶ τοῦ θεοῦ, βάλε σεαυτὸν κάτω. The Arabic in the opposite column reads differently. It adds من هاهنا (ἐντεῦθεν) which is not found in the Greek parallel.
2. In Lk 4:41 the Greek omits καὶ λέγοντα (with the Greek manuscripts 019 and 1241) but is found in Arabic.
3. In Lk 5:6 the Greek adds the phrase ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι ἀναγαγεῖν αὐτο after τὰ δίκτυα αὐτῶν. The Arabic has only حتى لم يقدرُوا and omits ἀνὰ γαγεῖν αὐτο.

107 Juan Pedro Monferrer-Sala, “Por dentro de la traducción. Exégesis de un pasaje del Suppl. Grec. 911 de la BnF (año 1043)” *Hikma* 2 (2003): 107-117.

108 Urbán and Monferrer-Sala, “Some Regards on Textual Criticism,” 87. See also the linguistic features of the Arabic text in Juan Pedro Monferrer-Sala, “Descripción lingüística de la columna árabe del BnF Suppl. grec. 911 (ano 1043)”, *Collectanea Christiana Orientalia*, 2 (2005), 93-141.

109 Urbán and Monferrer-Sala, “Some Regards on Textual Criticism,” 90-98.



4. In Lk 5:29 the Arabic reads καὶ ἁμαρτωλῶν (with the Greek manuscripts N W X 213 262 443 517 954 1071 1424 1675 Cb (1 ms.)) instead of καὶ ἄλλων found in the Greek Parallel.
5. In Luke 13:30 the Greek omits καὶ εἰσὶν πρῶτοι οἱ ἔσονται ἔσχατοι but it is found in the Arabic parallel.
6. In Luke 19:27 the Arabic reads πάλιν (لكن) instead of πλὴν found in the Greek parallel and agrees with one Greek manuscript (565) but most importantly (and not mentioned by Urbán and Monferrer-Sala) with the Syriac Sinaiticus and Curetonian.
7. In Luke 13:18b the Arabic reads السما (οὐρανοῦ) however the parallel Greek reads θεοῦ. The Arabic reading agrees with the Greek N U 179 etc. as well as some Ethiopian and Old Church Slavonic versions.
8. In Luke 14:15 the Arabic reads خبز (ἄρτον) instead of ἄριστον found in the Greek parallel. The Arabic follows P75 01 A<sup>c</sup> B D etc. and the Greek follows A\* W f<sup>13</sup> and the Majority Greek Text.

The above unit-variations are samples of the variants which show how the Arabic occasionally deviates from the Greek in the parallel column. This is best explained by suggesting that the scribe of *j*<sup>A3</sup> has made use of an Arabic translation in circulation at the time, rather than that he made a fresh translation of the Greek in parallel. Our claim is reinforced by evidence presented in the table above that *j*<sup>A5</sup> has the same text as *j*<sup>A3</sup> and was copied eighteen years earlier. It appears that Urbán and Monferrer-Sala were unaware of the existence of a number of manuscripts which contain the same text as *j*<sup>A3</sup>, as they were working with only one manuscript of this version. Moreover, it also appears that they were unaware that Guidi and Peters worked on a similar text, but from a different manuscript and that Peters was able to ascertain Syriac readings in the text.

#### 5.2.1.2. A Description of the Base Text<sup>110</sup>

Codex *j*<sup>A1</sup> copied in the twelve century has been chosen as the collated base and the representative manuscript. Although it is not the earliest codex of this group of manuscript, it seems to contain an early witness of the exemplar. Codex *j*<sup>A5</sup> (1025 A.D.) and *j*<sup>A3</sup> (1043 A.D.) are also old and contain a “good” text, but only forty-eight folios survived from the former, and the latter contains the Gospel of Luke only.

The manuscript *j*<sup>A1</sup> is a bilingual Greek-Arabic codex written on parchment. The Arabic text stands on the right-hand page and the

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110 The focus will be on the Arabic text and not the Greek.

Greek on the left-hand page of the codex. Since the Arabic script runs from right to left and the Greek from left to right it is natural and convenient to place them in this way. For this reason, in Greek-Arabic or Coptic-Arabic manuscripts, the position of the Arabic text (which is always on the right-hand page) should not suggest that the Arabic is translated from Greek or Coptic. Other criteria should be used to ascertain which language is used as the translating base.

The Arabic text of folio 265v (John 21:19v-25) was omitted by the scribe. The Greek text is placed on the right hand of the page, and the left hand side is left blank. It is possible that there was a lacuna in his Arabic exemplar, but this is difficult to prove.

*J*<sup>A1</sup> is written in a small, but sometimes thick *Naskhi* script. The text is fully and neatly vocalized. It seems that the codex has not been in use for a considerable time. It may have also been exposed to water. In many places the ink of the Greek script which is located, for example, in the left column of the right page has faded and traces of it can be seen on the Arabic text on the right column of the left page. This makes the Arabic, as well as the Greek, difficult, if not impossible, to read. The letter ف has one dot underneath it and is similar to the marghribi fa. The letter ق has only one dot above the letter instead of two. There is no justification at the end of the Arabic line. Some lines contain just one word and others have many words which almost overlap with the Greek text on the next column. The separation between the words is inconsistent. Sometimes the words are closely attached together, and on other occasions there are large space-intervals as if one word or even more are missing. There is also no agreement in the distance between the lines. Chapter divisions and titles are normally inserted above or below the text, probably by the same hand. The Arabic script was copied by one scribe. Occasionally the scribe adds alternative words in the margin to what is found in the text. For instance on folio 92r., the scribe adds قطعت (I have chopped off) on the right side margin beside حسمت (I have cut off) found in the text. Also كالغ (as the snare/trap) added on the right side of folio for كالشركه (as the trap/net). These alternative readings, which are in most cases synonymous, are added by the same hand. They seem to reflect his own linguistic preference against that which he finds in his Arabic exemplar.

This scribal behavior serves as a warning that the text might not be as pure as we would like it to be. Ideally other witnesses would have been consulted during my examination of the Arabic text of this codex, but since microfilms of the Sinai manuscripts *j*<sup>A2</sup> and *j*<sup>A4</sup> (which are the only ones in addition to the collated base to contain the four Gospels)

are still unavailable, my focus was only on the representative manuscript.

I shall now turn to the critical apparatus of the seven manuscripts of family  $j^A$ .

### 5.2.1.3. The Test Passages and the Critical Apparatus of Family $J^A$

In addition to the eight test passages (see §12.10.1.1), I have transcribed Matthew 28:1-14 (see §12.10.1.2). This is because manuscript  $j^{A7}$  is fragmentary and does not contain any of the eight test passages; only Matthew 18:43-28:14 have survived.

#### 5.2.1.3.1. Reflection on the Test passages and their Critical Apparatus

##### 5.2.1.3.1.1. A close look on each of the witnesses of $J^A$

The table in §12.10.1.3 shows with a high degree of certainty that the texts of  $j^{A4}$ , followed by  $j^{A2}$  have been linguistically improved. Manuscript  $J^{A6}$  is closer to the collated base than  $j^{A2}$  and  $j^{A4}$ .<sup>111</sup>

As far as  $j^{A3}$  is concerned, it is worth noting that this manuscript (a Greek-Arabic codex, which contains the Gospel of Luke, copied in 1043 A.D. and one of the earliest witnesses of this family) seems to have been corrected and its text improved. From Luke 15:11-20 alone, we are able to detect fifteen variations which are not shared with the collated base ( $j^{A1}$ ), with  $j^{A4}$  and  $j^{A2}$  (the rest of the witnesses do not contain the text of Luke). This suggests that  $j^{A3}$  is less reliable in reconstructing the text of the archetype. Since  $J^{A3}$  is a bilingual manuscript, the scribe may have partially corrected his Arabic text against the Greek in the second column.

$J^{A5}$  is the earliest dated manuscript of this subgroup. Unfortunately, only Mark 12:2-16:20 of the Gospels survived. Originally this codex only contained the Gospel of Mark.<sup>112</sup> This suggests that the Gospels in this family have circulated individually. Moreover, manuscript  $j^{A3}$  contains Luke only, and  $j^{A6}$  most probably contains just Matthew.

111 The basis of this argument is the two test passages from Matthew. As far as  $J^{A6}$  is concerned, only the Gospel of Matthew survived.

112 The colophon, which in this case is at the end of the Gospel of Mark, as well as the size of the spine at the back of the codex, supports the claim that originally this codex contained Mark only and not the four Gospels. Moreover, following the colophon there is a commentary by the "Saint Father Theophilus" (الاب مر توفيل).

The text of  $j^{A5}$  has not escaped correction and linguistic improvement, however it is not possible to know to what extent this has happened, especially since Mark 13:5-11 is the only passage transcribed.  $j^{A5}$  is certainly a copy of still earlier text(s). The colophon clearly states that the scribe named *صلح بن سعد* has copied his manuscript from another codex and did it “as far as his capacity and power were able to do so.”<sup>113</sup> The colophon suggests that the scribe had carefully and faithfully copied and compared his manuscript with his original, although that may or may not be true. There is no indication, however that he attempted to improve his source. The Arabic idiom “as far as his capacity and power were able to do so” (بحسب الطاقه والامكان) implies that there was no deliberate or conscious effort to change the original. The variations in his text might either have been entered unintentionally or were already in his source. In any case, we can be reasonably certain that the text of  $j^A$  was in circulation by the tenth century at the latest.

We shall see in the discussion of family  $j^C$  that by about the tenth century family,  $j$  was systematically and extensively improved as well as corrected against other text-types. This might indicate that the archetype of this family was produced in the ninth century at the latest.

The last manuscript examined here is the thirteenth century  $j^{A7}$ , a fragmentary manuscript that contains Matthew 18:43-28:14. The transcription and collation of Matthew 28:1-14 in §12.10.1.2 indicates that although it is itself relatively late, it might contain one of the *oldest surviving texts* of this family. This is a tentative conclusion since only fourteen verses were examined. The table in appendix one, §12.10.1.4 highlights some of these variations and unexpectedly shows that although  $j^{A7}$  is a thirteenth century codex, some of the readings seem to be more authentic than the readings found in the collated base ( $j^{A1}$ ). For instance *عشيه* in the collated base is a correction of *عشي* ( $j^{A7}$ ); the expression *اصباحه* (in  $j^{A7}$ ) is the *lectio difficilio* which the scribe of  $j^{A1}$  amended to *صباح*, and the verb *جرى* in  $j^{A7}$  is probably replaced by *سُمع* in  $j^{A1}$ .

Finally, the two expressions *ارباه* and *انشر* found in Matthew 28 are very archaic. As far as we know the only manuscript which reads *ارباه* for “the disciples of Jesus” is  $h^5$  which, as argued earlier, goes back to *circa* sixth century (see §5.1.5.8 above). These linguistic renderings indicate the archaic nature of this family, but unfortunately, only eleventh century codices have survived.

113 The last section of the colophon states: *قوبل بذلك ووافق النسخه التي كتبت منها بحسب الطاقه والامكان* (see folio 25).  
*والحمد لله كما هو اهله وكتب الخاطي صلح بن سعيد الكاتب*

### 5.2.1.3.1.2. Some preliminary consideration about the *Vorlage* of the witnesses of J<sup>A</sup>

I shall start with the last two manuscripts examined linguistically in the previous section: j<sup>A1</sup> and j<sup>A7</sup>. There are three textual variants in verses 2, 5 and 6 of Matthew 28 (see the table in appendix one, §12.10.1.2):

1. J<sup>A1</sup> reads باب القبر. This reading agrees with the Greek L Γ Θ f<sup>1.13</sup> 33 (and a few others), with Sy<sup>h</sup>, and Coptic Bohairic version. j<sup>A7</sup> reads only الباب with the Greek A C K W Δ, Syriac Peshitta and Old Latin f h q;
2. In verse 5, j<sup>A1</sup> reads المصلوب and j<sup>A7</sup> reads الناصري with the Harklean version (but j<sup>A7</sup> omits المصلوب and the Harklean version retains it);
3. In verse 6, j<sup>A1</sup> reads السيد with A C D L W 0148 f<sup>1.13</sup> MT lat sy<sup>(p).h</sup>, and j<sup>A7</sup> omits with B Θ 33. 892 (and a few others), as well as the Latin manuscript e, Syriac Sinaiticus and the Coptic versions.

In any attempt to determine which of the two manuscripts represents the authentic textual reading of the archetype, the best way to start, since j<sup>A1</sup> is a Greek-Arabic manuscript, is by comparing the Arabic text of j<sup>A1</sup> with the Greek in the parallel column. In the first variation, (باب (القبر/الباب) the Greek reads ἀπὸ τῆς θύρας τοῦ μνημείου. The second variation (المصلوب/الناصري) reads τὸν ἐσταυρωμένον in Greek. The third variation (omit السيد) reads ὁ Κύριος in Greek.

In all three instances, the Arabic variants of j<sup>A1</sup> agree with the Greek in parallel. Had the Arabic readings of j<sup>A1</sup> differed from the Greek in the parallel column, one might be able to argue that the reading in j<sup>A1</sup> is authentic. In this case, j<sup>A1</sup> seems to have corrected his Arabic text against the Greek of the opposite column. Moreover, it is more probable for the scribe of j<sup>A1</sup> to add القبر for the expression الباب than for j<sup>A7</sup> to omit it (as well as in the third case with the addition of السيد). In the case of the second variant the expression الناصري (j<sup>A7</sup>) is the *lectio difficilior* and most probably the authentic one.

In conclusion, the thirteenth century j<sup>A7</sup> was copied from a very old recension and has escaped consistent corrections and emendations. My analysis suggest that although j<sup>A1</sup> is closer to the archetype than other manuscripts of this version, from a *linguistic* point of view, it might have been “corrupted” from a *textual* point of view by being corrected against the Greek found on its opposite column.

Indications in the texts of j<sup>A1</sup> and j<sup>A7</sup> suggest that various *Vorlagen* may have been the reason for variant readings, a further investigation might reveal (a) *Vorlage(n)*-influence on other manuscript in this family.

The test passages found in appendix one, §12.10.1.1 reveal the following:

1. In Matthew 16:4,  $j^{A6}$  adds *ورد عليهم الجواب ايضا*. This reading agrees, with some minor variations with manuscripts O Σ Φ 291 700.<sup>114</sup> This reading is also found in many of the witnesses of the third subgroup:  $j^C$ . This addition might show a genetic relationship between  $j^{A6}$  and  $j^C$  (or one of the Greek manuscripts mentioned previously).
2. In Mark 6:15,  $j^{A4}$  reads *اخرون قالوا ان هو ايليا اخرون قالوا ان هو ارميا قال اخرون ان نبيا هو كواحد من الانبيا*. The addition of *ارميا قالوا ان هو ارميا* is puzzling. It might have come directly from the Diatessaron or from one of the witnesses of the subgroup  $j^B$  (which adds or replace *ايليا* with *ارميا*). See below.
3. In Mark 6:20,  $j^{A2}$  and  $j^{A4}$  replace *واذ كان يسمع ما يقول ويصنع* with *واذ كان يسمع* and *ما فعله*. The scribes of  $j^{A2}$  and  $j^{A4}$  omit *يقول*, exchange *يصنع* for *فعل*, and add the pronoun *•*. The omission of *يقول* shows a textual rather than a linguistic correction. The Greek (as well as Syriac) reads only *ἀκούσας* (heard) without *ما يقول* (what he says). The variant, as it is found in  $j^{A2}$  and  $j^{A4}$ , is a textual correction of a freer translation. This indicates that, at some point, the scribe has consulted either a Greek or Syriac manuscript and corrected his text against it.
4. Mark 13:6 has an important textual variation. The verse reads:<sup>115</sup>  
*فان كثيرين سيأتون على اسمي قابلين اني انا المسيح فيظفون كثيرين*  
 The expression *المسيح* (ὁ Χριστός) is found only in  $j^{A1}$  and agrees with the following manuscripts: W Θ  $f^3$  543. 28. 61. 91. 115. 255. 299. 565. 579. 700. 1071 *b c g^2 l vg(sometimes) Cop.<sup>sa.bo.</sup> Geo.<sup>B</sup> Arm. Cyp.*  
 Manuscripts  $j^{A2}$ ,  $j^{A4}$  and  $j^{A5}$  replace *المسيح* with *انا* and read *فان كثيرين سيأتون على اسمي قابلين اني انا انا فيظفون كثيرين* (...Εγώ εἰμι...) and follow most Greek manuscripts (as well as Syriac). It is somewhat difficult to ascertain which reading is the authentic one; two hypotheses present themselves. Either the scribe of  $j^{A1}$  has introduced ὁ Χριστός to his text because of textual or explanatory motives, or it was originally present, then later omitted by a scribe as a result of correcting his text against either the majority Greek or the Syriac versions. The fact that the Greek, which is parallel to the Arabic in  $j^{A1}$ , omits ὁ Χριστός and in this way disagrees with the Arabic of the next column, argues that the expression *المسيح* in  $j^{A1}$  is most probably the authentic reading. It is hardly justifiable to have spontaneously introduced it to the text when it is omitted in his Greek parallel. It is

114 Manuscripts O Σ read *καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν*. Manuscripts 291 and 700 omits *ὁ Ἰησοῦς*. Manuscript Φ reads *δε ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς*, (Cf. Legg, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, ad loc.).

115 "For many shall come in my name, saying, I am the Christ and shall deceive many."

more likely that it was in his Arabic exemplar. Later scribes omitted it to agree with most Greek witnesses.

5. In John 18:20  $j^{A1}$  and  $j^{A2}$  read ...فاجابه يسوع... (and Jesus answered him...). This reading agrees with the Greek witnesses. Manuscript  $j^{A4}$  reads instead فقال له يسوع (and Jesus said to him). This reading agrees with the Peshitta (ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܝܫܥ). This appears to be a case of one manuscript being influenced by the Syriac and another by the Greek. In the case of  $j^{A4}$  there seem to be a consistent agreement with the Syriac.<sup>116</sup>

#### 5.2.1.4. Conclusion

There is enough evidence to claim that the subgroup  $j^A$  was in circulation by the tenth century at the very latest. This version circulated as individual Gospel and as four Gospels together.  $J^{A5}$  was copied in 1025 A.D. (the earliest dated text of this family) from a much earlier recension. All the surviving witnesses of this subgroup had been subject to mild stylistic improvements and also for some, if not all, textual corrections. Manuscript  $j^{A1}$  is a good example of a manuscript which has preserved a good text linguistically but has been corrupted textually. Manuscript  $j^{A3}$ , which is relatively old, has been corrected both stylistically and textually. Manuscript  $j^{A7}$  of the thirteenth century seems to have preserved the best representation of the archetype. However, only Mathew 18:43-28:14 survived and only Mt 28:1-14 was possible to be examined. Some of the terms used in this subgroup are archaic and remind us of family *h*.

The *Vorlage* of this family will not be treated here. It will be investigated after the third subgroup (i.e.  $j^C$ ). Now we turn to the second subgroup ( $j^B$ ) whose text is based on family  $j^A$ , but was later corrected and stylistically improved.

116 Not only in John 18:20 does the Arabic of  $j^{A4}$  agree with the Peshitta but also in verse 22, 26 and 27. In verse 22,  $j^{A4}$  introduces the word قد possibly because of Syriac influence ܩܕܝܡ (ܩܕܝܡ – found in the Peshitta and the Sinaiticus) is used instead of ربيش (ܪܒܝܫ / ῥυτίσις) (as well as in verse 26). Moreover, in verse 27 شمعون (ܫܡܥܘܢ – as found in the Peshitta and the Sinaiticus) is used instead of بطرس (Πέτρος).

5.2.2. Subgroup J<sup>B</sup>

## 5.2.2.1. A Review of Previous Works

5.2.2.1.1. What do Scholars know about the Manuscripts of J<sup>B</sup>?

Guidi was the first scholar to discover that the manuscripts identified as Vatican, Borg. Ar. 71 (previously K. II, 6), Vatican, Vatican, Ar. 467, Leiden, University Library, Cod. 225 Scaliger (Guidi gives the catalogue number: Or. 2376) and Leiden, University Library, Cod. 1571 (catalogue number Or. 2377) contain the same Arabic version and should be grouped together.<sup>117</sup>

Peters added one manuscript to this family: Codex Asiat. Museum Lenigrad D226.<sup>118</sup> This manuscript is not included in the ALAGM as it is in St. Petersburg's Library.

Graf adds another manuscript to this group: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodl. 299. This codex, as we will see below, is among the manuscripts of the subgroup J<sup>C</sup> and not J<sup>B</sup>.

Until 2002, only six manuscripts were known of this family (five for the subgroup J<sup>B</sup>). Valentin wrote an insightful article on the Arabic manuscripts of St. Catherine, and indicates that fourteen Sinai manuscripts can be added to the above list. The fourteen manuscripts are: Sinai, Ar. 69, 80, 82, 84, 89, 90, 91, 92, 94, 95, 103, 104, 106 and 114, bringing the total number of manuscripts in this subgroup to nineteen.

Through my research I came across *forty manuscripts* of the same text of J<sup>B</sup> (excluding the St. Petersburg's codex), and it is likely that more exist in other library collections. This indicates the widespread use of this version and the important role that it has played in the Arabic-Christian tradition and history.

Before I present a table showing these forty manuscripts, I shall summarize previous scholarly work on the *Vorlage* of this version.

5.2.2.1.2. Scholarly discussion over the *Vorlage* of family J<sup>B</sup>

## 5.2.2.1.2.1. Guidi

Guidi asserts, after examining Mt 1:18-25 from the four manuscripts he referred to in his monograph (see above), that this version is translated from Greek. Moreover, he was able to see a genetic relationship be-

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117 Guidi, *Traduzioni*, 11.

118 Peters, „Proben,“ 188.



tween these four manuscripts and Vatican, Borg. Ar. 95 (family *a* in this study), and concluded that this version is a stylistic revision of the text of Vatican, Borg. Ar. 95.<sup>119</sup>

#### 5.2.2.1.2.2. C. Peters

Peters, however, could not disagree more with Guidi and argues for a Syriac *Vorlage* instead of a Greek.<sup>120</sup> In support of his argument he gave the following four examples (extracted from Leiden, University Library, Cod. 225 Scaliger (Or. 2376), Leiden, University Library, Cod. 1571 (Or. 2377) and Asiat. Museum Leningrad D 226):

1. Luke 2:43 reads *وتتمت أيام العيد*. The addition of *العيد* is only found in the Syriac Sinaiticus, which reads *ܡܬܡܬܝܡܝܐ ܝܡܝܐ ܕܥܝܕܐ*.<sup>121</sup>
2. Mt. 3:3 reads *صوت ينادي*. Peters suggests that the verb *ناد* (to call instead of cry out) is closer to the Syriac *ܡܢܥܐ* and more precise than the Greek *βοάω*.
3. In John 3:3, 5 the expression *الانسان* translates the Syriac *ܡܢ* better than the Greek *τις*.
4. John 4:1 reads *انه قد اتخذ تلاميذ كثيره ويعمد ازيد من يوحنا*. Peters points out that the reading *ازيد...كثيره* follows the Syriac *ܡܢ ܕܝܘܚܢܐ ܕܝܡܝܐ ܕܥܝܕܐ* more closely than the Greek *πλείονας.....ἦ*.

The four examples presented by Peters are insufficient to argue for a Syriac *Vorlage*. The first example, where the Arabic adds *العيد*, does not necessarily follow the Syriac Sinaiticus. The Arabic and the Sinaiticus readings could possibly have converged independently. The expression *καὶ τελειωσάντων τὰς ἡμέρας* is to a certain extent ambiguous and the addition of *العيد* in the Arabic translation does not necessarily have to be genetically related to the Syriac Sinaiticus. This independent convergence can also be applied on the third example above. The fourth example is similar. The Arabic reads *ازيد من* (*ܡܢ ܕܝܘܚܢܐ*) which can also be perceived as an internal linguistic necessity rather than imitating the Syriac *Vorlage*. The Greek verb *βοάω* in the second example given by Peters could also mean “to call” and the argument for a Syriac *Vorlage* is thus mere postulation.

Here again the key feature arguing for a Syriac *Vorlage* is *consistency* in the manuscript in favour of Syriac instead of Greek. The issue gets more complicated when Peters points out that this version has been corrected against the Greek at a later stage. He puts it as follows:

119 Guidi, *Traduzioni*, 11-12.

120 Peters, „Proben,” 188-211.

121 Ibid., 189-190.

Hat es nach dem Gesagten als gesichert zu gelten, dass der arabische Text letztlich auf eine syrische Vorlage zurückgeht, so ist andererseits nicht zu verkennen, dass er späterhin eine starke Überarbeitung nach griechischem Evangelientext erfahren hat!<sup>122</sup>

Furthermore, Peters suggests that this revision is not a single revision but rather a gradual process conforming it to the Greek *Vorlage*. He argues that

Diese Annäherung an die „Graeca veritas“ geschah aber [...] nicht in einem einmaligen Akt der Überarbeitung, sondern offenbar in einem allmählichen, stufenweise fortschreitenden Prozess.<sup>123</sup>

If Peters is correct in his assessment that *J<sup>b</sup>* represents a progressive revision against the Greek, then the factor of consistency becomes less obvious and wider passages need to be consulted in order to achieve convincing conclusions about the *Vorlage* of this version.

Peters presents another example to support the progressive revision against the Greek. In Luke 1:28 Leiden, University Library, Cod. 1571 (Or. 2377) reads السلام عليك يا ممثليه نعمه ربنا معك علم لحد against the Greek Χαῖρε, κεχαριτωμένη, ὁ κύριος μετὰ σοῦ.

Leiden, University Library, Cod. 225 Scaliger (Or. 2376) reads السلام عليك ايها المنعم عليها ربنا معك to follow the Greek κεχαριτωμένη (instead of the Syriac علم لحد). The scribe of Cod. 225 Scaliger corrected نعمه ممثليه against the Greek but retained عليك and ربنا uncorrected. Furthermore Peters gives another three examples of a similar nature.<sup>124</sup>

These examples adequately demonstrate progressive revision against the Greek. Therefore, a selection of a representative manuscript presents some difficulties. Is there, among the forty manuscripts of this subgroup, one codex which has not been revised against the Greek? Adding to the difficulties in selecting a representative manuscript, the few examples presented by Peters show that the process of correcting this text against the Greek does not seem to have been thorough and systematic (as the case with Luke 1:28 above) but occasional and sporadic. One passage from a particular manuscript might show a closer text to the archetype than the others, but this does not necessarily mean that a similar verdict would be reached from another passage. It could be that when a different passage is analysed, different results might emerge.

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122 Ibid., 190.

123 Ibid., 190-191.

124 Lk 1:35; Jn 19:32; Lk 4:1 (See, *ibid.*, 192).

These warnings will be taken into consideration in the study of the *Vorlage* of this manuscript. Since it is necessary to select a representative manuscript, codex Sinai, Ar. 106 was chosen, not because it preserved the closest *text* to the archetype, an issue which requires a more in-depth study, but because it is the earliest dated manuscript of this version and contains the four Gospels.

#### 5.2.2.1.2.3. Vööbus

Vööbus examined Mt 2:13 and 7:25 from codex Sinai, Ar. 82 (which has a similar text as *j<sup>B</sup>*) and argues that the *Vorlage* of this version is the *Vetus Syra*. Unfortunately he does not provide us with evidence. He only refers to the verb *جرت* in Mt 7:25 (وجرت الانهار) to argue that this reading goes back to the Diatessaron.<sup>125</sup> Nevertheless, the Arabic idiom *وجرت الانهار* (and streams flowed) adequately translates either the Greek *καὶ ἤλθον οἱ ποταμοὶ* or the Syriac *ܠܗܘܬܡܢܐ ܕܗܝܠܐ*. There is no need to search elsewhere for its *Vorlage*. In summary, Vööbus' argument in favor of Old Syriac *Vorlage* does not appear justified.

#### 5.2.2.1.2.4. Valentin

Valentin studied the text of Matthew 28 in depth and reached the following conclusion: "Dans l'ensemble, noter chapitre (*Matth.* 28) a été bien assimilé au texte byzantin et ne garde pour ainsi dire aucune trace de son passé syriaque."<sup>126</sup> As for Sinai, Ar. 106 (the representative text of *j<sup>B</sup>* in this study) he points out that

Dans l'ensemble, la tradition représentée par le Sinaï 106 semble suivre d'assez près le texte byzantin, du moins pour ce chapitre (nos collations nous ont en effet montré que ce n'est pas toujours le cas).<sup>127</sup>

This conclusion did not stop Valentin looking further in the manuscripts for Syriac (or using his word "occidentals") renderings. He refers to the following:

1. Mt 1:17 *الى مجي المسيح*: The addition of *مجي* is also found in the Latin codex k. Valentin suggests that this variant might have existed in one of the manuscripts of the *Vetus Syra*, which is now missing.<sup>128</sup> However, Valentin did not consider the possibility of a coincidental convergence with the Latin text. The addition of the expression *مجي*

125 See Vööbus, *Early Versions*, 282-3.

126 Valentin, "Les évangéliques arabes," 452.

127 Ibid., 453.

128 Ibid., 454.

might have been added as an explanatory to the text and not necessarily on a textual ground.

2. Mt 1:18 the omission of τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ: Valentin points out that this reading is omitted in Sinai, Ar. 80 and agrees with the Latin column of Codex Bezae.<sup>129</sup>

Here, Valentin seems to have spotted an important variant. We should not however eliminate the possibility that the three letters ܐܡܗ might have been accidentally omitted by the copyist. It is worth asking whether we find *consistent Latin influence* in this manuscript. If not then these convergences should be seen as coincidental.

3. Mt 1:24 the addition of the pronoun ܐܢ ܡܢ ܢܘܡܗ in (as found in Vatican, Borg. Ar. 71, Sinai, Ar. 69 and Sinai, Ar. 106). This reading according to Valentin follows the Syriac and not the Greek.<sup>130</sup>

Once again we should not eliminate the possibility that the Arabic might have come to agree with the Syriac independently. Arabic is a Semitic language and, as with the Syriac,<sup>131</sup> a possessive pronoun might be added in the process of translation without necessarily witnessing a possessive in its *Vorlage*. If this is the case then it is perfectly possible that the scribe was translating from Greek and his Arabic reading converged with the Syriac.

4. Mt 2:20 ܡܬ ܕܡܬ ܦܢ ܕܝܢ ܝܬܠܒ ܢܦܫ ܐܠܝܝܢ ܕܡܬ ܡܬ (Sinai, Ar. 80). According to Valentin, the singular verb in Arabic is only attested in Latin and in Persian. Thus, he argued that this attestation explains an indirect witness of a variation found in the Syriac version.<sup>132</sup>

This is less probable. It seems to be more likely, however, that the Arabic scribe has used the “singular” to match it with “Herod” in the immediate context. In verse nineteen we read: “After Herod died, an angel of the Lord appeared in a dream to Joseph in Egypt” and verse 20b “for those who were trying to take the child's life are dead.” The *number* disagreement in the text (Herod died/ those who....are dead) has simply been harmonized by the scribe of Sinai, Ar. 80. It does not seem proper to use this variation to argue for an indirect Syriac *Vorlage* through a Latin or Persian medium, when its presence is justified by the immediate context. Moreover, not a single surviving Greek or Syriac reading supports this variation.<sup>133</sup>

129 Ibid.

130 Ibid., 455.

131 See Williams, *Early Syriac Translation Technique*, 67-132.

132 Ibid.

133 In addition to the examples mentioned above, Valentin pointed to Mt 12:9 and Mk 6:48, 51 where a plural is used instead of a singular to attest a Syriac instead of a Greek reading. Moreover, he referred to the Syriac particle ܐܢ and the Greek ܐܢܐ to ar-

5.2.2.2. Conclusion about the *Vorlage* of this Version

Very little is known about the *Vorlage* of this version. Guidi’s argument for a Greek *Vorlage* was refuted by Peters in 1936. The latter seems to favour a Syriac origin revised later by the Greek. The examples presented by Peters seem to bear some good evidence. Vööbus’ allegation of an Old Syriac *Vorlage* still needs to be substantiated. Valentin’s collation of Matthew 28 shows that the Arabic text is translated from Greek. He presents insufficient examples in favour of a Syriac/occidental *Vorlage*.

I suggest that before presenting examples of this type, one should be acquainted with the characteristics and tendencies of the Arabic language (some of which are shared with the Syriac language). Accordingly one will be able to identify readings which are more or less likely to converge coincidentally with the Syriac (or other versions). For instance, as seen above, additions of “possessive pronouns” can be misleading. The key factor in determining a genetic relationship between an Arabic version and any *Vorlage* is the consistency in that manuscript. This is sometimes possible to detect, but not always. We shall return to the *Vorlage* dilemma later in the body of this study.

I will now move to a list of the manuscripts followed by a reflection on the Critical Apparatus of *j<sup>B</sup>*.

5.2.2.3. The Manuscripts of Family *j<sup>B</sup>*

Sigla	Ms Number	Passages collated	Date
<i>j<sup>B1</sup></i>	Sinai, Ar. 106	TP	1056
<i>j<sup>B2</sup></i>	Sinai, Ar. 69	TP	1065
<i>j<sup>B3</sup></i>	Vatican, Borg. Ar. 71	TP (excluding John 18:19-27)	11 <sup>th</sup>
<i>j<sup>B4</sup></i>	Leiden, University Library, Cod. 225 Scaliger	TP	1179
<i>j<sup>B5</sup></i>	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, WE. 184	TP	1187/8
<i>j<sup>B6</sup></i>	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Marsh 575	TP	1256
<i>j<sup>B7</sup></i>	Sinai, Ar. 103	TP	1257

gue in favour of a Syriac origin. But these slight variations are insufficient to argue for a Syriac *Vorlage*.

Sigla	Ms Number	Passages collated	Date
j <sup>B8</sup>	Sinai, Ar. 94	TP	1262
j <sup>B9</sup>	Sinai, Ar. 84	TP	1262
j <sup>B10</sup>	Sinai, Ar. 95	TP	1272/7
j <sup>B11</sup>	Sinai, Ar. 90	TP	1281
j <sup>B12</sup>	Sinai, Ar. 104	TP	1281
j <sup>B13</sup>	Sinai, Ar. 89	TP	1285
j <sup>B14</sup>	Sinai, Ar. 110	TP	1286
j <sup>B15</sup>	Sinai, Ar. 82	TP	1287
j <sup>B16</sup>	Sinai, Ar. 91	TP	1289
j <sup>B17</sup>	Leiden, University Library, Cod. 1571	TP	1331
j <sup>B18</sup>	Jerusalem, Orthodox Patr., Ar. 72	TP (excluding John 18:19-27)	14/15 <sup>th</sup>
j <sup>B19</sup>	Sinai, Ar. 80	TP	1479
j <sup>B20</sup>	Sinai, Ar. 92	TP (excl. Mt 7:15-20 and Jn 18:19-27)	15 <sup>th</sup>
j <sup>B21</sup>	Vatican, Ar. 467	TP	17 <sup>th</sup>
j <sup>B22</sup>	Sinai, Ar. 77	TP	13 <sup>th</sup>
j <sup>B23</sup>	Sinai, Ar. 78	Mt 7:15-20; Mk 6:14-20; Lk 8:9-15; Jn 6:30-35	13 <sup>th</sup>
j <sup>B24</sup>	Sinai, Ar. 79	Mt 7:15-20; Mk 6:14-20; Lk 8:9-15; Jn 6:30-35	1319
j <sup>B25</sup>	Sinai, Ar. 81	Mt 7:15-20; Mk 6:14-20; Lk 8:9-15; Jn 6:30-35	1323
j <sup>B26</sup>	Sinai, Ar. 83	Mt 16:1-4; Mk 6:14-20; Lk 8:9-15; Jn 6:30-35	13 <sup>th</sup>
j <sup>B27</sup>	Sinai, Ar. 86	Mt 7:15-20; Mk 6:14-20; Lk 8:9-15; Jn 6:30-35	14 <sup>th</sup>
j <sup>B28</sup>	Sinai, Ar. 87	Mt 7:15-20; Mk 6:14-20; Lk 8:9-15; Jn 6:30-35	1478
j <sup>B29</sup>	Sinai, Ar. 88	Mt 7:15-20; Mk 6:14-20; Lk 8:9-15; Jn 6:30-35	1290
j <sup>B30</sup>	Sinai, Ar. 93	Mt 7:15-20; Mk 6:14-20; Lk 8:9-15; Jn 6:30-35	13 <sup>th</sup>
j <sup>B31</sup>	Sinai, Ar. 99	Mt 7:15-20; Mk 6:14-20; Lk 8:9-15; Jn 6:30-35	1286
j <sup>B32</sup>	Sinai, Ar. 100	Mt 7:15-20; Mk 6:14-20; Lk 8:9-15; Jn 6:30-35	13 <sup>th</sup>

Sigla	Ms Number	Passages collated	Date
j <sup>B33</sup>	Sinai, Ar. 105	Mt 16:1-4; Mk 6:14-20; Lk 8:9-15; Jn 6:30-35	1312
j <sup>B34</sup>	Sinai, Ar. 108 <sup>134</sup>	Mt 7:15-20; Mk 6:14-20; Lk 8:9-15	13 <sup>th</sup>
j <sup>B35</sup>	Sinai, Ar. 109	Mt 7:15-20; Mk 13:5-11; Lk 8:9-15; Jn 6:30-35	13 <sup>th</sup>
j <sup>B36</sup>	Sinai, Ar. 111	Mt 7:15-20; Mt 16:1-5; Mk 6:14-20; Lk 8:9-15; Jn 6:30-35	13 <sup>th</sup>
j <sup>B37</sup>	Sinai, Ar. 113	Mt 7:15-20; Mk 6:14-20; Lk 8:9-15; Jn 6:30-35	12 <sup>th</sup>
j <sup>B38</sup>	Sinai, Ar. 114	Mt 7:15-20; Mk 6:14-20; Lk 8:9-15; Jn 18:19-27	1239
j <sup>B39</sup>	Birmingham, Mingana, Chr. Ar. Add. 222	Mt 9:18-35	14 <sup>th</sup>
j <sup>B40</sup>	Birmingham, Mingana, Chr. Ar. Add. 124	Mt 9:9:17	1000 <sup>a</sup>

#### 5.2.2.4. Critical Apparatus of Family J<sup>B</sup>

In addition to the eight test passages (see appendix one, §12.10.2.1), two paragraphs from two different fragments (which do not contain any of the test passages) were transcribed and collated: The first is Matthew 9:19-35 from j<sup>B39</sup> (a fragmentary manuscript of the 14<sup>th</sup> century), and the second is Matthew 9:9:17 from j<sup>B40</sup> (a fragment from about 1000 A.D.). Manuscript j<sup>B40</sup> is the earliest fragment of this family j (see appendix one, §12.10.2.2).

##### 5.2.2.4.1. General Remarks

Most of the variants mentioned in the critical apparatus (appendix one, §12.10.2.1) are linguistic and stylistic; only a few might be considered textual. None of the manuscripts examined seem to have been systematically corrected against a *Vorlage* different from the original. Below are some of the variants which are textually significant:

1. Mt 16:2: j<sup>B1</sup> reads فقال لهم and j<sup>B36</sup> فاجابهم مخاطبا. j<sup>B1</sup> agrees with the Syriac Curetonian.

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134 The text of the Gospel of John belongs to the subgroup j<sup>c</sup> (see 5.2.3.3 below).

2. Mt 16:3a: manuscript  $j^{B1(\text{correction})}$ , 8-16, 18, 19, 21, 22, 26, 33, 36 add  $\text{يا مرايين}$ . This addition agrees with the Peshitta (as well as a few Greek manuscripts  $\text{O } \Sigma \Pi \Phi$  etc).
3. Mt 16:3b:  $j^{B1}$  reads  $\text{تستطيعون}$  ( $\delta\acute{\upsilon}\nu\alpha\sigma\theta\epsilon\epsilon$ ) and  $j^{B36}$   $\text{تفهموا}$  ( $\sigma\upsilon\nu\acute{\iota}\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ ).  $j^{B36}$  follows manuscripts  $\text{S } \Omega$  118 209 4 213 270 etc.<sup>135</sup>
4. Mt 16:4:  $j^{B1}$  reads  $\text{ورد عليهم الجواب ايضا}$ .  $j^{B11}$ , 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 26, 33, 36 omit this reading.  $j^{B1}$  agrees (with some degree of variations) with the Greek manuscripts  $\text{O } \Sigma \Phi$  291 700.
5. Mark 6:15:  $j^{B2-7, 37}$  read  $\text{اخرن قالوا ارميا}$  instead of  $\text{اخرن قالوا ايليا}$ . The reading  $\text{اخرن ارميا}$  might have come from the Diatessaron which reads  $\text{واخرن ... كانوا يقولون ان ايليا ظهر واخرن ارميا...}$ <sup>136</sup> A similar reading is also found in  $j^{A2}$  above.
6. Mark 6:16:  $j^{B1}$  reads  $\text{يوحنا المعمدان}$ . The addition of  $\text{المعمدان}$  seems only to be found in the Diatessaron.  $j^{B2-6, 17, 32}$  omit this reading.
7. Mark 13:9a:  $j^{B1}$  reads  $\text{الى المجامع والمحافل}$  and  $j^{B8-10, 12, 16, 22}$  add  $\text{وتضربون}$  (وفي المحافل تضربون). In addition,  $j^{B35}$  reads  $\text{المجامع تضربون}$ . The omission of  $\text{تضربون}$  in  $j^{B1}$  is puzzling. It might follow either the Syriac Sinaiticus or the Diatessaron. Both omit  $\text{تضربون}$ . However, The Arabic Diatessaron and Sinaiticus read slightly differently. The former reads  $\text{الى الجماعات والحبوس}$  and the latter  $\text{الى مجامع حبهام}$  (instead of  $\text{المجامع والمحافل}$ ).
8. Mark 13:9b:  $j^{B1}$  reads  $\text{والولاه والملوك}$  and follows the Greek  $\eta\gamma\epsilon\mu\acute{o}\nu\omega\nu \kappa\alpha\iota \beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$ .  $j^{B11}$ , 13-15, 18, 19 read  $\text{الملوك والولاه}$  and follows the Syriac  $\text{ܡܠܟܝܢ ܕܥܠܡܝܢ}$ .
9. Luke 8:15:  $j^{B8-10, 12-16, 19, 21}$  add  $\text{فليسمع}$  (تسمع). This reading is supported by the Greek manuscripts 229(c) 265 349 903 954 1195. And also in the Palestinian Syriac Lectionary. It reads  $\text{ܡܢ ܠܗ ܐܝܬܢ ܝܨܡܥ ܕܬܨܡܥ}$ . Codex B of the Palestinian Syriac Lectionary adds  $\text{ܥܠܡܝܢ}$ .<sup>137</sup>
10. John 18:20:  $j^{B1}$  reads  $\text{فاجابه}$ .  $j^{B8, 10, 12, 16, 22, 38}$  add  $\text{ايسوع}$ . The omission of  $\text{ايسوع}$  has no textual support. The verb  $\text{اجاب}$  follows the Greek. The Syriac has  $\text{ܐܝܨܘܥ}$ .
11. John 18:23:  $j^{B1}$  reads  $\text{اجابه ايسوع}$ .  $j^{B4, 6, 17}$  add  $\text{وقال له}$  and follows the Syriac Peshitta.
12. Mt 9:26:  $j^{B1}$  reads  $\text{البلاد}$ . The Syriac has  $\text{ܡܕܝܢܬܐ}$  which could mean country, earth, or ground.  $j^{B39}$  reads  $\text{الارض}$  and possibly follows the Greek  $\gamma\eta$ .

135 See Legg, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, ad loc.

136 See Marmardji, *Diatessaron de Tatien*, 170.

137 See Lewis and Gibson, *the Palestinian Syriac Lectionary*, 104.



13. Mt 9: 33:  $j^{B1}$  omits الاصم and has no textual support.  $j^{B39}$  has ونطق الاصم and agrees with the Syriac and Greek.
14. Mt 9:32:  $j^{B1}$  reads وبعد ذلك and  $j^{B39}$  reads correctly وبعد خروجهم.  $j^{B1}$  has no textual support.
15. Mt 9:9a:  $j^{B1}$  omits ومن هناك (ἐκεῖθεν) and follow the Greek 01\* L *pc* bo(ms). It could also possibly be a scribal mistake.  $j^{B40}$  reads ومن هناك.
16. Mt 9:9b:  $j^{B1}$  reads على العشر and follows the Greek (ἐπὶ τὸ τελώνιον),  $j^{B40}$  reads مع اصحاب المكس and follows the Syriac مع اصحاب المكس.
17. Mt 9:10:  $j^{B1}$  reads عشارين كثيرين وخطاه and follows the Greek (πολλοὶ τελῶναι καὶ ἁμαρτωλοὶ).  $j^{B40}$  reads عشارين وخطايين كثير and follow the Syriac عشارين وخطايين كثير.
18. Mt 9:11:  $j^{B1}$  reads لماذا ياكل معلمكم مع الخطاه والعشارين. Both Greek and Syriac read μετὰ τῶν τελωνῶν καὶ ἁμαρτωλῶν.
19. Mt 9:13:  $j^{B1}$  reads ما هو (= Greek τί ἐστιν)  $j^{B40}$  reads ماذا (possibly from Syriac ماذا).
20. Mt 9:15:  $j^{B1}$  reads ينوحوا (πενθεῖν) and  $j^{B40}$  reads ان يصومون with the Peshitta (لحمي).
21. Mt 9:17:  $j^{B1}$  reads والافزرت الزقاق وانهرق الخمر. The Greek reads δὲ μή γε, ῥήγνυνται οἱ ἄσκοι καὶ ὁ οἶνος ἐκχεῖται καὶ οἱ ἄσκοι ἀπόλλυνται. The Arabic reading omits καὶ οἱ ἄσκοι ἀπόλλυνται and lacks textual support.  $j^{B40}$  reads لئلا ينشق فيذهب الخمر [وتهلك] الزقاق. Manuscript 40 follows either the Greek or the Syriac Peshitta (لئلا ينشق فيذهب الخمر - otherwise, the skins burst, and the wine is spilled, and the skins are destroyed). It could possibly be that the  $j^{B1}$  is a stylistic correction of  $j^{B40}$  and thus unintentionally dropped the phrase καὶ οἱ ἄσκοι ἀπόλλυνται.

Peters seems to be correct in arguing for more than a few Diatessaron readings in this version. Moreover, readings from the Vetus Syra and Palestinian Syriac Lectionaries are also present. A systematic and thorough investigation into the textual variants of this version has not yet been undertaken.

Manuscript  $j^{B40}$  which, according to A. Mingana, was copied around 1000 A.D. needs careful attention here, especially when we come to study the *Vorlage* of this version. It is the earliest witness of this family and closer to the Syriac Peshitta than the representative manuscript. We will return to this argument after we have examined the third subgroup ( $j^C$ ).

5.2.3. Subgroup J<sup>C</sup>5.2.3.1. The Manuscripts of J<sup>C</sup>

Five manuscripts are allocated to this family. The table below shows the manuscript number, the siglum for each manuscript, and the Biblical passages collated. Sinai, Ar. 76 (hereafter: J<sup>C1</sup>) will be the collated base. Its text is complete, accessible and legible.

J <sup>C1</sup>	Sinai, Ar. 76	13 <sup>th</sup>	TP
J <sup>C2</sup>	Jerusalem, Orthodox Patr., Ar. 103	12 <sup>th(a)</sup>	TP
J <sup>C3</sup>	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodl. 299	1564	TP
J <sup>C4(John)</sup>	Sinai, Ar. 108	13 <sup>th</sup>	Jn 6:30-35; 18:19-27
J <sup>C5</sup>	Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, E. 95	??	Mt 1:18:25

## 5.2.3.2. A Review and Assessment of Previous Works

Once again, Guidi was the first to point out that the three codices Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, E. 95 (Or. 92), Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodl. 299 (referred to in Guidi and Graf's works as: Nicoll 15), and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Marsh 575 (Uri 29) are three copies of the same version. Guidi did not seem to have access to the manuscripts but had based his theory on a few verses copied for him by a friend called "Ceriali".<sup>138</sup> Moreover, Guidi published Matthew 1:18-25 and argued that the text of this version is very close to the Melkite text found in Vatican, Borg. Ar. 71 (Guidi uses the old shelf-mark: K. II 6), Leiden 2376, Leiden 2377 and Vatican, Ar. 497 (a typing mistake for 467),<sup>139</sup> but presented it in a more elegant and stylistically improved manner.<sup>140</sup>

In 1944 Graf refers to the same manuscripts in his monumental monograph and agrees with Guidi that this version is a stylistic revision of the Melkite version<sup>141</sup> (subgroup J<sup>B</sup>).

138 Guidi, *Traduzioni*, 28.

139 In this work, Vatican, Borg. Ar. 71, Leiden 2376 (Cod. 225 Scaliger), Leiden 2377 (Cod. 1571) and Vatican, Ar. 467 belong to family J<sup>B</sup>. See §5.2.2.3 above.

140 Guidi, *Traduzioni*, 28.

141 Graf, *Geschichte*, 148-149.

In 2003, Valentin added two manuscripts to Guidi's three codices. They are Sinai, Ar. 76 and Jerusalem, Orthodox Patr., Ar. 103. Valentin went on to challenge the relationship between this version and the Melkite one and declares that

nous hésitons à suivre ni devanciers [Guidi and Graf] qui voyaient dans cette version une révision stylistique de celle qui précède [the Melkite – subgroup  $j^B$  in this study], tant les différences sont grandes.<sup>142</sup>

Valentin's disagreement is based on the differences “de style comme de vocabulaire” which “nous paraissent importantes.”<sup>143</sup>

However:

1. The difference in style between the two versions, as argued by Valentin (for the purpose of refuting Guidi's claim), perfectly supports Guidi's argument that this version is a stylistic revision of the Melkite version.
2. Valentin seems to build his conviction mainly on the text of Matthew 28. Let us compare, for the sake of argument, the text of Mark 6:14-20 as it is found in Sinai, Ar. 76 (which Valentin depends on heavily – subgroup  $j^C$ ), Sinai, Ar. 106 (the representative of the Melkite version – subgroup  $j^B$ ) and Venice, Gr. 539 of subgroup  $j^A$ :

Venice, Gr. 539 ( $j^{A1}$ )	Sinai, Ar. 106 ( $j^{B1}$ )	Sinai, Ar. 76 ( $j^{C1}$ )
14 قبل بلغ هيرودس الملك لان اسمه صار ظاهرا فقال ان يوحنا الذي يعمد قد اقيم من بين الموتى ولذلك القوي تجترح به	14 قبل بلغ هيرودس الملك خبر ايسوع لان اسمه صار ظاهرا فقال ان يوحنا المعمدان قد قام من الموتى فلذلك القوي تجترح به	14 قبل بلغ هيرودس الملك خبر ايسوع لان اسمه صار ظاهرا فقال ان يوحنا المعمدان قد اقيم من الموتى فلذلك القوي تجترح به
15 اخرون قالوا ان ايلياس هو اخرون قالوا ان نبيا هو وكواحد من الانبياء	15 اخرون قالوا ايليا هو اخرون قالوا نبيا هو كواحد من الانبياء	15 وقال اخرون انه ايليا وزعم اخرون انه نبيا كاحد الانبياء
16 وسمع هيرودس فقال ان يوحنا الذي حسمت <sup>144</sup> انا راسه هذا هو هو انبعث من بين الاموات	16 وسمع هيرودس فقال ان يوحنا المعمدان الذي قطعت انا راسه هو قد قام من الموتى.	16 فلما بلغ هيرودس ذلك قال ان يوحنا الذي قطعت انا راسه هو الذي قد انبعث من الاموات

142 Valentin, “Les évangélistes arabes,” 463.

143 Ibid., 459.

144 In the margin there is قطعت.

Venice, Gr. 539 ( <i>j<sup>A1</sup></i> )	Sinai, Ar. 106 ( <i>j<sup>B1</sup></i> )	Sinai, Ar. 76 ( <i>j<sup>C1</sup></i> )
17 لان هروذس هو كان وجه وقبض على يوحنا وسله في الحبس من اجل هروذياس امراه فيلبس اخيه لانه تزوجها	17 لان هروذس كان قد وجه فقبض على يوحنا فشدّه في الحبس من اجل هيروديا امراه اخيه فيلبس لانه تزوجها.	17 وذلك ان هيرودس كان قد وجه فقبض على يوحنا وشدّه في الحبس من اجل هيرودايضه امراه فيلبس اخيه لانه تزوجها.
18 وكان يوحنا قد قال لهروذس انه ليس يحل لك ان [تتخذ] امراه اخيك	18 وكان يوحنا قد قال لهيروذس ليس يحل لك ان تتخذ امراه اخيك	18 وكان يوحنا قد قال لهيروذس ليس يجوز لك ان تتخذ امراه اخيك
19 فاما هروذياس فاحتفظها <sup>145</sup> ذلك عليه وارادت ان تقتله فلم تستطع	19 فكانت هروذيا تتواعده وارادت قتله فلم تستطع	19 واما هيرودايضه فحنقت عليه وارادت تقتله فما تمكنت
20 لان هروذس كان يخاف يوحنا اذ علمه [امرا] عدلا قديسا ثم وضع عليه [الرصد] واذ كان يسمع ما يقول ويصنع كثير [يستلذ] اذ كان يسمع	20 لان هروذس كان يخاف يوحنا لانه كان يعلم انه رجل بار قدّيس وكان يسمع منه ويعمل بقوله	20 لان هيرودس كان يوقر يوحنا لانه كان يعلم انه رجل بارّ وقدّيس وكان يحفظه ويسمع منه كثيرا ويقبل قوله.

The strong verbal agreement between the three texts, which represent the three subgroups and Mark 6:14-20, is just one example of many in favour of this close relationship. This will become even more evident, when the eight test passages are compared and collated against each other later in this study. The phylogenetic software used to examine the genetic relationship between these manuscripts in Chapter Nine will also support this claim.

The major difference between Guidi, Graf and Valentin and my study is that Guidi, Graf and Valentin were working with a limited number of manuscripts which belong to only two subgroups. Guidi and Graf argue that the second (*j<sup>C</sup>* in this study) is a stylistic improvement of the first (*j<sup>B</sup>*), but Valentin disagrees. This study not only presents new witnesses for each of the two subgroups (as well as correcting misplaced ones), but also introduces a third subgroup (*j<sup>A</sup>*) which is the earliest and linguistically closest to the archetype. In comparing texts from the three subgroups it becomes clear, as stated earlier, that the subgroup *j<sup>C</sup>* is certainly a revision of a previous text, but which text? The text of *j<sup>B</sup>* (as Guidi and Graf argue) or of *j<sup>A</sup>*? The table of Mark 6:14-11 above indicates that the revision (in the text of *j<sup>C</sup>*) seems to be

145 In the margin there is اغضبها.

based on texts from both subgroups:  $j^A$  and  $j^B$ . Readings from both  $j^A$  and  $j^B$  are present in  $j^C$ .<sup>146</sup> This leads me to conclude that the scribe who prepared the revision (as found in  $j^C$ ) had either a mixed text of  $j^A$  and  $j^B$  or that he had a copy of each. This claim is especially true for Matthew chapter 28 (the chapter collated by Valentin). When this chapter is compared with texts from both subgroups ( $j^A$  and  $j^B$ ), it becomes evident that  $j^C$  is dependent on both, and the relationship between the texts of the three subgroups even more certain.

Lastly it is worth noting, based on the collation of the eight test passages from the Gospels, that as the text of subgroup  $j^C$  progresses to the end of John, the resemblance between it and  $j^B$  in particular increases. This suggests that Matthew might have been more stylistically improved than the other Gospels, and Valentin was unfortunate in selecting a chapter from Matthew as the mile stone for his argument.

### 5.2.3.3. A Few Remarks on the Witnesses of $J^C$

As mentioned previously, Guidi refers to three manuscripts of this subgroup: Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, E. 95 (Or. 92); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodl. 299; and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Marsh 575 (Uri 29). Graf follows Guidi's claim and Valentin adds Sinai, Ar. 76 and Jerusalem, Orthodox Patr., Ar. 103. I believe the Marsh 575 is misplaced and should be with the subgroup  $j^B$  (see §5.2.2.3 above). To this subgroup I add Sinai, Ar. 108 copied in the thirteenth century. This manuscript was not microfilmed by the Library of Congress in 1949-50. I examined it during my visit to St. Catherine's Monastery in Sinai. The Gospel of Matthew, Mark, and Luke contain the text of  $j^B$ , but John contains the text of  $j^C$ . Here, the test passages of John are only collated, since they have the same text as  $j^C$ .

Since Valentin has given a concise description of Sinai, Ar. 76 ( $j^{C1}$ ), there is no need to repeat it here.<sup>147</sup> This manuscript lacks its last few folios (it ends on John 20:1), but is otherwise complete. The text is available on microfilm and is legible. It is a thirteenth century manuscript, thus one of the earliest of this subgroup. Codex Jerusalem, Orthodox Patr., Ar. 103 ( $j^{C2}$ ) was, according to Cheikho, Clark and Graf copied in about the twelfth century, however Valentin could not decide between the twelfth and thirteenth century. I am in favor of a thirteenth century date. But since access to the physical manuscript was not al-

146 See for example اقِيم in verse 14, and الاموات and انبعث in verse 16 in which  $j^C$  agrees with  $j^A$  against  $j^B$ , and شدد and سله in verse 17 in which  $j^C$  agrees with  $j^B$  against  $j^A$ .

147 Valentin, "Les évangélistes arabes," 459.

ways possible (for a much closer examination) it has been left *circa* twelfth century.

#### 5.2.3.4. The Text and the Critical Apparatus of the Subgroup J<sup>C</sup>

The eight test passages are found in appendix one, §12.10.3.1. Since access to *j*<sup>C5</sup> was not possible, I used the text of Matthew 1:18-25 transcribed by Guidi (of *j*<sup>C5</sup>). I collated it against *j*<sup>C1</sup> (see appendix one, §12.10.3.2). Some remarks about the affinities of the witnesses follow.

##### 5.2.3.4.1. A Reflection on the Witnesses in the Critical Apparatus

Guidi suggests that this family presents a more elegant version and its text seems to have been revised and stylistically improved. This corresponds well with the literary revival of the twelfth and thirteenth century. The manuscripts examined in this study show that during this period scribes re-worked and made use of early Arabic Gospel texts from the eighth and ninth centuries. This family is no exception. We know so far that family *j* has been revised at least once in the text of *j*<sup>B</sup>. Later I will examine another free version which has also been influenced to some extent by family *j*<sup>C</sup> (see §7.3 below). With the exception of family *k* (see Chapter Six), family *j* seems to have circulated the most.

Since this subgroup (*j*<sup>C</sup>) is the re-working of an earlier text, I shall give little attention to its textual and linguistic features. It is sufficient to point out, on the basis of the collated passages, that *j*<sup>C2</sup> and *j*<sup>C3</sup> are closer to each other than to *j*<sup>C1</sup>. Manuscript *j*<sup>C4(John)</sup> has a number of variations which on some occasions agree with *j*<sup>C1</sup> against *j*<sup>C2</sup> and *j*<sup>C3</sup> and on other occasions agree with *j*<sup>C2</sup> and *j*<sup>C3</sup> against *j*<sup>C1</sup>.

As for *j*<sup>C5</sup>, it seems to be closer to the Greek than *j*<sup>C1</sup>. Below are a few examples.

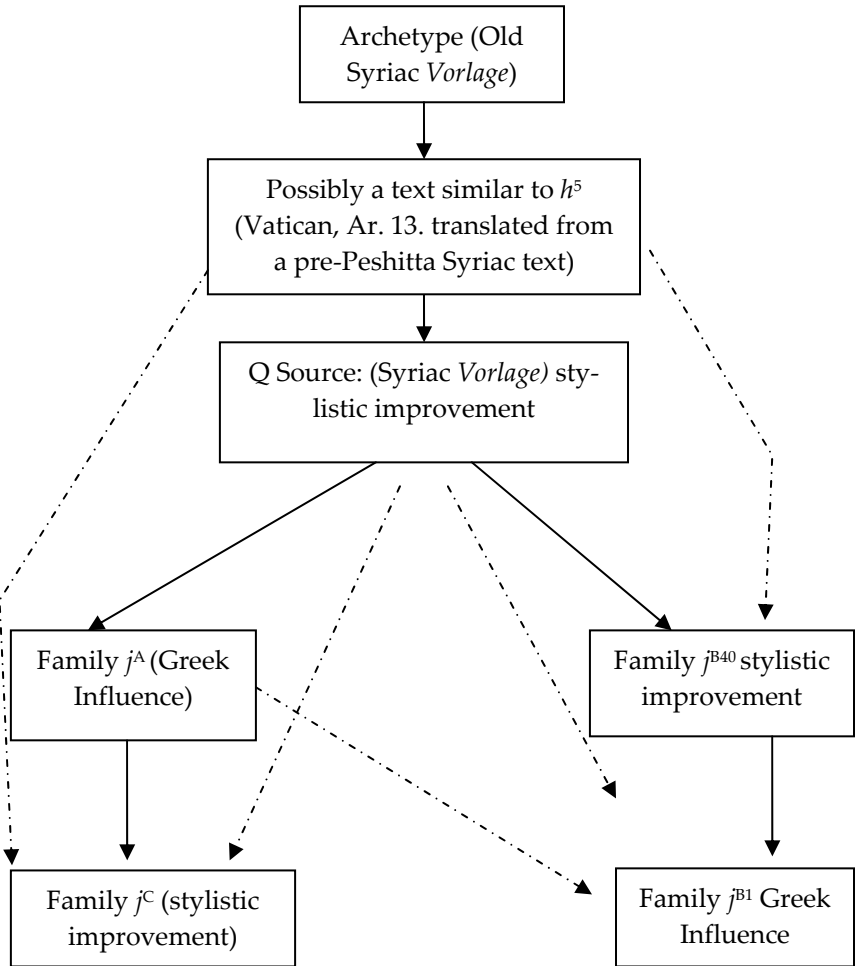
1. Mt 1:18: *j*<sup>C1</sup> reads ايسوع (and agrees according to NA<sup>27</sup> with manuscript W). *j*<sup>C5</sup> reads يسوع المسيح which agrees with most Greek manuscripts as well as the Peshitta.
2. Mt. 1:22: *j*<sup>C1</sup> reads بلسان النبي. *j*<sup>C5</sup> reads بالنبي and follow the Greek (δὲ τὸ τοῦ προφήτου). The Peshitta, however, reads صفة بصره. *j*<sup>C1</sup> might have been by the Syriac.
3. Mt. 1:23: *j*<sup>C1</sup> reads نحل and Ambr. 95 تستمد في بطنها (possibly to follow the Greek closely (ἐν γαστρὶ ἔξει)).

Next, I will discuss the relationship between the three subgroups of *j*, and only then will I deal with the *Vorlage* of this family. Since *j*<sup>C</sup> is a later stylistic improvement of *j*<sup>A</sup> and *j*<sup>B</sup>, there is no point in comparing *textual variants* of *j*<sup>C</sup> with the Greek and Syriac. It is more efficient, when

we come to examine the *Vorlage* of *j*, to focus on the earliest subgroups (*j*<sup>A</sup> and *j*<sup>B</sup>).

5.2.4. The Relationship between the Three Subgroups: *j*<sup>A</sup>, *j*<sup>B</sup> and *j*<sup>C</sup>

The hypothesis for the relationship between the three subgroups can be reflected in the following chart:



I have previously reflected on the relationship between the three sub-groups.<sup>148</sup> In this exercise I take a closer look at this relationship. (The relationship between family *h* (represented by Vatican, Ar. 13) and this family will not be discussed here. At this stage, this relationship should be seen as merely hypothetical. More passages from the Gospels need to be examined in order to establish or refute this relationship). The focus in this exercise will be on the relationship between the three sub-groups using Matthew 9:9-17 as the test passage. It might have been preferable to take a passage from Luke or John since, as mentioned earlier, passages closer to the end of the four Gospels seem to be less edited than those at the beginning of the Gospels. However, since only a fragment of Matthew survived in family *j*<sup>B40</sup> (the earliest text of family *j*), the selection is restricted.

Each verse from Mt 9:9-17 will be compared with other versions and studied separately. The starting point is the table in appendix two, §13.9.1 which contains the text of Mt 9:9-17 from five different manuscripts, all set in parallel. The first row contains the text of *h*<sup>5</sup> (Vatican, Ar. 13), the second *f*<sup>A1</sup>, the third *j*<sup>C1</sup>, the fourth *j*<sup>B40</sup> and the fifth *j*<sup>B1</sup>.

The table demonstrates the following:

1. In Mt 9:9-17 *h*<sup>5</sup> and *j*<sup>B40</sup> are translated from the Peshitta. Manuscript *f*<sup>A1</sup> was corrected against the Greek. Moreover, *f*<sup>A1</sup> has stylistically improved the text of *h*<sup>5</sup>. On one occasion, *f*<sup>A1</sup> has retained the archaic expression اربايه (of the disciples (see verse 10)). This expression is only used in family *h*. Manuscript *j*<sup>C1</sup> also follows the Greek and seems to be the reworking of *j*<sup>A</sup>. Finally, *j*<sup>B1</sup> follows the Greek in some readings and in others the Syriac.
2. *J*<sup>A</sup> and *j*<sup>C</sup> are closely related to each other. The text of *j*<sup>C</sup> has been stylistically improved. It is much closer to *j*<sup>A</sup> than is to *j*<sup>B</sup>.
3. It is remarkable to see that in some readings *j*<sup>C1</sup> agrees with *h*<sup>5</sup> against *j*<sup>A</sup>.<sup>149</sup> This might indicate the existence of an intermediate source between *h*<sup>5</sup> and *j*<sup>A</sup>, which *j*<sup>C</sup> used. (I have called the source "Q" in the chart above).
4. On two occasions only *j*<sup>C1</sup> agrees with *j*<sup>B1</sup> against *j*<sup>A1</sup>. (Mt 9:11, 14 (الفريسين), but both readings are probably coincidental. Once again, this shows that *j*<sup>C1</sup> is closer to *j*<sup>A1</sup> than to *j*<sup>B1</sup>.

148 See the comparison between *j*<sup>A1</sup>, *j*<sup>B1</sup> and *j*<sup>C1</sup> in §5.2.3.2 above.

149 For instance, Mt 9:9 فقال له اتبعني في المنزل; Mt 9:10 متكىء في المنزل...; Mt 9:12 the use of the passive participle of ضنك. It is almost impossible to suggest a coincidental linguistic convergence between *h*<sup>5</sup> and *j*<sup>C1</sup>; Mt 9:16 the use of the verb تجنّب; Mt 9:17 the verb يهراق.





the others, but has not totally escaped some Greek emendation.  $j^{B1}$  has been corrected against the Greek, but not thoroughly. There are still some important variations in its text which shows an Old Syriac and Diatessaron influence on the text. I suggest that the subgroup  $j^C$  is not a direct stylistic improvement of the text of  $j^B$  (as claimed by Guidi) but rather of  $j^A$  or more specifically of an intermediate text between  $j^B$  and  $j^A$  (though closer to  $j^A$ ). The subgroup  $j^C$  has preserved linguistic readings close to that which is found in  $h^5$ .

This tangled tradition between the subgroups of this family becomes clearer when *the various witnesses* of each subgroup are compared with *the various witnesses* of the other group. We have been working with only *representative* manuscripts (with the inclusion of  $j^{B40}$  due to its early age), but variants exist among the witnesses of one subgroup in agreement with witnesses from other subgroups. I was able to detect some manuscripts of  $j^B$  for instance, containing variants which agree with  $j^A$  against  $j^B$ . It might even be possible to create a sub-subgroup of manuscripts which could contain intermediate texts between  $j^A$  and  $j^B$ , but the existing families and subgroups are sufficient for the scope of this study. I shall now turn to the *Vorlage* of family  $j$ .

### 5.2.5. The *Vorlage* of Family J

The relationship between the subgroups helps to focus textual studies on appears to be the earliest subgroup of this family, and more specifically on the earliest text of the subgroup. In this case, it is manuscript  $j^{B40}$  from the Mingana collection at the University of Birmingham, UK. It was copied on parchment *circa* 1000 A.D. It is also the earliest surviving text of this family.<sup>154</sup>

The classification and study of the various manuscripts in family  $j$  has shown that Peters, although he was only aware of a handful of manuscripts of  $j^B$ , was correct when he argued that the text of this version was first translated from the Syriac and later corrected against the Greek. Moreover, the above study has also supported Guidi's claim that  $j^C$  is a stylistic improvement of a previous text. This text, as opposed to Guidi, is closer to  $j^A$  than to  $j^B$ . Finally, when it comes to the study of the *Vorlage* of family  $j$ , the subgroup  $j^A$  is of little help since it

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154 This is one of many manuscripts grouped and examined in this study which has never been identified and grouped by any scholars in the past. Now we know that it belongs to what is called the Melkite version.

was heavily corrected against the Greek.<sup>155</sup> We are left with one option: to study the *Vorlage* of  $j^{B40}$ .

The passage which I examined from Matthew 9:9-17 shows that the Peshitta is behind the text of  $j^{B40}$  (see §5.2.3.4.1). This once again supports Peters' claim of a Syriac origin. Finally, we were able to see that a text similar to family *h* (Vatican, Ar. 13) seemed to have been the source of family *j*. Family *h* is also translated from the Peshitta. Thus there seems to be a cohesive argument in favour of a Syriac origin for this family.

#### 5.2.6. Conclusion

This family is called the "Melkite version," an expression I have deliberately avoided throughout my work. This study shows that this version was possibly dependent on another Arabic source which was in circulation before it was used by the Melkite church in the Orient. Family *j* circulated in the tenth century at the latest, and by about 1000 A.D. it had already been influenced by the Greek manuscripts. Its Arabic source could possibly be a text similar to family *h*. However, it has been so extensively edited and linguistically revised that it is almost impossible to show this relationship adequately.

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155 This does not mean that  $f^A$  has been thoroughly corrected against the Greek; there are still many variants from the Syriac original.

## 6. The Grouping of the Alexandrian Vulgate Manuscripts (Family K): The Arabic Vulgate

### 6.1. Introduction to the “Alexandrian Vulgate”: A Historical Survey

Family *k*, known as the “Alexandrian Vulgate” or the “Egyptian Vulgate,” is believed to be an eclectic recension of an Arabic version originally translated from the Coptic Bohairic similar to the text preserved in the Codex Vatican, Copt. 9: a Coptic-Arabic bilingual manuscript copied in 1204/5.<sup>1</sup>

However, I argue that the Coptic-*Vorlage* claim is incorrect. I believe the evidence suggests that this version was originally translated either from Syriac and Greek with some of its witnesses later corrected against the Coptic version, or from Syriac and then corrected on some occasions against the Greek and on other occasions against the Coptic.

Vööbus points out that the earliest surviving physical manuscript of this family is from 1048. He refers to a Codex in Beirut from which Cheikho transcribed Mt. 24:1-14 (but it actually contains the text of family *g*). I have previously demonstrated that the reference and date given by Cheikho are inaccurate, and both Vööbus and Graf were misled by Cheikho’s article (see §5.1.4.2.2 above).

Graf, who asserts that this Arabic version belongs to the tenth century, wrongly bases his argument on an Arabic biblical quotation (found in the Dogmatic Catena of Severus ibn al-Muqaffa’, who lived in the tenth century) which he thought to be of the same textual type as this version.<sup>2</sup> Based on Graf’s claim, Vööbus goes on to say that this

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1 Guidi, *Traduzioni*, 18, 23-24.

2 Graf, *Geschichte*, 157. However, a comparison of the biblical citations in *The Lamp of the Intellect of Severus ibn al-Muqaffa’* with Sinai, Ar. 101 argues otherwise. For instance, Mt 5:42 in *the Lamp of the Intellect* reads من سالك فاعطيه ومن طلب منك فلا ترده (fol. 114r). See, R. Y. Ebied and M. J. L. Young (eds.), *The Lamp of the Intellect of Severus Ibn al-Muqaffa’ Bishop of al-Ashmūnain*, CSCO, vol. 365, (Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1975). However, Sinai, Ar. 101 reads differently: ومن سالك فاعطيه ومن اراد ان يقترض منك فلا تصرفه (fol. 20v). Here is another example: Mt 11:27 followed by verse 25 in *The Lamp of the Intellect* reads:

version must have been in circulation, at least, in the ninth century among the Arabic-speaking Monophysites in Egypt.<sup>3</sup>

It is obvious, especially from the number of extant manuscripts, that this recension was widespread and extremely influential. The term “Alexandrian Vulgate” should not be given to this family, not only because it was not translated from Coptic but also because it was accepted and used by the Copts in Egypt as well as by the Syriac communities. Vööbus rightly observes that many of the Karshuni manuscripts contain the text of the “Alexandrian Vulgate,” which implies that the Syriac communities have made use of this version as well.

By the end of the thirteenth century the Arabic Vulgate superseded all other Arabic translations. And since it was an eclectic recension, which has taken into account Greek, Syriac, and Coptic versions, it met the needs of the Arab Christians and became the standard text for many generations to come. It was also the source for most if not all the printed editions of the Gospels in Arabic between the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries, the chief of which are the Rome edition of 1591, Erpenius’ edition in Leiden in 1616, and Lagarde’s edition of the Vienne manuscript in 1864.

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وقال الانجيل ليس يعرف احدا الابن الا الاب ولا الاب الا الابن ومن احب الابن ان يعلن ذلك له وقال اعترف لك يا ابتاه اذ سترت هذه الاشياء عن الحكماء والفهماء واعلنتها للاطفال

However, Sinai, Ar. 101 reads:

وليس احد يعرف الابن الا الاب ولا الاب الا الابن ومن يريد الابن يكشف له (fol. 41v)  
وقال اعترف لك يا ابتاه رب السما والارض لانك اخفيت هذا عن الفهماء والحكماء وظهرته للاطفال (fol. 41r)

The two examples above show that Severus Ibn al-Muqaffa’ did not use an Arabic version similar to the version of Sinai, Ar. 101. Had Graf examined the text of *The Lamp of the Intellect* he would have reached the same conclusion. What seems to have mislead Graf is a theological treatise which he argued that it was originally written by Ibn al-Muqaffa’. This treatise is found in a manuscript from the nineteenth century and belongs to the Mingana collection at Selly Oak, Birmingham. The manuscript has the shelf mark Mingana, Chr. Ar. 45 [71]. The bible quotation this manuscript contains are similar to Sinai, Ar. 101. For instance Mt 1:23 reads in Mingana, Chr. Ar. 45 [71]:

وقال هو العذرى تحبل وتلد ابنا وتدعى اسمه عمانوئيل الذي تفسيره الله معنا (fol. 15r-v)

Sinai, Ar. 101 reads similarly:

هوذا العذرى تحبل وتلد ابنا ويدعى اسمه عمانوئيل الذي تفسيره الله معنا (fol. 7r-v)

This anonymous nineteenth century treatise which contains biblical quotations from the Alexandrian Vulgate bears no witness of the Arabic version used by Ibn al-Muqaffa’ in the tenth century. Therefore, Graf’s claim should be rejected.

- 3 Vööbus, *Early Version*, 295. Vööbus’s claim is solid but should be based on different argumentation. See §§6.2, 7 below.

## 6.2. The Witnesses of Family K

Almost half of the manuscripts examined in this study contain the text of family *k* (99/210). Another forty-two codices of the same family are mentioned in §§6.5.1, 2 below, and still another list of twenty-two manuscripts from various libraries is found in §6.5.3. The earliest extant and dated manuscript is Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hunt. 17 (1173 A.D.). Sinai, Ar. 101 and Sinai, Ar. N.F. Paper 61 were probably copied in the twelfth century and might have preceded the Bodleian codex.

This study argues that the earliest text which seems to have contained the same text as family *k*, was once in the collection of the *Bibliothèque Orientale* in Beirut. This manuscript is from the tenth century and is missing today. Fortunately, Cheikho in his *Chrestomathia Arabica* transcribed Matthew 22:15-23 apparently without being aware that its text is identical to the text of the Alexandrian Vulgate (family *k*). About this missing manuscript Cheikho says, *Ex Versione Graeca facta saec. X, Ms. Univ. Beryt. ff.60*.<sup>4</sup> The text which he transcribes from folio 60 is<sup>5</sup>:

حينئذ ذهب الفريسيون وتشاوروا ليصطادوه بكلمه وارسلوا اليه تلاميذهم والهيروديسين قائلين: يا معلم قد علمنا انك محق وطريق الله بالحق تعمل. ولا تبالي باحد ولا تنتظر بوجه انسان. فقل لنا ماذا نطعن ايجوز ان نعطي الجزية لقيصر ام لا. فعلم يسوع شرهم فقال لهم: لماذا تجربوني يا مرانين اروني صوره الدينار فاتون بدينار فقال لهم يسوع: لمن هذه الصوره والكتابه. قالوا: هذه لقيصر. حينئذ قال لهم: اعطوا مال لقيصر لقيصر ومال الله لله. فلما سمعوا تعجبوا وتركوه ومضوا

In Sinai, Ar. 101, the representative text of family *k*, folio 85r-86r reads as follows:

حينئذ ذهب الفريسيون وتشاوروا ليصطادوه بكلمه وارسلوا اليه fol. 85v تلاميذهم والهيروديسين قائلين يا معلم قد علمنا انك محق وطريق الله بالحق تعمل ولا تبالي باحد ولا تنتظر بوجه انسان فقل لنا ماذا نطعن ايجوز لنا ان نعطي الجزية لقيصر ام لا فعلم يسوع شرهم فقال لماذا تجربوني يا مرانين اروني دينار الجزية فاتون بدينار فقال لهم يسوع: لمن هذه الصوره والكتابه فقالوا له هذه لقيصر حينئذ قال لهم اعطوا ما لقيصر لقيصر fol. 86r ومال الله لله فلما سمعوا تعجبوا وتركوه ومضوا

Both texts are nearly identical and the few variants are underlined in the text above. If Cheikho is correct about the date of the manuscript, then this is a direct witness to a tenth century codex of family *k*. But since this tenth century manuscript is not available today, any conclusion about the earliest witness of family *k* remains tentative.

From the table below, we can see that four manuscripts were copied in the twelfth century (*k*<sup>1,2,3</sup> & 99), thirty-two times in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, possibly five times in the fifteenth century, and fifty-nine times between the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries (forty-one in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries). Thus, the thir-

4 Cheikho, *Elementa grammaticae arabicae*, 202.

5 *Ibid.*, 202-3.

teenth/fourteenth and seventeenth/eighteenth centuries were the golden age for the copying of family *k*.

The following table provides a list of the manuscripts, their dates and the texts which are collated in appendix one, §12.11.

### 6.3. Table with the Manuscripts under Investigation

Sigla	Ms Number	Passages Collated	Date	Century
<i>k</i> <sup>1</sup>	Beirut, B.O., unknown	Mt 22:15-23		10 <sup>th</sup>
<i>k</i> <sup>2</sup>	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hunt. 17.	TP	1173	
<i>k</i> <sup>3</sup>	BnF, Copt. 16	TP	1196	
<i>k</i> <sup>4</sup>	Sinai, Ar. 101	TP		12 <sup>th</sup>
<i>k</i> <sup>5</sup>	Vatican, Copt. 9	TP	1204	
<i>k</i> <sup>6</sup>	BL, Or. 1315	TP	1208	
<i>k</i> <sup>7</sup>	BnF, Syr. 42	TP excl. Lk 8: 9-15 and Jn 6:30-35	1226	
<i>k</i> <sup>8</sup>	Sinai, Ar. 112	TP	1259	
<i>k</i> <sup>9</sup>	Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 5. 33	TP	1272	
<i>k</i> <sup>10</sup>	BL, Arundel 20	TP	1280	
<i>k</i> <sup>11</sup>	Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 5. 27	TP	1285	
<i>k</i> <sup>12</sup>	Leiden, University Library, Cod. 619 Warn	TP	1295	
<i>k</i> <sup>13</sup>	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hunt. 366.	TP	Ed.1478	13 <sup>th</sup>
<i>k</i> <sup>14</sup>	Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, Ms. 2023	TP		13 <sup>th</sup> <sup>a</sup>
<i>k</i> <sup>15</sup>	Vatican, Copt. 8	TP		13 <sup>th</sup>
<i>k</i> <sup>16</sup>	BL, Or. 426.	Jn 6:30-35 and 18:19-27		13 <sup>th</sup>
<i>k</i> <sup>17</sup>	Beirut, B.O., Or. 433	Jn 6:30-35 and 18:19-27	1303	

Sigla	Ms Number	Passages Col- lated	Date	Century
<i>k</i> <sup>18</sup>	BL, Or. 425	Mt 7:15-20 and 16:1-4 Mk 6:14-20 and 13:5-11	1308	
<i>k</i> <sup>19</sup>	Jerusalem, Ortho- dox Patr., Ar. 220	TP	1322	
<i>k</i> <sup>20</sup>	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Seld. 3202, A. 69.	TP	1326	
<i>k</i> <sup>21</sup>	BL, Or. 1327	TP	1334	
<i>k</i> <sup>22</sup>	Vatican, Ar. 15	TP	1334/8	
<i>k</i> <sup>23</sup>	Sinai, Ar. 628	TP	1336	
<i>k</i> <sup>24</sup>	BL, Add. 11856	TP	1337	
<i>k</i> <sup>25</sup>	Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Cen- trale, Ms. Or. 84	TP	1343	
<i>k</i> <sup>26</sup>	Vatican, Copt. 11	Jn 6:30-35 and 18:19-27	1346	
<i>k</i> <sup>27</sup>	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodl. 265	TP	1348	
<i>k</i> <sup>28</sup>	Vatican, Borg. Ar. 243	TP		13/14th
<i>k</i> <sup>29</sup>	Vienna, National Library, Mxt. 490	Mark 6:14-20		13/14th
<i>k</i> <sup>30</sup>	Jerusalem, Ortho- dox Patr., Ar. 36	TP		14 <sup>th</sup>
<i>k</i> <sup>31</sup>	Sinai, Ar. 68	TP		14 <sup>th</sup>
<i>k</i> <sup>32</sup>	Vienna, National Library, A. F. 97 (545)	TP		14 <sup>th</sup>
<i>k</i> <sup>33</sup>	Vatican, Ar. 603	Mt 7:15-20 and 16:1-4		14 <sup>th</sup>
<i>k</i> <sup>34</sup>	Berlin, Staatsbiblio- thek, Df. 42.	TP		14 <sup>th</sup>
<i>k</i> <sup>35</sup>	BnF, Ar. 51	TP	1413	
<i>k</i> <sup>36</sup>	Jerusalem, Ortho- dox Patr., Ar. 213	TP		15 <sup>th</sup>
<i>k</i> <sup>37</sup>	Oxford, Bodleian	TP excl. Jn 6:30-		14/15th



Sigla	Ms Number	Passages Col- lated	Date	Century
	Library, Bodl. 447	35 and 18:19-27		
<i>k</i> <sup>38</sup>	Leiden, University Library, Cod. 255 Scaliger.	Lk 8: 9-15; 15:11- 20 Jn 6:30-35 and 18:19-27	1582	
<i>k</i> <sup>39</sup>	BnF, Ar. 60	Jn 6:30-35 and 18:19-27	1599	
<i>k</i> <sup>40</sup>	Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, Ms. 2309	TP		16 <sup>th</sup>
<i>k</i> <sup>41</sup>	Birmingham, Min- gana, Chr. Ar. Add. 271	TP		16 <sup>th</sup>
<i>k</i> <sup>42</sup>	Vatican, Ar. 501	Jn 6:30-35 and 18:19-27		16 <sup>th</sup>
<i>k</i> <sup>43</sup>	BnF, Ar. 62	Jn 6:30-35 and 18:19-27		16 <sup>th</sup>
<i>k</i> <sup>44</sup>	Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marci- ana, Or. 3 (12)	TP		16 <sup>th</sup> <sup>a</sup>
<i>k</i> <sup>45</sup>	Vatican, Ar. 483	Jn 6:30-35 and 18:19-27		16 <sup>th</sup>
<i>k</i> <sup>46</sup>	Vatican, Sbath 121	TP		16 <sup>th</sup>
<i>k</i> <sup>47</sup>	Vatican, Ar. 405	Jn 6:30-35 and 18:19-27		16 <sup>th</sup>
<i>k</i> <sup>48</sup>	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. Or. 191	TP		15/16 <sup>th</sup>
<i>k</i> <sup>49</sup>	Vatican, Ar. 557	Jn 6:30-35 and 18:19-27		16 <sup>th</sup>
<i>k</i> <sup>50</sup>	BnF, Ar. 144	TP	1617	
<i>k</i> <sup>51</sup>	Jerusalem, Ortho- dox Patr., Ar. 135	TP	1618	
<i>k</i> <sup>52</sup>	BnF, Ar. 54	TP	1619	
<i>k</i> <sup>53</sup>	Beirut, B.O., Or. 441	TP	1649	
<i>k</i> <sup>54</sup>	BL, Or. 1316	TP	1663	
<i>k</i> <sup>55</sup>	BnF, Ar. 61	Jn 6:30-35 and 18:19-27	1665	

Sigla	Ms Number	Passages Col- lated	Date	Century
<i>k</i> <sup>56</sup>	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. Orient. 115	TP excl. Jn 6:30- 35	1687	
<i>k</i> <sup>57</sup>	Cambridge, Uni- versity Library, Add. 3226	TP	1688	
<i>k</i> <sup>58</sup>	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Cen- trale, Ms. CL. III, 66	Lk 8: 9-15		17 <sup>th</sup>
<i>k</i> <sup>59</sup>	Cambridge, Uni- versity Library, Or. 643 (8)	Jn 6:30-35		17 <sup>th</sup>
<i>k</i> <sup>60</sup>	Vatican, Ar. 589	TP excl. Lk		17 <sup>th</sup>
<i>k</i> <sup>61</sup>	Vatican, Ar. 559	Mk 6:14-20 and 13:5-11 Lk 15:11-20 Jn 6:30-35 and 18:19-27		17 <sup>th</sup>
<i>k</i> <sup>62</sup>	Vatican, Sbath 27	Mt. 7: 15-20 Mk 6:14-20 and 13:5-11 Lk 8: 9-15 Jn 6:30-35		17 <sup>th</sup>
<i>k</i> <sup>63</sup>	Vatican, Sbath 64	TP		17 <sup>th</sup>
<i>k</i> <sup>64</sup>	Vatican, Sbath 651	TP		17/18 <sup>th</sup>
<i>k</i> <sup>65</sup>	Vatican, Ar. 609	TP		17 <sup>th</sup>
<i>k</i> <sup>66</sup>	BnF, Ar. 56	TP		17 <sup>th</sup>
<i>k</i> <sup>67</sup>	Birmingham, Min- gana, Chr. Ar. 10	TP		17 <sup>th</sup>
<i>k</i> <sup>68</sup>	Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense Ms. 2039	TP		17 <sup>th</sup>
<i>k</i> <sup>69</sup>	Birmingham, Min- gana, Chr. Ar. 7.	TP		17 <sup>th</sup>
<i>k</i> <sup>70</sup>	Vatican, Ar. 11	TP	1710	
<i>k</i> <sup>71</sup>	Vatican, Ar. 12	TP	1711	
<i>k</i> <sup>72</sup>	Beirut, B.O., Or. 435	TP	1713	

Sigla	Ms Number	Passages Col- lated	Date	Century
<i>k</i> <sup>73</sup>	Vatican, Ar. 611	TP	1714	
<i>k</i> <sup>74</sup>	Vatican, Ar. 26	Mk 6:14-20 and 13:5-11	1715	
<i>k</i> <sup>75</sup>	Vatican, Ar. 10	Mt 7:15-20 and 16:1-4	1717	
<i>k</i> <sup>76</sup>	Vatican, Borg. Ar. 226	Jn 6:30-35 and 18:19-27	1718	
<i>k</i> <sup>77</sup>	BnF, Ar. 53	TP	1724	
<i>k</i> <sup>78</sup>	Beirut, B.O., Or. 434	TP	1784	
<i>k</i> <sup>79</sup>	Beirut, B.O., Or. 436	TP excl. Jn 18:19- 27	1786	
<i>k</i> <sup>80</sup>	Jerusalem, Ortho- dox Patr., Ar. 194	TP excl. Mt 7:15- 20	1789	
<i>k</i> <sup>81</sup>	Jerusalem, Ortho- dox Patr., Ar. 207	TP	1793	
<i>k</i> <sup>82</sup>	BnF, Ar. 4522	Mt. 7:15-20	1794	
<i>k</i> <sup>83</sup>	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Marsh 167	TP		17/18 <sup>th</sup>
<i>k</i> <sup>84</sup>	Lucca, Biblioteca Statale, Ms. 803	Mt 7:15-20 and 16:1-4 Mk 6:14-20 and 13:5-11		18 <sup>th</sup> <sup>a</sup>
<i>k</i> <sup>85</sup>	Jerusalem, Ortho- dox Patr., Ar. 235	TP		18 <sup>th</sup>
<i>k</i> <sup>86</sup>	Vatican, Borg. Ar. 48	TP		18 <sup>th</sup>
<i>k</i> <sup>87</sup>	BnF, Ar. 6280	TP excl. Jn 18:19- 27		18 <sup>th</sup>
<i>k</i> <sup>88</sup>	BL, Or. 1001	TP		18 <sup>th</sup>
<i>k</i> <sup>89</sup>	Cambridge, Uni- versity Library, Add. 3216	TP		17/18 <sup>th</sup>
<i>k</i> <sup>90</sup>	Leiden, University Library, Cod. 218 Scaliger.	Mk 6:14-20 and 13:5-11		17/18 <sup>th</sup>
<i>k</i> <sup>91</sup>	Cambridge, Uni- versity Library, Add. 3508	TP	1811	

Sigla	Ms Number	Passages Col- lated	Date	Century
<i>k</i> <sup>92</sup>	BL, Or. 1317	TP	1815	
<i>k</i> <sup>93</sup>	Leiden, University Library, Cod. 217 Scaliger.	TP	1850	
<i>k</i> <sup>94</sup>	Amsterdam, Uni- versity Library, III E 20	TP		18/19 <sup>th</sup>
<i>k</i> <sup>95</sup>	Leiden, University Library, Cod. 214 Scaliger.	Mt 7:15-20 and 16:1-4 Mk 6: 14-20		18 <sup>th</sup> /19 <sup>th</sup>
<i>k</i> <sup>96</sup>	Vatican, Borg. Ar. 203	TP		19 <sup>th</sup>
<i>k</i> <sup>97</sup>	BnF, Ar. 4900	Lk 4:1-6 <sup>6</sup>		15 <sup>th</sup>
<i>k</i> <sup>98</sup>	Sinai, Ar. 147	TP (except Mt 16:1-4)		13 <sup>th</sup> <sup>a</sup>
<i>k</i> <sup>99</sup>	Sinai, Ar. N.F. Pa- per 61	Mk 13:5-11; Lk 8:9-15; Jn 6:30-35		12 <sup>th</sup> <sup>a</sup>

6 The fragment does not contain any of the test passages collated in appendix one, §12.11. Lk 4:1-6 reads on folio 8r:

وان يسوع ممثلى من روح القدس رجع من الاردن وانطلق به الروح الى البريه اربعين يوما يجربه ابليس لم ياكل يا في تلك الايام ولما تمت جاع في الاخير فقال له ابليس ان كنت ابن الله فقل لهذا الحجر يصير خبزا فاجابه يسوع وقال مكتوب ان الانسان لا يحيى بالخبز وحده بل بكل كلمه من الله فاصعده ابليس الى جبل عال واوزاه جميع ممالك المسكونه في اسرع وقت وقال له ابليس لك اعطي هذا السلطان كله ومجده لانه دفع الى وانا اعطيه. 8v. لمن احب وانت الان ان سجدت امامي يكن لك جميعه.

## 6.4. The Collation of Family K and the Relationship between the Witnesses

### 6.4.1. Introduction

The collation of eight test passages of family *k* is found in appendix one §12.11. The collated base represents the majority text. Ninety-nine manuscripts were collated. The eight test passages were used for the collation except when a manuscript had lacunae in these passages, or when access to the manuscript was not possible. Although the primary aim of the collation is the grouping of the manuscripts into one family, it might also be possible to learn about the relationship between the witnesses *within* the family, and thus to group some of the manuscripts into subgroups. Any conclusion in this regard must remain provisional until more passages are collated and assessed.

In addition to the possibility of grouping the witnesses into subgroups, the critical apparatus in appendix one, §12.11 sheds light on the reason behind the divergence from the collated base. One of the reasons could be because of an influence coming from another Arabic version or from a Greek, Syriac or Coptic text available to the scribe. These major issues, the linguistic relationship between the various manuscripts of family *k* (subgroups), a Greek, Syriac or Coptic influence on a number of manuscripts of family *k*, and an influence coming from another/other Arabic version(s) will be the focus of the following investigation.

### 6.4.2. The Relationship between the Witnesses of Family K

In contrast to Greek Biblical manuscripts, reconstructing the original text of this family as it was first found in the archetype might be of little interest because the text of family *k* does not seem to be particularly archaic and might not precede most of the Arabic versions which were in circulation in the eighth and ninth centuries. The aim here is to look closely to the variants in the textual apparatus and try to trace a relationship between some of the witnesses of family *k*. There is no claim that a thorough investigation will take place. It is merely a first step in a full collation and comparison of the witnesses of this family.

There is scholarly agreement that the most accurate way to discover the genetic affinities between, for instance, the ninety-nine manuscripts in this family is to collate larger texts (or the entire text) of each of the

manuscripts, compare and analyse the readings and then draw stemmas. The limitations of this study prevents me from embarking in this direction in more depth. Instead, I have focused on the unit-variations of each of the eight test passages found in the critical apparatus, weighing the readings, isolating the *valuable* variants and finally tabulating the result. Singular readings were all discarded from this study. The aim is to try to group the manuscripts into clusters or subgroups.

Before presenting the tables it is worth reflecting on the meaning of *valuable* or *quality* variants as it is used in this context.

#### 6.4.3. Definition of the Valuable Variants

In establishing the relationship between the various witnesses of family *k*, the tabulation and analysis of the *entire* variants (as found in the apparatus of appendix one, §12.11) seems to lead nowhere. When these variants are examined closely, the conviction is that the scribes are not overly concerned with copying the text of their exemplars *verbatim*. The enterprise of copying Arabic manuscripts needs not to be looked at in a similar way to copying Greek manuscripts where every letter might be of a great value for the scribe. Here the scribes are aware that they are working with translated texts and their main concern is to convey the *meaning* of the texts so that they are less interested in copying their exemplars word for word. For instance, conjunctions such as و, ف and ثم are interchangeable and cannot help us ascertain affinities between the manuscripts. The same can be claimed about relative pronouns like الذي, التي, ما and من. Furthermore, the spelling of a single word may vary completely not only between one manuscript and another but in a single text copied by the same hand. For instance, the demonstrative pronoun هؤلاء is found spelled as هؤلاءي, هؤلاءي, هؤلاء or هؤلاءي. There seems to have been no standardized way of spelling some of the words. Thus a spelling variant should not be included among what we call *valuable* variants, especially as orthographic variants are found in the same passage of the same manuscript.

The very common grammatical mistakes also need not to be taken into consideration: for example the use of the nominative when the accusative or dative should be used, or keeping the *nun* at the end of one of the “five present tense verbs” with the subjunctive or jussive mood or, vice-versa when the *nun* is replaced by an *alef* in the indicative mood when it should not have been.

And finally, the common addition of the word *Jesus* or *Lord* or the *Lord said* etc. mainly at the beginning of a verse, or replacing the proper

noun with a personal or attached pronoun are all common variants and do not help us ascertain affinities between manuscripts. These common mistakes need to be rejected before tabulating the results.

However, variations like الدردار instead of العوسج (Mt 7:16), غيامها instead of عبوسه (Mt 16:3), علامات instead of ايات (Mt 16:3), or ابليس instead of الشيطان or المحال (Lk 8:12) are *valuable* variations and need to be tabulated. They should not, however, be treated as conclusive; one should not rule out the possibility that, for instance, the use of ايه instead of علامه or شيطان instead of ابليس in two different manuscripts may have happened independently. The relationship between the two manuscripts is possible but *not certain*, since the scribe may have chosen one word instead of another because of personal preferences or due to a Syriac or Greek influence, for instance, without necessarily being aware of another manuscript which had the same variation.

The expression الدردار in Mt 7:16 could be presented as a good example of this. It is a literal translation of the Syriac Curetonian ܕܪܕܪܐ. Most manuscripts of family *k* read العوسج. Manuscripts 44 and 84 read الدردار instead. It may be possible to claim a relationship between manuscript 44 and 84, but one should not rule out the possibility of an independent Syriac influence on both scribes without necessarily claiming a close genetic relationship between 44 and 84. One should look for *consistency in agreement* between 44 and 84 in order to make that determination.

This shows the necessity of tabulating only the *valuable* variations unit and also shows that these valuable variations are to some extent inconclusive and subject to criticism and must be approached as *possible* indicators to the affinities between various manuscripts. When the number of agreements rises, the level of probability grows. Thus in a single passage when one or two *valuable* variants agree against the collated base, we can assume a *possible* relationship between the two manuscripts. When three to four valuable-unit-variations occur in a single passage we assume a *probable* relationship between the two manuscripts, while four or more would indicate a *highly probable* relationship between them.

Finally, when I refer to a relationship between two manuscripts, I mean a linguistic and a historical relationship. This relationship which is *possible*, *probable*, or *highly probable* is either a *direct* or an *indirect* relationship. A *direct* relationship might be between a manuscript and its exemplar, or between two manuscripts of the same exemplar copied by the same scribe. An *indirect* relationship is a relationship in the tradition and the history of the transmission of the text. It is also a *linguistic* relationship which might have come into existence because of external

influence (e.g. Greek, Syriac or Coptic influence, or a similar social background of the scribes).

We now turn to the tables and an assessment of the variants.

#### 6.4.4. The Tables with the Variants

A study of the collation of the eight test passages in §12.11 could help us ascertain the relationship between the various witnesses of family *k*. For instance, from the collation of Mt. 17:15-20, it is clear that there is a relatively strong relationship between manuscript 18 and manuscript 54 since both witnesses agree eight times with each other against the collated base.

I have deliberately presented each of the eight test passages on a separate table (see below) in order to study each case separately and then collectively.

It is undoubtedly true that all the witnesses are related to each other since originally they all come from one archetype. Here I shall try to look closely into this relationship and, as mentioned earlier, group the manuscripts into subgroups using the three different categories (or levels): When, after weighing the variants, I discover, in a single test passage, at least two variants from one manuscript agreeing with another manuscript against the collated base, I define the relationship between the two manuscripts as *possible*; where there are three or four agreements against the collated base, the relationship is *probable*, and where there are five or more agreements, the relationship is *highly probable*. The concentration in the tables below will be on the *probable* and *highly probable* categories only.

##### 6.4.4.1. Conclusion about Matthew 7:15-20

The table below shows the *probable* and *highly probable* relationship between the manuscripts in Mt. 7: 15-20:

Level	Group	Mss
Highly Probable	A	8, 18
	B	18, 54
	C	44, 84
	D	46, 85



	E	54, 86
	F	77, 86, 87
Probable	A	8, 18, 54, 86
	B	10, 18, 54
	C	10, 48
	D	18, 36, 44, 46, 54, 57, 72, 73, 84, 85
	E	18, 54, 73, 86, 87, 96
	F	54, 62, 77, 86, 87

#### 6.4.4.2. Conclusion about Matthew 16:1-4

The table below shows the *probable* and *highly probable* relationship between the manuscripts in Mt. 16:1-4:

Level	Group	Mss
Highly Probable	A	46, 85, 96
	B	6, 96
	C	48, 96
	D	86, 87
Probable	A	4, 11, 20, 21, 40, 68
	B	4, 11, 34, 68
	C	8, 48, 96
	D	10, 48, 96
	E	34, 40
	F	36, 44
	G	36, 72
	H	46, 48, 85, 96
	I	46, 57, 72, 73
	J	72, 85
	K	78, 91

## 6.4.4.3. Conclusion about Mark 6:30-35

The table below shows the *probable* and *highly probable* relationship between the manuscripts in Mark 6:30-35:

Level	Group	Mss
Highly Probable	A	2, 10
	B	5, 78, 91
	C	10, 48
	D	18, 54, 96
	E	46, 85
Probable	A	2, 10, 48, 96, 98
	B	5, 78, 88, 91
	C	8, 10, 18,
	D	8, 92, 96
	E	15, 18
	F	10, 18, 54, 96
	G	18, 36, 54, 96,
	H	18, 48, 96
	I	46, 57, 85, 92
	J	52, 74

## 6.4.4.4. Conclusion about Mark 13:5-11

The table below shows the *probable* and *highly probable* relationship between the manuscripts in Mark 113:5-11:

Level	Group	Mss
Highly Probable	A	2, 5
	B	2, 10
	C	5, 78
	D	36, 46, 85

	E	74, 90
	F	84, 85
	G	5, 78, 88, 91
Probable	A	3, 4, 6, 11, 24, 98
	B	5, 78
	C	8, 24
	D	10, 46
	E	10, 96
	F	11, 20, 21, 24, 34, 37, 40, 41
	G	11, 68
	H	20, 21, 22, 24, 34, 37, 40, 41, 86
	I	20, 68
	J	36, 46, 57, 84, 85
	K	36, 46, 57, 92
	L	46, 48, 57, 85
	M	50, 52, 66, 74
	N	52, 90
	O	66, 74, 90
	P	74, 96
	Q	84, 86, 96
	R	84, 90
	S	85, 92

## 6.4.4.5. Conclusion about Luke 8: 9-15

The table below shows the *probable* and *highly probable* relationship between the manuscripts in Luke 8:9-15:

Level	Group	Mss
Highly Probable	A	2, 78, 91, 92
	B	5, 92
	C	31, 51
	D	46, 57, 85
	E	50, 52, 66
	F	54, 78, 91, 92
	G	66, 86, 92
	H	88, 92
	I	5, 78, 91
Probable	A	2, 5, 31, 51, 54, 91, 92
	B	2, 6, 46
	C	2, 6, 66, 78, 85, 86, 91, 92
	D	2, 5, 54, 86, 87
	E	2, 6, 88
	F	28, 31, 54, 78, 91, 92
	G	31, 48, 51
	H	40, 68
	I	46, 57, 85, 86, 92
	J	48, 78, 91, 92
	K	50, 52, 66, 86
	L	51, 54, 78, 92
	M	78, 87, 92, 91, 96

## 6.4.4.6. Conclusion about Luke 15:11-20

The table below shows the *probable* and *highly probable* relationship between the manuscripts in Lk. 15:11-20:

Level	Group	Mss
Highly Probable	A	3, 15
	B	50, 52, 66
	C	46, 85
	D	57, 65
	E	78, 91
	F	86, 87
Probable	A	5, 78, 91
	B	36, 92
	C	46, 85, 92, 96
		36, 37

The collation of Luke 15:11-20 shows that many variants exist in this passage but only few are what I consider *valuable* variants. The tabulated result of my analysis of Luke 15:11-20 supports and fortifies some of the conclusion mentioned in the section on Luke 8:9-15.

## 6.4.4.7. Conclusion about John 6:30-35

There are relatively few *valuable* unit-variations in John 6:30-35, and it is almost impossible to ascertain the reason behind this. It may be because the text is linguistically simple and comprehensible, or because there are a few textual variations in the original texts—Greek or Syriac, or because it is a liturgical text and was left intact.

The table below traces the relationship between the manuscripts which agree at least twice against the collated base:

Group	Mss
A	2, 5, 54, 78, 91
B	2, 16, 54, 59
C	36, 46, 85
D	48, 51
E	50, 66
F	50, 52

The last test passage that we will examine is John 17:18-27. It is a longer text and it has more valuable variations than John 6:30-35.

#### 6.4.4.8. Conclusion about John 18:19-27

The following table shows the *probable* and *highly probable* relationship between the manuscripts in John 18:19-27:

Level	Group	Mss
Highly Probable	A	2, 5, 16, 26, 54, 78, 91, 92
	B	5, 50, 52, 66,
	C	23, 78
	D	26, 36, 48,
	E	36, 85
	F	46, 65, 85
	G	48, 92
	H	50, 52, 78, 91
	I	52, 66, 77
	J	54, 78, 91, 92
	K	66, 78, 91
Probable	A	2, 5, 16, 26, 36, 48, 54, 78, 91, 92
	B	2, 16, 26, 36, 48, 85, 92
	C	5, 23, 26, 36, 48, 50, 52, 54, 66, 77,

		78, 91, 92
	D	5, 16, 36, 54, 57, 65, 78, 91
	E	36, 46, 48, 96
	F	46, 57, 65, 85
	G	65, 88, 91

#### 6.4.5. General Conclusion

The relationship of the manuscripts within this family can be summed up as follows:

##### 6.4.5.1. I: Matthew 7:9-15 and 16:1-4

Based on the collation of Matthew 7:9-15 and 16:1-4, it is possible to group the manuscripts of *family k* into the following subgroups:

<i>Subgroup Number</i>	<i>Ms Number</i>	<i>Mss Shelf Mark</i>
A	4	Sinai, Ar. 101
	11	Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 5. 27
	20	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Seld. 3202, A. 69
	21	BL, Or. 1327
	40	Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense Ms. 2309
	68	Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense Ms. 2039

<i>Subgroup Number</i>	<i>Ms Number</i>	<i>Mss Shelf Mark</i>
B	4	Sinai, Ar. 101
	11	Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 5. 27
	34	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Df. 42.
	68	Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense Ms. 2039

<i>Subgroup Number</i>	<i>Ms Number</i>	<i>Mss Shelf Mark</i>
C	8	Sinai, Ar. 112
	18	BL, Or. 425
	54	BL, Or. 1316
	86	Vatican, Borg. Ar. 48

<i>Subgroup Number</i>	<i>Ms Number</i>	<i>Mss Shelf Mark</i>
D	8	Sinai, Ar. 112
	48	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. Or. 191
	96	Vatican, Borg. Ar. 203

<i>Subgroup Number</i>	<i>Ms Number</i>	<i>Mss Shelf Mark</i>
E	10	BL, Arundel 20
	18	BL, Or. 425
	54	BL, Or. 1316

<i>Subgroup Number</i>	<i>Ms Number</i>	<i>Mss Shelf Mark</i>
F	10	BL, Arundel 20
	48	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. Or. 191
	96	Vatican, Borg. Ar. 203

<i>Subgroup Number</i>	<i>Ms Number</i>	<i>Mss Shelf Mark</i>
G	18	BL, Or. 425
	36	Jerusalem, Orthodox Patr., Ar. 213
	44	Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Or. 3 (12)
	46	Vatican, Sbath 121
	54	BL, Or. 1316
	57	Cambridge, University Library, Add. 3226

<i>Subgroup Number</i>	<i>Ms Number</i>	<i>Mss Shelf Mark</i>
H	18	BL, Or. 425
	36	Jerusalem, Orthodox Patr., Ar. 213
	44	Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Or. 3 (12)



<i>Subgroup Number</i>	<i>Ms Number</i>	<i>Mss Shelf Mark</i>
	46	Vatican, Sbath 121
	54	BL, Or. 1316
	57	Cambridge, University Library, Add. 3226
	72	Beirut, B. O., Or. 435
	73	Vatican, Ar. 611
	84	Lucca, Biblioteca Statale, Ms. 803
	85	Jerusalem, Orthodox Patr., Ar. 235

<i>Subgroup Number</i>	<i>Ms Number</i>	<i>Mss Shelf Mark</i>
I	18	BL, Or. 425
	54	BL, Or. 1316
	73	Vatican, Ar. 611
	86	Vatican, Borg. Ar. 48
	87	BnF, Ar. 6280
	96	Vatican, Borg. Ar. 203

<i>Subgroup Number</i>	<i>Ms Number</i>	<i>Mss Shelf Mark</i>
J	34	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Df. 42
	40	Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense Ms. 2309

<i>Subgroup Number</i>	<i>Ms Number</i>	<i>Mss Shelf Mark</i>
K	46	Vatican, Sbath 121
	48	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. Or. 191
	85	Jerusalem, Orthodox Patr., Ar. 235
	96	Vatican, Borg. Ar. 203

<i>Subgroup Number</i>	<i>Ms Number</i>	<i>Mss Shelf Mark</i>
L	54	BL, Or. 1316
	62	Vatican, Sbath 27
	77	BnF, Ar. 53
	86	Vatican, Borg. Ar. 48
	87	BnF, Ar. 6280

<i>Subgroup Number</i>	<i>Ms Number</i>	<i>Mss Shelf Mark</i>
M	78	Beirut, B.O., Or. 434
	91	Cambridge, University Library, Add. 3508

## 6.4.5.2. II: Mark 6:14-20 and 13:5-11

Based on the collation of Mark 6:14-20 and 13:5-11, it is possible to group the manuscripts of *family k* into the following subgroups:

<i>Subgroup Number</i>	<i>Ms Number</i>	<i>Mss Shelf Mark</i>
A	2	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hunt. 17
	10	BL, Arundel 20
	48	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. Or. 191
	96	Vatican, Borg. Ar. 203

<i>Subgroup Number</i>	<i>Ms Number</i>	<i>Mss Shelf Mark</i>
B	3	BnF, Copt. 16
	4	Sinai, Ar. 101
	6	BL, Or. 1315
	11	Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 5. 27
	24	BL, Add. 11856
	98	Sinai, Ar. 147

<i>Subgroup Number</i>	<i>Ms Number</i>	<i>Mss Shelf Mark</i>
C	5	Vatican, Copt. 9
	78	Beirut, B.O., Or. 434
	88	BL, Or. 1001
	91	Cambridge, University Library, Add. 3508

<i>Subgroup Number</i>	<i>Ms Number</i>	<i>Mss Shelf Mark</i>
D	8	Sinai, Ar. 112
	10	BL, Arundel 20
	18	BL, Or. 425

<i>Subgroup Number</i>	<i>Ms Number</i>	<i>Mss Shelf Mark</i>
E	8	Sinai, Ar. 112
	24	BL, Add. 11856

<i>Subgroup Number</i>	<i>Ms Number</i>	<i>Mss Shelf Mark</i>
F	8	Sinai, Ar. 112
	92	BL, Or. 1317
	96	Vatican, Borg. Ar. 203

<i>Subgroup Number</i>	<i>Ms Number</i>	<i>Mss Shelf Mark</i>
G	10	BL, Arundel 20
	18	BL, Or. 425
	54	BL, Or. 1316
	96	Vatican, Borg. Ar. 203

<i>Subgroup Number</i>	<i>Ms Number</i>	<i>Mss Shelf Mark</i>
H	10	BL, Arundel 20
	46	Vatican, Sbath 121

<i>Subgroup Number</i>	<i>Ms Number</i>	<i>Mss Shelf Mark</i>
I	11	Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 5. 27
	20	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Seld. 3202, A. 69
	21	BL, Or. 1327
	24	BL, Add. 11856
	34	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Df. 42
	37	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodl. 447
	40	Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense Ms. 2309
	41	Birmingham, Mingana, Chr. Ar. Add. 271

<i>Subgroup Number</i>	<i>Ms Number</i>	<i>Mss Shelf Mark</i>
J	11	Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 5. 27
	68	Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense Ms. 2039

<i>Subgroup Number</i>	<i>Ms Number</i>	<i>Mss Shelf Mark</i>
K	15	Vatican, Copt. 8
	18	BL, Or. 425

<i>Subgroup Number</i>	<i>Ms Number</i>	<i>Mss Shelf Mark</i>
L	18	BL, Or. 425
	36	Jerusalem, Orthodox Patr., Ar. 213
	54	BL, Or. 1316
	96	Vatican, Borg. Ar. 203

<i>Subgroup Number</i>	<i>Ms Number</i>	<i>Mss Shelf Mark</i>
M	18	BL, Or. 425
	48	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. Or. 191
	57	Cambridge, University Library, Add. 3226
	96	Vatican, Borg. Ar. 203

<i>Subgroup Number</i>	<i>Ms Number</i>	<i>Mss Shelf Mark</i>
N	20	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Seld. 3202, A. 69
	21	BL, Or. 1327
	22	Vatican, Ar. 15
	24	BL, Add. 11856
	34	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Df. 42
	37	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodl. 447
	40	Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense Ms. 2309
	41	Birmingham, Mingana, Chr. Ar. Add. 271
	86	Vatican, Borg. Ar. 48

<i>Subgroup Number</i>	<i>Ms Number</i>	<i>Mss Shelf Mark</i>
O	20	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Seld. 3202, A. 69
	68	Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense Ms. 2039

<i>Subgroup Number</i>	<i>Ms Number</i>	<i>Mss Shelf Mark</i>
P	36	Jerusalem, Orthodox Patr., Ar. 213
	46	Vatican, Sbath 121
	57	Cambridge, University Library, Add. 3226
	84	Lucca, Biblioteca Statale, Ms. 803
	85	Jerusalem, Orthodox Patr., Ar. 235

<i>Subgroup Number</i>	<i>Ms Number</i>	<i>Mss Shelf Mark</i>
Q	36	Jerusalem, Orthodox Patr., Ar. 213
	46	Vatican, Sbath 121
	57	Cambridge, University Library, Add. 3226
	92	BL, Or. 1317

<i>Subgroup Number</i>	<i>Ms Number</i>	<i>Mss Shelf Mark</i>
R	46	Vatican, Sbath 121
	48	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. Or. 191
	57	Cambridge, University Library, Add. 3226
	85	Jerusalem, Orthodox Patr., Ar. 235

<i>Subgroup Number</i>	<i>Ms Number</i>	<i>Mss Shelf Mark</i>
S	46	Vatican, Sbath 121
	85	Jerusalem, Orthodox Patr., Ar. 235
	92	BL, Or. 1317

<i>Subgroup Number</i>	<i>Ms Number</i>	<i>Mss Shelf Mark</i>
T	50	BnF, Ar. 144
	52	BnF, Ar. 54
	66	BnF, Ar. 56
	74	Vatican, Ar. 26

<i>Subgroup Number</i>	<i>Ms Number</i>	<i>Mss Shelf Mark</i>
U	52	BnF, Ar. 54
	90	Leiden, University Library, Cod. 218 Scaliger

<i>Subgroup Number</i>	<i>Ms Number</i>	<i>Mss Shelf Mark</i>
V	66	BnF, Ar. 56
	74	Vatican, Ar. 26
	90	Leiden, University Library, Cod. 218 Scaliger

<i>Subgroup Number</i>	<i>Ms Number</i>	<i>Mss Shelf Mark</i>
W	74	Vatican, Ar. 26
	96	Vatican, Borg. Ar. 203

<i>Subgroup Number</i>	<i>Ms Number</i>	<i>Mss Shelf Mark</i>
X	84	Lucca, Biblioteca Statale, Ms. 803
	86	Vatican, Borg. Ar. 48
	96	Vatican, Borg. Ar. 203

<i>Subgroup Number</i>	<i>Ms Number</i>	<i>Mss Shelf Mark</i>
Y	84	Lucca, Biblioteca Statale, Ms. 803
	90	Leiden, University Library, Cod. 218 Scaliger

## 6.4.5.3. III: Luke 8:9-15 and 15:11-20

Based on the collation of Luke 8:9-15 and 15:11-20, it is possible to group the manuscripts of *family k* into the following subgroups:

<i>Subgroup Number</i>	<i>Ms Number</i>	<i>Mss Shelf Mark</i>
A	2	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hunt. 17
	5	Vatican, Copt. 9
	31	Sinai, Ar. 68
	51	Jerusalem, Orthodox Patr., Ar. 135
	54	BL, Or. 1316
	91	Cambridge, University Library, Add. 3508
	92	BL, Or. 1317

<i>Subgroup Number</i>	<i>Ms Number</i>	<i>Mss Shelf Mark</i>
B	2	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hunt. 17
	5	Vatican, Copt. 9
	54	BL, Or. 1316
	86	Vatican, Borg. Ar. 48
	87	BnF, Ar. 6280

<i>Subgroup Number</i>	<i>Ms Number</i>	<i>Mss Shelf Mark</i>
C	2	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hunt. 17
	6	BL, Or. 1315
	46	Vatican, Sbath 121

<i>Subgroup Number</i>	<i>Ms Number</i>	<i>Mss Shelf Mark</i>
D	2	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hunt. 17
	6	BL, Or. 1315
	66	BnF, Ar. 56
	78	Beirut, B. O. 434
	85	Jerusalem, Orthodox Patr., Ar. 235
	86	Vatican, Borg. Ar. 48
	91	Cambridge, University Library, Add. 3508
	92	BL, Or. 1317

<i>Subgroup Number</i>	<i>Ms Number</i>	<i>Mss Shelf Mark</i>
E	2	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hunt. 17
	6	BL, Or. 1315
	88	BL, Or. 1001

<i>Subgroup Number</i>	<i>Ms Number</i>	<i>Mss Shelf Mark</i>
F	5	Vatican, Copt. 9
	78	Beirut, B. O. 434
	91	Cambridge, University Library, Add. 3508

<i>Subgroup Number</i>	<i>Ms Number</i>	<i>Mss Shelf Mark</i>
G	28	Vatican, Borg. Ar. 243
	31	Sinai, Ar. 68
	54	BL, Or. 1316
	78	Beirut, B.O., Or. 434
	91	Cambridge, University Library, Add. 3508
	92	BL, Or. 1317

<i>Subgroup Number</i>	<i>Ms Number</i>	<i>Mss Shelf Mark</i>
H	31	Sinai, Ar. 68
	48	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. Or. 191
	51	Jerusalem, Orthodox Patr., Ar. 135

<i>Subgroup Number</i>	<i>Ms Number</i>	<i>Mss Shelf Mark</i>
I	36	Jerusalem, Orthodox Patr., Ar. 213
	37	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodl. 447

<i>Subgroup Number</i>	<i>Ms Number</i>	<i>Mss Shelf Mark</i>
J	36	Jerusalem, Orthodox Patr., Ar. 213
	92	BL, Or. 1317

<i>Subgroup Number</i>	<i>Ms Number</i>	<i>Mss Shelf Mark</i>
K	40	Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense Ms. 2309
	68	Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense Ms. 2039

<i>Subgroup Number</i>	<i>Ms Number</i>	<i>Mss Shelf Mark</i>
L	46	Vatican, Sbath 121
	57	Cambridge, University Library, Add. 3226
	85	Jerusalem, Orthodox Patr., Ar. 235
	86	Vatican, Borg. Ar. 48
	92	BL, Or. 1317

<i>Subgroup</i>	<i>Ms Number</i>	<i>Mss Shelf Mark</i>
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<i>Number</i>	<i>ber</i>	
M	46	Vatican, Sbath 121
	85	Jerusalem, Orthodox Patr., Ar. 235
	92	BL, Or. 1317
	96	Vatican, Borg. Ar. 203

<i>Subgroup Number</i>	<i>Ms Number</i>	<i>Mss Shelf Mark</i>
N	48	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. Or. 191
	78	Beirut, B.O., Or. 434
	92	BL, Or. 1317

<i>Subgroup Number</i>	<i>Ms Number</i>	<i>Mss Shelf Mark</i>
O	50	BnF, Ar. 144
	52	BnF, Ar. 54
	66	BnF, Ar. 56
	86	Vatican, Borg. Ar. 48

<i>Subgroup Number</i>	<i>Ms Number</i>	<i>Mss Shelf Mark</i>
P	51	Jerusalem, Orthodox Patr., Ar. 135
	54	BL, Or. 1316
	78	Beirut, B.O., Or. 434
	91	Cambridge, University Library, Add. 3508
	92	BL, Or. 1317

<i>Subgroup Number</i>	<i>Ms Number</i>	<i>Mss Shelf Mark</i>
Q	78	Beirut, B.O., Or. 434
	87	BnF, Ar. 6280
	92	BL, Or. 1317
	96	Vatican, Borg. Ar. 203

<i>Subgroup Number</i>	<i>Ms Number</i>	<i>Mss Shelf Mark</i>
R	57	Cambridge, University Library, Add. 3226
	65	Vatican, Ar. 609

## 6.4.5.4. IV: John 6:30-35 and 18:19-27

Based on the collation of John 6:30-35 and 18:19-27, it is possible to group the manuscripts of *family k* into the following subgroups:

<i>Subgroup Number</i>	<i>Ms Number</i>	<i>Mss Shelf Mark</i>
A	2	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hunt. 17
	5	Vatican, Copt. 9
	16	BL, Or. 426
	26	Vatican, Copt. 11
	36	Jerusalem, Orthodox Patr., Ar. 213
	48	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. Or. 191
	54	BL, Or. 1316
	78	Beirut, B.O., Or. 434
	91	Cambridge, University Library, Add. 3508
	92	BL, Or. 1317

<i>Subgroup Number</i>	<i>Ms Number</i>	<i>Mss Shelf Mark</i>
B	2	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hunt. 17
	16	BL, Or. 426
	26	Vatican, Copt. 11
	36	Jerusalem, Orthodox Patr., Ar. 213
	48	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. Or. 191
	85	Jerusalem, Orthodox Patr., Ar. 235
	92	BL, Or. 1317

<i>Subgroup Number</i>	<i>Ms Number</i>	<i>Mss Shelf Mark</i>
C	2	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hunt. 17
	16	BL, Or. 426
	54	BL, Or. 1316
	59	Cambridge, University Library, Or. 643(8)

<i>Subgroup Number</i>	<i>Ms Number</i>	<i>Mss Shelf Mark</i>
D	5	Vatican, Copt. 9
	16	BL, Or. 426
	36	Jerusalem, Orthodox Patr., Ar. 213
	54	BL, Or. 1316
	57	Cambridge, University Library, Add. 3226
	65	Vatican, Ar. 609
	78	Beirut, B.O., Or. 434
	91	Cambridge, University Library, Add. 3508

<i>Subgroup Number</i>	<i>Ms Number</i>	<i>Mss Shelf Mark</i>
E	5	Vatican, Copt. 9
	23	Sinai, Ar. 628
	26	Vatican, Copt. 11
	36	Jerusalem, Orthodox Patr., Ar. 213
	48	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. Or. 191
	50	BnF, Ar. 144
	52	BnF, Ar. 54
	54	BL, Or. 1316
	66	BnF, Ar. 56
	77	BnF, Ar. 53
	78	Beirut, B. O. 434
	91	Cambridge, University Library, Add. 3508
	92	BL, Or. 1317

<i>Subgroup Number</i>	<i>Ms Number</i>	<i>Mss Shelf Mark</i>
F	36	Jerusalem, Orthodox Patr., Ar. 213
	46	Vatican, Sbath 121
	48	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. Or. 191
	96	Vatican, Borg. Ar. 203

<i>Subgroup Number</i>	<i>Ms Number</i>	<i>Mss Shelf Mark</i>
G	36	Jerusalem, Orthodox Patr., Ar. 213
	46	Vatican, Sbath 121
	85	Jerusalem, Orthodox Patr., Ar. 235

<i>Subgroup Number</i>	<i>Ms Number</i>	<i>Mss Shelf Mark</i>
H	46	Vatican, Sbath 121
	57	Cambridge, University Library, Add. 3226
	65	Vatican, Ar. 609
	85	Jerusalem, Orthodox Patr., Ar. 235

<i>Subgroup Number</i>	<i>Ms Number</i>	<i>Mss Shelf Mark</i>
I	65	Vatican, Ar. 609
	88	BL, Or. 1001

<i>Subgroup Number</i>	<i>Ms Number</i>	<i>Mss Shelf Mark</i>
J	48	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. Or. 191
	51	Jerusalem, Orthodox Patr., Ar. 135

<i>Subgroup Number</i>	<i>Ms Number</i>	<i>Mss Shelf Mark</i>
K	50	BnF, Ar. 144
	66	BnF, Ar. 56

The relationship is probable only in the collated test passages of the manuscripts. It is possible that this relationship can be attributed to the entire text of the Gospels, however, one can only make a reasonable claim in this regard after a full collation of these manuscripts has been done.

#### 6.4.6. Unit-Variations versus Greek, Syriac, Coptic and Latin *Vorlagen*

##### 6.4.6.1. Introduction

The critical apparatus in appendix one, §12.11 may not only shed some light on the relationship between the various manuscripts collated, but it may also help determine whether some manuscripts have been influenced by a Greek, Syriac, Coptic or Latin source. Thus, this exercise will concentrate not on the *linguistic* but on the *textual* variants of the eight test passages. The manuscripts below are grouped in relationship with their source of influence (e.g. Greek, Syriac, Coptic or Latin).

Before presenting the information, some cautionary remarks are needed:

1. Since we are examining two passages from each Gospel (and not the entire text of the Gospels), any conclusion applies to the specific test passages only and not to the entire Gospel.
2. Since we are working on specific passages, it is not possible to ascertain whether the Greek, Syriac, Coptic or Latin influence happened randomly, eclectically or thoroughly. A Syriac influence found in one passage might not be present in another. Moreover, while it may be true that a specific passage shows no evidence of influence from another source, it may be untrue for other passages. This is especially the case when a scribe is randomly amending his Arabic exemplar.
3. The presupposition that a specific scribe might have been familiar with two or more languages confirms the vulnerability of this exercise. We might be able to suggest that, for instance, manuscript 48 was corrected against the Greek *Vorlage*, but this statement cannot exclude traces of the Syriac Peshitta which may be perceived in different passages.
4. The existence of a number of Arabic versions make any claim about Greek, Syriac, Coptic or Latin influence less conclusive. One should consider that a correction was made, not against, for instance a Greek or Syriac *Vorlage*, but against an Arabic manuscript of a different family translated from the Greek or Syriac. To conclude that, for instance, manuscript number five is corrected against the Coptic *Vorlage*, when it is in fact corrected against the Arabic version of Ibn al-'Assāl (Ibn al-'Assāl's version is translated from Coptic), is incorrect. Moreover, since we know little about other forms of Arabic Gospel Manuscripts (e.g. lectionaries, commentaries, Karshuni manuscripts, and the Arabic Diatessaron) any conclusion must be seen as tentative.
5. The linguistic and social backgrounds of a scribe, which eventually influence his writings, might cause some confusion in determining whether he is correcting his text against, for instance, a Greek or Syriac source. As mentioned earlier, the expression الدردار (in Mt 7:16) is one example of many to sufficiently explain this point. Manuscripts 44 and 84 read الدردار (transliteration of the Curetonian Syriac reading ܕܪܕܪ) instead of the majority readings العوسج. Should we claim that the texts of manuscripts 44 and 84 are influenced or corrected against the Syriac Curetonian? Or, on the other hand, have the scribes of manuscripts 44 and 84 simply used a familiar expression (because of their Syriac background) without being textually

influenced by the Curetonian version? Is this mere coincidence or a deliberate textual correction? These questions can also be asked about the use of the Arabic expression الكوره which is similar to the Greek χωρα (see appendix one, §12.11 footnote 413).

6. An omission of a word, or an addition of an expression, can happen accidentally or on purpose and may coincide with another reading in, for instance, Greek or Syriac *Vorlage* without necessarily pointing to a relationship between the Arabic version and the *Vorlage*. This occurs repeatedly with the addition and omission of conjunctions and pronouns, transposition of words, exchanging a proper noun with a pronoun and so forth.

With all these limitations in mind, it is still possible to venture into this study. *Consistency* is the key factor in this process and will help us better trace a direct or indirect relationship between the unit-variations and various *Vorlagen*.

Each of the two test passages (from each Gospel) will be examined separately. The selected footnotes and the manuscript numbers will be given and the *Vorlage* will be suggested.<sup>7</sup> The contents of the footnotes will not be repeated here as they can be found in appendix one, §12.11.

#### 6.4.6.2. Matthew 7:15-20 and 16:1-4

##### 6.4.6.2.1. Textual Data

Footnote number	Manuscripts Number(s)	<i>Vorlage</i>
13	8	Sp, Sh
	44, 84	Sc
	96	Gk
17	10, 48	Gk, Sy
22	15, 46, 57, 65, 72, 73, 85	Cop, possibly Sc
25	8, 46, 48, 62, 77, 85, 86, 87, 96	Sy, Gk
33	8, 18, 54	Gk codex Vaticanus
	10, 48	Gk
34	46, 48, 77, 85, 87, 88, 96	Gk, Sy
39	10, 18, 54, 62, 77, 86, 87, 96	Gk codex Vaticanus

<sup>7</sup> Gk, Cop, Sc, Sp, Sh, Sy stand for Greek, Coptic, Syriac Curetonian, Syriac Peshitta, Syriac Harklean and all Syriac versions respectively.

Footnote number	Manuscripts Number(s)	<i>Vorlage</i>
	48	Gk
43	48	Gk
57	8	Sy, Gk
61	8, 10, 46, 48, 85, 86, 87, 96	Gk, Sy
64	2, 8, 10, 46, 48, 85, 86, 87, 95, 96	Gk, Sy
75	86, 87	Sp
85	46, 48, 85, 96	Gk, Sy
87	48	Gk, Sh
	77	Sp
90	3, 5, 6, 15, 18, 54, 92	Cop
92	8, 50	Gk

#### 6.4.6.2.2. Conclusion: Matthew 7:15-20 and 16:1-4

The conclusion takes into consideration only the variations which agree more than *once* against a specific *Vorlage*.

##### 6.4.6.2.2.1. Manuscripts Corrected against the Coptic *Vorlage*

Ms 3 = BnF, Copt. 16

Ms 5 = Vatican, Copt. 9

Ms 6 = BL, Or. 1315

Ms 15 = Vatican, Copt. 8

Ms 18 = BL, Or. 425

Ms 54 = BL, Or. 1316

Ms 92 = BL, Or. 1317

All the Arabic manuscripts in this section are Arabic-Coptic bilingual manuscripts which strengthens the conclusion.

##### 6.4.6.2.2.2. Manuscripts Corrected against the Coptic or Syriac *Vorlage*

Ms 15 = Vatican, Copt. 8

Ms 57 = Cambridge, University Library, Add. 3226

Ms 65 = Vatican, Ar. 609

Ms 72 = Beirut, B.O., Or. 435

Ms 73 = Vatican, Ar. 611

6.4.6.2.2.3. Manuscripts Corrected against the Greek *Vorlage*

Ms 48 = Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. Or. 191

6.4.6.2.2.4. Manuscripts Corrected against the Syriac *Vorlage*

Ms 46 = Vatican, Sbath 121

Ms 85 = Jerusalem, Orthodox Patr. Ar. 235

6.4.6.2.2.5. Manuscripts Corrected against the Syriac or Greek *Vorlage*

Ms 8 = Sinai, Ar. 112

Ms 10 = BL, Arundel 20

Ms 77 = BnF, Ar. 53

Ms 86 = Vatican, Borg. Ar. 48

Ms 87 = BnF, Ar. 6280

Ms 88 = BL, Or. 1001

Ms 95 = Leiden, University Library, Cod. 217 Scaliger

Ms 96 = Vatican, Borg. Ar. 203

This is the first step towards a more exhaustive study of these manuscripts. Now I will examine the remaining test passages.

## 6.4.6.3. Mark 6:14-20 and 13:5-11

## 6.4.6.3.1. The Textual Data

Footnote Number	Manuscript Number	<i>Vorlage</i>
149	5, 15, 18, 54, 78, 88, 92	Cop
152	8	D Θ f <sup>13</sup> 22, 33 etc.
	2, 8, 18, 48, 54, 92, 96	Gk, Cop
163	2, 8, 10, 15, 18, 36, 46, 48, 54, 85, 92	Cop
194	6, 15, 41, 54, 88	Cop
195	46, 85, 86, 92, 96	Gk
197	31, 84	Cop
202	5, 6, 18, 54, 78, 88, 90, 25	Ⲛ B L W Ψ 33, Sp, Cop
	2, 8, 10, 28, 77	D Θ 565 etc
	36, 46, 48, 85, 86, 96	W f <sup>1(13)</sup> 28 pc



205	8, 53	Ⲛ B L W Ψ 2427
210	7, 10, 46, 48, 50, 66, 74, 84, 85, 86, 96 omit.	Gk (excl. W Θ ϣ <sup>3</sup> etc.), Sy
235	50, 52, 66, 74, 90, 96	Sy and Majority Gk
242	8	Ss, Gk (D W Θ ϣ <sup>1</sup> 28 etc.)
244	84	Ss
245	5, 36	Sp
	2, 84	Sp
247	2, 5, 18, 54, 78, 88, 90	Cop
249	2, 5, 78	Cop
253	2, 5, 74, 78, 96	Gk, Cop, Sh
266	7, 36, 96	Sp
276	46, 85, 92	Gk 38
	36	Sp, Gk A X Y Γ Δ Π Φ ϣ <sup>1</sup> 118, 22, etc
277	2, 5, 78, 86	Cop, Gk Ⲛ B D L W Σ Ψ ϣ <sup>1</sup>
278	96	Byzantine Text type

#### 6.4.6.3.2. Conclusion: Mark 6:14-20 and 13:5-11

##### 6.4.6.3.2.1. Manuscripts Corrected against the Coptic *Vorlage*

Ms 2 = Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hunt. 17

Ms 5 = Vatican, Copt. 9

Ms 6 = BL, Or. 1315

Ms 15 = Vatican, Copt. 8

Ms 18 = BL, Or. 425

Ms 54 = BL, Or. 1316

Ms 78 = Beirut, B.O., Or. 434

Ms 88 = BL, Or 1001

Ms 90 = Leiden, University Library, Cod. 218 Scaliger

Ms 92 = BL, Or. 1317

Amongst the ten manuscripts above, only two manuscripts are not Arabic-Coptic bilingual manuscripts.

#### 6.4.6.3.2.2. Manuscripts Corrected against the Byzantine or Caesarean Text Type

Ms 8 = Sinai, Ar. 112 (Caesarean text type)  
 Ms 10 = BL, Arundel 20  
 Ms 46 = Vatican, Sbath 121  
 Ms 48 = Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. Or. 191  
 Ms 85 = Jerusalem, Orthodox Patr. Ar. 235  
 Ms 86 = Vatican, Borg. Ar. 48  
 Ms 92 = BL, Or. 1317  
 Ms 96 = Vatican, Borg. Ar. 203

#### 6.4.6.3.2.3. Manuscripts Corrected against the Peshitta

Ms 7 = BnF, Syr. 42  
 Ms 36 = Jerusalem, Orthodox Patr. Ar. 213  
 Ms 84 = Lucca, Biblioteca Statale, Ms. 803  
 Ms 85 = Jerusalem, Orthodox Patr. Ar. 235

#### 6.4.6.3.2.4. Manuscripts Corrected against the Syriac or Greek *Vorlage*

Ms 50 = BnF, Ar. 144  
 Ms 66 = BnF, Ar. 56  
 Ms 74 = Vatican, Ar. 26  
 Ms 90 = Leiden, University Library, Cod. 218 Scaliger  
 Ms 96 = Vatican, Borg. Ar. 203

#### 6.4.6.4. Luke 8: 9-15 and 15:11-20

##### 6.4.6.4.1. The Textual Data

Footnote number	Manuscript Number	<i>Vorlage</i>
291	31	l1127 Lvt (l) Dtp Cs (2mss. Gg)
305	38	Ss, Sc
307	36	Δ 13 16 161 etc. Lvt (b)
	21, 28, 38, 40, 51, 68*	Ss Sc Sp
316	31, 34, 36, 46, 48, 85, 86, 87, 92, 96	Gk, Sy
318	34	l524 Lvt (d l) Cyr Lc

		PRIS, RUF
322	86, 87	Gk
326	3, 4, 11, 15	Cop, Ms A
331	2, 6, 36, 88	Sj, Ar
342	5, 31, 48, 51, 54, 78, 92	Sc, Sp, Gk,
346	2, 5, 51, 54, 78, 86, 87, 92	Gk, Cop
361	2, 5, 9, 14, 28, 31, 46, 50, 51, 52, 54, 56, 58, 66, 78, [80], 85, [86], 92, [96]	Gk, Cop, Latin
370	46, 85, 86, 92	Gk, Cop, Latin
373	48	Ss, Sc
	36	Sp, Sh
376	48, 86, 87, 92	Sy, Gk, Latin
388	48	Gk, Sy
391	3	1187*
	36, 46, 65, 85	Sp
	81	Arabic Diatessaron
392	2, 5, 78, 86, 87	Cop
394	36	Lvt (a b c ff <sup>2</sup> l r <sup>1</sup> ), Sc, Sp
395	36	Ps, Arabic Diatessa- ron
396	3, 4, 8, 10, 11, 13, 15, 36	Syriac, Lvt (e a b c ff <sup>2</sup> i l r <sup>1</sup> )
398	36	Sc, Sp, Dta, Lvt (a b c ff <sup>2</sup> g <sup>1</sup> l r <sup>1</sup> ) and Lvg (1 ms.)
402	36, 46, 48, 65, 81, 85, 92, 96	Gk or most proba- bly Sy
403	46, 85, 96	Gk, Cop
410	53, 65, 79	Sh
416	3, 4, 8, 11, 15, 36, 48	Gk, Sy
422	3, 5	Sy
	48	Gk
425	6, 88	Cop
	5, 10, 36, 41, 46, 48, 54, 78, 85, 86, 87, 88, 92, 96	Sy, Gk
434	2	Gk, Sy
448	2, 38, 78	Cop
	36, 46, 48, 54, 85, 92, 96	Gk, Sy
452	36, 37, 44, 51, 53, 56, 64, 65,	Sc, Ss, Sp, Arabic

	81, 86, 87, 96	Diatessaron
453	48	Gk
454	48	Gk

## 6.4.6.4.2. Conclusion: Luke 8:9-15 and 15:11-20

6.4.6.4.2.1. Manuscripts Corrected against the Coptic *Vorlage*:

Ms 2 = Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hunt. 17

Ms 78 = Beirut, B.O., Or. 434

6.4.6.4.2.2. Manuscripts Corrected against the Coptic or/and Greek *Vorlage*

Ms 46 = Vatican, Sbath 121

Ms 85 = Jerusalem, Orthodox Patr., Ar. 235

Ms 86 = Vatican, Borg. Ar. 48

Ms 92 = BL, Or. 1317

Ms 96 = Vatican, Borg. Ar. 203

6.4.6.4.2.3. Manuscripts Corrected against the Greek *Vorlage*

Ms 48 = Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. Or. 191

6.4.6.4.2.4. Manuscripts Corrected against the Syriac or/and Greek *Vorlage*

Ms 5 = Vatican, Copt. 9

Ms 46 = Vatican, Sbath 121

Ms 48 = Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. Or. 191

Ms 54 = BL, Or. 1316

Ms 78 = Beirut, B.O., Or. 434

Ms 85 = Jerusalem, Orthodox Patr., Ar. 235

Ms 86 = Vatican, Borg. Ar. 48

Ms 87 = BnF, Ar. 6280

Ms 92 = BL, Or. 1317

Ms 96 = Vatican, Borg. Ar. 203

6.4.6.4.2.5. Manuscripts Corrected against the Syriac *Vorlage*

Ms 36 = Jerusalem, Orthodox Patr., Ar. 213

The variations which agree once with one of the *Vorlage* were excluded from this conclusion. Manuscripts 2, 6, 38, 88 have at least one obvious variant which agrees with the Old Syriac versions, and manuscripts 3, 4, 8, 10, 11, 13, 15, 37, 44, 51, 53, 55, 56, 64, 65, 81 agree with either the Peshitta or the Old Syriac.

#### 6.4.6.5. John 6:30-35 and 18:17-26

##### 6.4.6.5.1. The Textual Data

Footnote number	Manuscripts number(s)	<i>Vorlage</i>
492	2, 26, 88	Cop
497	2, 16, 54, 59	Cop
520	48	Gk
529	2, 5, 16, 54, 59, 78, 88	Cop
531	4, 5, 16, 26, 36, 59	Cop, Sc, Ss, Sp, some Gk
551	2, 5, 6, 16, 24, 26, 31, 51, 54, 60, 65, 88, 92	Cop
	36, 96	Ss, Sp
555	36	Gk, Latin, Sy
559	2, 5, 16, 26, 54, 78, 92	Cop
560	36, 46, 48, 85, 86, 96	Gk, Sy, Latin
561	2, 92	Cop
563	48	C, D, Ψ majory text, (q), Sh
565	16, 36	Gk Ms 33 etc.
572	36	Ss, Sp
577	2, 16, 26, 36, 46, 48, 54, 85, 92, 96	Cop
586	36, 38, 41	Ss, Sp
587	5, 6, 7, 16, 31, 78, 88	Cop
588	2, 54	Cop
	36, 48	Gk, Sy
	92	Gk
592	26, 48	Gk, Sh
595	3, 10, 15, 20, 21, 22, 24, 28, 30, 36, 46, 61, 65, 85, 88	Ss, Sp
604	5, 26, 31, 46, 53, 54, 60, 65, 78, 85, 88	Cop

617	2, 5, 6, 16, 26, 50, 52, 54, 66, 78, 88, 92	Cop
	36	Ps
622	3, 5, 23, 26, 46, 48, 54, 65, 85, 88, 92	Gk, Cop
627	30	Gk $\Lambda$
632	36	Ss, Sp
633	36	Syr
641	2, 3, 5, 6, 13, 31, 41, 50, 51, 52, 54, 66, 78, 86, 88, 96	Cop, Gk
	4, 9, 12, 15, 19, 25, 34, 38, 42, 43, 44, 47, 49, 53, 55, 72, 73, 76, 81, 93	Sp
642	16, 26, 36, 48	Ss, Sp
647	2, 16	Cop
648	2, 3, 5, 6, 16, 26, 31, 36, 50, 52, 66, 78, 86, 88, 92, 96	Cop, Gk
	12, 22, 25, 38, 41, 44, 45, 47, 49, 51, 61, 93	Sp

## 6.4.6.5.2. Conclusion: John 6:30:35 and 18:17-26

6.4.6.5.2.1. Manuscripts Corrected against the Coptic *Vorlage*

Ms 2 = Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hunt. 17

Ms 5 = Vatican, Copt. 9

Ms 6 = BL, Or. 1315

Ms 16 = BL, Or. 426

Ms 26 = Vatican, Copt. 11

Ms 31 = Sinai, Ar. 68

Ms 54 = BL, Or. 1316

Ms 59 = Cambridge, University Library, Or. 643 (8)

Ms 65 = Vatican, Ar. 609

Ms 78 = Beirut, B.O., Or. 434

Ms 85 = Jerusalem, Orthodox Patr., Ar. 235

Ms 88 = BL, Or 1001

Ms 92 = BL, Or. 1317

Ms 96 = Vatican, Borg. Ar. 203

Amongst the fourteen manuscripts above, six are not Arabic-Coptic bilingual manuscripts.

6.4.6.5.2.2. Manuscripts Corrected against the Coptic or Greek *Vorlage*

Ms 3 = BnF, Copt. 16

Ms 50 = BnF, Ar. 144

Ms 51 = Jerusalem Orthodox Patr., Ar. 135

Ms 52 = BnF, Ar. 54

Ms 66 = BnF, Ar. 56

Ms 86 = Vatican, Borg. Ar. 48

6.4.6.5.2.3. Manuscripts Corrected against the Greek *Vorlage*

Ms 48 = Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. Or. 191

6.4.6.5.2.4. Manuscripts Corrected against the Peshitta *Vorlage*

Ms 12 = Leiden, University Library, Cod. 619 Warn

Ms 15 = Vatican, Copt. 8

Ms 22 = Vatican, Ar. 15

Ms 25 = Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Ms.

Ms 36 = Jerusalem, Orthodox Patr., Ar. 213

Ms 38 = Leiden, University Library, Cod. 255 Scaliger

Ms 41 = Birmingham, Mingana, Chr. Ar. Add. 271

Ms 44 = Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Or. 3 (12)

Ms 47 = Vatican, Sbath 121

Ms 49 = Vatican, Ar. 557

Ms 61 = Vatican, Ar. 559

Ms 93 = Leiden, University Library, Cod. 217 Scaliger

## 6.4.6.6. General Conclusion

A general survey of the variants versus the Greek, Syriac, Coptic and Latin witnesses shows that a number of manuscripts of family *k* were influenced by other versions, chiefly the Coptic Bohairic and Syriac Peshitta. This might indicate that family *k* was well received and widely circulated among the Coptic and Syriac speaking churches. There are traces of old Syriac and Latin influence but the extent of the influence is still to be ascertained. In addition, the test passages show that the Har-kean Syriac version has not been used for corrections. Surprisingly, the text seems to have been corrected slightly against the Greek. Since many variations agree with both Syriac and Greek, or Coptic and Greek, this conclusion must remain tentative. Codex Oxford, Bodleian

Library, Laud. Or. 191 is the only manuscript in this family to have been clearly influenced by a Greek source.

This exercise, with all its limitations, confirms the widespread use of family *k* and the context in which it circulated. Moreover, it demonstrates the possibility of a different approach to grouping the manuscripts of this version.

A number of significant issues still need to be investigated in this chapter including the influence of other Arabic translations on this version, the list of manuscripts not included in the ALAGM, and an analysis of the *Vorlage* behind the collated base.

What influence do the Arabic versions have on this family? Do some of the unit-variations reflect corrections made against other Arabic translations? We turn to investigate this issue in brief.

#### 6.4.7. The Unit-Variations versus other Arabic translations of the Gospels

I have conducted a linguistic comparison between the unit-variations in §12.11 and other Arabic Gospel versions in order to ascertain whether or not there is any influence on family *k* from other Arabic translations. The study reveals the following:

1. The test passages in Mark of manuscripts 5, 10, 46, 52, 74, 78, 85, 90, 92 are influenced by family *l*—the version of Ibn al-ʿAssāl.
2. The test passages in John of manuscripts 2, 5, 16, 23, 26, 36, 48, 50, 52, 54, 65, 66, 77, 78, 85, 92 are also influenced by family *l*.
3. In Matthew and Luke the case is different. The test passages do not show a certain relationship between the manuscripts of this family and Ibn al-ʿAssāl's version. One possible exception is manuscript 41 in Luke only.
4. Manuscript 36 might have been influenced by family *a*, *g* and/or *j*<sup>c</sup>.
5. Manuscript 48 might have been influenced by family *e* and/or *j*<sup>c</sup>.
6. The test passages in Matthew of manuscripts 8, 10, 18, 36, 48, 54, 62, 72, 73, 77, 84, 85, 86, 87, 96 might have possibly been influenced by one or more versions, chiefly families *a*, *g*, *h* and *j*<sup>b</sup>.

Many questions still remain to be answered. For example: Is there any influence of the Arabic Diatessaron, the Arabic Lectionaries, the commentary of Ibn al-Tayyib, or the Arabic manuscripts written in Karshuni script on this version (or vice versa)? A further question might be added: What conclusions would be reached if different test passages were studied; would we find more or different block mixture of texts? The answers to these questions are beyond the scope of this study.



The above case study is far from complete. It represents a tiny fragment of a huge project which still lies ahead for our discipline.

The major remaining question concerns the *Vorlage* of family *k*. It has always been believed that Coptic is the language behind this version. How true is this claim? Is there another *Vorlage* beside, or instead of, the Coptic? This will be discussed in section 6.6, but first, additional lists of manuscripts containing this version will be given.

## 6.5. Additional Lists of Manuscripts of Family *k*

The ninety-seven manuscripts of family *k* analyzed in this study are not the sole witnesses of this version. There are a number of manuscripts of this family not listed in the ALAGM, mainly because I was not able to extract test passages from them. The information about these manuscripts is taken from Graf's monumental work *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*,<sup>8</sup> as well as from his *Catalogue de manuscrits arabes chrétiens conservés au Caire*.<sup>9</sup> I have used the shelf-mark of these manuscripts and not the number given by Graf.<sup>10</sup> The word *Gospels* in the list below stands for the *Four Canonical Gospels*. The list is divided into two main sections: the AGM from the Coptic Museum in Cairo and the AGM from the Coptic Patriarchate in Cairo.

### 6.5.1. Manuscripts from the Coptic Museum in Cairo

Sigla	Ms Number	Date	Contents
<i>K</i> <sup>100</sup>	Copt. Mus., Bibl. 2	1795/6	Gospels
<i>K</i> <sup>101</sup>	Copt. Mus., Bibl. 7	14 <sup>th</sup>	Gospels
<i>k</i> <sup>102</sup>	Copt. Mus., Bibl. 8	1683	Gospels
<i>k</i> <sup>103</sup>	Copt. Mus., Bibl. 10A	1651	Gospels
<i>k</i> <sup>104</sup>	Copt. Mus., Bibl. 10B	1651	Gospels
<i>k</i> <sup>105</sup>	Copt. Mus., Bibl. 62	1783	Gospels
<i>k</i> <sup>106</sup>	Copt. Mus., Bibl. 75	1614	Gospels
<i>k</i> <sup>107</sup>	Copt. Mus., Bibl. 84	18 <sup>th</sup>	Jn 1:1-20:5
<i>k</i> <sup>108</sup>	Copt. Mus., Bibl. 93	1257	Gospels
<i>k</i> <sup>109</sup>	Copt. Mus., Bibl. 96	14 <sup>th</sup>	Mt

8 See Graf, *Geschichte*, 161.

9 See Graf, *Catalogue de manuscrits arabes chrétiens*.

10 For a concordance of these manuscripts see, Samir, *Tables de concordance*.

<i>k</i> <sup>110</sup>	Copt. Mus., Bibl. 97	1339/40	Jn
<i>k</i> <sup>111</sup>	Copt. Mus., Bibl. 90	1340	Gospels
<i>k</i> <sup>112</sup>	Copt. Mus., Bibl. 91	1203	Gospels
<i>k</i> <sup>113</sup>	Copt. Mus., Bibl. 99	1689	Gospels
<i>k</i> <sup>114</sup>	Copt. Mus., Bibl. 106	13 <sup>th</sup>	Gospels
<i>k</i> <sup>115</sup>	Copt. Mus., Bibl. 107	1705	Gospels
<i>k</i> <sup>116</sup>	Copt. Mus., Bibl. 108	17 <sup>th</sup>	Gospels (Fragments)

## 6.5.2. Manuscripts from the Coptic Patriarchate in Cairo

Sigla	Ms Number	Date	Contents
<i>k</i> <sup>117</sup>	Copt. Patr., Bibl. 93	1804	Gospels
<i>k</i> <sup>118</sup>	Copt. Patr., Bibl. 99	1795	Mt and Mk
<i>k</i> <sup>119</sup>	Copt. Patr., Bibl. 100	1832	Mt
<i>k</i> <sup>120</sup>	Copt. Patr., Bibl. 101	18 <sup>th</sup>	Mt
<i>k</i> <sup>121</sup>	Copt. Patr., Bibl. 102	19 <sup>th</sup>	Mt and a fragment from Mk
<i>k</i> <sup>122</sup>	Copt. Patr., Bibl. 104	1802	Mt and Mk
<i>k</i> <sup>123</sup>	Copt. Patr., Bibl. 105	1796	Lk and Jn
<i>k</i> <sup>124</sup>	Copt. Patr., Bibl. 106	13 <sup>th</sup>	Lk
<i>k</i> <sup>125</sup>	Copt. Patr., Bibl. 107	1803	Lk and Jn
<i>k</i> <sup>126</sup>	Copt. Patr., Bibl. 108	18 <sup>th</sup>	Jn
<i>k</i> <sup>127</sup>	Copt. Patr., Bibl. 109	1811	Mk
<i>k</i> <sup>128</sup>	Copt. Patr., Bibl. 110	1826	Lk and Jn
<i>k</i> <sup>129</sup>	Copt. Patr., Bibl. 111	18/19 <sup>th</sup>	Lk and Jn
<i>k</i> <sup>130</sup>	Copt. Patr., Bibl. 112	1819	Lk and Jn
<i>k</i> <sup>131</sup>	Copt. Patr., Bibl. 113	19 <sup>th</sup>	Mt
<i>k</i> <sup>132</sup>	Copt. Patr., Bibl. 114	19 <sup>th</sup>	Mk
<i>k</i> <sup>133</sup>	Copt. Patr., Bibl. 115	18 <sup>th</sup>	Lk
<i>k</i> <sup>134</sup>	Copt. Patr., Bibl. 117	1400	Gospels
<i>k</i> <sup>135</sup>	Copt. Patr., Bibl. 122	19 <sup>th</sup>	Gospels
<i>k</i> <sup>136</sup>	Copt. Patr., Bibl. 130	13 <sup>th</sup>	Lk
<i>k</i> <sup>137</sup>	Copt. Patr., Bibl. 131	18/19 <sup>th</sup>	Mt
<i>k</i> <sup>138</sup>	Copt. Patr., Bibl. 132	18 <sup>th</sup>	Mk
<i>k</i> <sup>139</sup>	Copt. Patr., Bibl. 133	18 <sup>th</sup>	Mt
<i>k</i> <sup>140</sup>	Copt. Patr., Bibl. 137	1810	Gospels
<i>k</i> <sup>141</sup>	Copt. Patr., Bibl. 196	1291	Gospels

## 6.5.3. Miscellaneous Manuscripts

There is another list of manuscripts from various libraries which are not included in this study. Two are mentioned by Samir and a few by Graf and placed among the manuscripts of the Alexandrian Vulgate. They are:

1. Beirut, Family of Buṭrus Tayyān (13<sup>th</sup>).<sup>11</sup>
2. Mardin, location unknown (15<sup>th</sup>).<sup>12</sup>
3. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Copt. 191 and 396<sup>13</sup>.<sup>14</sup>
4. Washington, Samml. Adler Nr. 18 (18<sup>th</sup>).
5. Manchester, Manchester University, Ar. 1 (about the 1300? A.D.).
6. Dresden, Dresden University, Or. 9.
7. Göttingen, Göttingen University, Ar. 102 (1786 A.D.).
8. Tübingen, Tübingen University, Ar. 202 (14/15<sup>th</sup>).
9. St. Petersburg, National Library, Or. 2 (13<sup>th</sup>).
10. Mardin Ar. 85 (1720 A.D.) and Mardin Ar. 606.
11. Aleppo, Sbath 777 (1697 A.D.), 834 (1721 A.D.), 966 (17<sup>th</sup>). 967 (16<sup>th</sup>), 1013,2 (18<sup>th</sup>), 1109 (16<sup>th</sup>), and Fihris 388 and 391.
12. Lebanon, Sherfeh Ar. 2/8.
13. One manuscript in „Jerusalem, in der Kopt. Kirche des hl. Georg“ from the 13/14<sup>th</sup> century.
14. BnF, Coisl. 239 (Suppl. Ar. 27).<sup>15</sup>
15. Vienna, National Library, Mxt. 514 (Fragment from the 13<sup>th</sup> century).

Finally, it is worth noting that the text of the Walton's London Polyglot (printed in 1657)<sup>16</sup> is closer to manuscripts *k*<sup>52</sup> and *k*<sup>66</sup> than any other manuscripts are. Now we turn to examine the *Vorlage* of family *k*.

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11 On this manuscript see Cheikho, "Ingīl 'arabī Qadīm," *Al-Mashriq* 6 (1903): 238; Samir, "Ibn al-'Assāl," 462-3 and 518-9.

12 On this manuscript see Cheikho, "Nisakh 'arabiyyah," 107-8; Cheikho "Ingīl 'arabī Qadīm," 238; Graf, *Geschichte*, 161; Samir, "Ibn al-'Assāl," 478-9; 506, 518-9. This manuscript also contains the text of the Alexandrian Vulgate and not of Ibn al-'Assāl.

13 When I visited the *Staatsbibliothek* in Berlin in 2005 these two manuscripts were not found.

14 The manuscripts listed in number 3-13 are from Graf, *Geschichte*, 156-7, 160-162.

15 See §3.12.2.

16 *Biblia S Polyglotta, Bibliorum Sacrorum tomus quintus: Sive Novum d.n. Jesu Christi Testamentum*, 1657.

## 6.6. The *Vorlage*(n) of Family K

### 6.6.1. Introduction

Guidi was the first (although many followed him later<sup>17</sup>) to argue that the primitive text of the “Alexandrian Vulgate” (family *k*) is faithfully preserved in the Arabic-Coptic codex Vatican, Copt. 9. This primitive text was used as the base for an eclectic recension which assimilated Syriac and Greek variants. Thus, for Guidi the “Alexandrian Vulgate” was initially translated from the Coptic Bohairic, and only later did it assimilate Syriac and Greek variants and become an eclectic recension. This recension, according to Guidi, is the most universal version of all.<sup>18</sup>

Hence, the starting point in the examination of the *Vorlage* of this version is to check whether the Arabic text of Vatican, Copt. 9 follows the Coptic version faithfully. Surprisingly, the study below reveals that the Arabic text in the parallel column of Vatican, Copt. 9 is unlikely to have been *translated* from Coptic but *corrected*, though not thoroughly, against the parallel Coptic text.

For instance in John 1:18. Vatican, Copt. 9 reads الابن الوحيد<sup>19</sup> الذي في حضن ابيه هو نطق. The use of الابن الوحيد (the only Son) goes against the Coptic Bohairic tradition which consistently uses πῑμονογενης ὁ θεος (the only begotten God) which makes it unlikely that this version could have been translated from Coptic. In the margin the scribe writes الوحيد الاله to conform it to the Coptic in parallel. Thankfully, he did not replace the reading in the text but added his correction in the margin. This is one of many readings which clearly show that the scribe of Vatican, Copt. 9 is copying the Arabic text from an exemplar which is unlikely to have been translated from Coptic. Then he occasionally corrected it against the Coptic by adding variants in the margin or in the text. The above example refutes Guidi’s claim that Vatican, Copt. 9 is the primitive translation of the “Alexandrian Vulgate” from a Coptic Bohairic *Vorlage*. Therefore, the text of Vatican, Copt. 9 should not be considered as one of the leading witnesses of this version, as its text was heavily influenced by the Coptic text in parallel.<sup>20</sup>

17 Burkitt, “Arabic Versions,” 136-137, Graf, *Geschichte*, 157; Vööbus, *Early Versions*, 294.

18 Guidi, *Traduzioni*, 17, 22-23.

19 In the margin it is written الوحيد الاله.

20 See H. Kachouh, “The Arabic Versions of the Gospels: A Case Study of John 1.1 and 1.18,” in David Thomas, ed., *The Bible in Arab Christianity* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 9-36.

Another interesting variant to consider is Matthew 16:2-3. These two verses are omitted by most reliable Coptic Bohairic manuscripts.<sup>21</sup> Of the ninety-seven Arabic manuscripts examined only eight manuscripts omit verses 2-3 from the body of the text.

1. Manuscripts *k*<sup>3</sup> (1196 A.D.), *k*<sup>6</sup> (1208 A.D.), *k*<sup>18</sup> (1308 A.D.), *k*<sup>54</sup> (1663 A.D.), *k*<sup>92</sup> (1815 A.D.) omit the reading.
2. Manuscript *k*<sup>5</sup> (Vatican, Copt. 9 of 1204 A.D.) omit but in the margin it is written: "Greek but not in Coptic" followed by the two verses in Arabic:

رومي وليس في القبطي اذا كان المسا قلتم ان السما صاحبة لاحمرارها وبالغداة تقولون اليوم شتا لاحمرار جو السماء وتغييها ايها المراءون تعلمون تمييز وجه السما وايه هذا الزمان لا تعلمون الجيل

3. *k*<sup>15</sup> (13<sup>th</sup>): omit but in the margin it is written: "the Arabic adds:  
في العربي يزايد اذا كان المسا قلتم ان السما صاحبة لاحمرارها وقالغداة تقولون اليوم شتا لاحمرار جو السماء يعيوس ايها المراءين تعلمون تمييز ايه هذا الزمان
4. *k*<sup>88</sup> (18<sup>th</sup>) omit but in the margin it is written vertically on the left with highly probably the same hand:

لاحمرارها وبالغداة تقولون اليوم شتا لاحمرار جو السماء وغمامها يعيوس ايها المراءون تعلمون تميزون وجه السماء، وآيات هذا الزمان لا تعلمون الجيل الشرير

It is important to note that all eight manuscripts mentioned above are Coptic-Arabic codices. Not a single manuscript which only has the Arabic and not Coptic-Arabic text from the ninety-seven manuscripts of this version has omitted this reading.

Moreover, Vatican, Copt. 9 has omitted this reading but added it in the margin, with a note that this reading is found in Greek but not in Coptic. It is worth noting that the Arabic text in the margin is not the scribe's own translation from Greek but a copy from his Arabic exemplar; its text is more or less identical to that found in the other witnesses of this version.

Manuscript *k*<sup>15</sup> from the thirteenth century has omitted the reading but added it in the margin, with a note that the *Arabic text adds* (the scribe is referring here to his exemplar) and inserts the two verses in Arabic. This is another clear indicator that the scribe has omitted the Arabic text found in his exemplar.

Manuscript *k*<sup>88</sup> has the two verses in the margin and not in the body of the text. It is worth mentioning that he had in the Arabic text *وغمامها* (يعيوس + وغيامها) a conflation of readings.

Had this version been originally translated from Coptic, there should be at least one non-Coptic Arabic manuscript which omitted verses 2-3 of Matthew 16, but there is none. Additionally, when the text

21 See Horner, *The Coptic Version*, 136.

is added in the margin of the Coptic-Arabic manuscripts, it is evident that the Arabic text is not a fresh translation from Greek or Syriac but copied from the Arabic exemplar which the scribe is using for his manuscript.

Of the twenty-two Coptic manuscripts collated by Horner, only the following manuscripts contain the text of Matthew 16:2-3: Manuscripts A B<sup>c</sup> D<sub>4</sub> Δ<sub>1</sub><sup>c</sup> F<sub>1</sub><sup>c</sup> 2 Ε Θ<sup>c</sup> J<sub>1,2</sub> L O Hunt 18. It is worth noting that four of the manuscripts mentioned above have verses 2-3 added by the corrector, and among the manuscripts which have verses 2 and 3 inserted by the original hand (A D<sub>4</sub> F<sub>2</sub> Ε J<sub>1,2</sub> L O Hunt 18), at least five are Coptic-Arabic manuscripts (A D<sub>4</sub> F<sub>2</sub> Ε J<sub>1</sub> (and possibly J<sub>2</sub>) and possibly Hunt 18) which may indicate that the inclusion of verses 2 and 3 might have come from Arabic into Coptic and not vice versa.

The above examples make it clear that one should not approach this version with the presupposition that it was originally translated from Coptic. It is true that this version is repeatedly copied in Coptic-Arabic manuscripts, but this does not argue in favour of a Coptic *Vorlage*.

The study of the *Vorlage* of family *k* will concentrate on two exercises: The first will focus on a selection of readings from the four Gospels and the second will examine the text of the eight test passages (with Sinai, Ar. 101 as the representative manuscript). In the first exercise, the variants are randomly chosen, although I tried to avoid readings which might converge coincidentally. In the second exercise I have studied the *Vorlage* of this version in the light of other Arabic versions. In this way, we may be better able to evaluate the readings when they are compared with other Arabic variants from other families. Both exercises are found in appendix three, §§14.1, 2.

### 6.6.2. An Assessment of the Textual Variants of Sinai, Ar. 101

The representative manuscript of family *k* (i.e. Sinai, Ar. 101) seems to generally follow the Greek. Some variants seem to indicate that a Syriac version originally lies under the Arabic text. It is possible that either this version was translated from Syriac and Greek at the same time, or translated from Syriac and later corrected against the Greek. The straightforward variants seem to follow the Greek and not Syriac.

However, there are a number of readings which might indicate that initially this version was translated from Syriac.<sup>22</sup>

To make this textual issue more complicated, there seem to be four variants which only follow the Coptic Bohairic version.<sup>23</sup> On the other hand there are many readings which clearly disagree with the Coptic.<sup>24</sup>

The test passages above better argue for Syriac-Greek *Vorlagen*. It is more likely for the Syriac to be the primitive *Vorlage* of family *k* than vice-versa.

The second exercise (appendix three, §14.2) focuses on more than fifty verses from the four Gospels. Since the *Vorlage* of this version is still not clear, I have examined a range of variants, some of which support the Peshitta, old Syriac, Greek or the Coptic. In addition to the inclusion of the Arabic readings in this exercise (and the manuscripts which support the variants in question), I have occasionally inserted the Coptic text and additional comments about specific variants which will help in the evaluation of each variant.

The result of the second exercise is also inconclusive. All that can be said with some degree of certainty is that this Arabic version does not follow the Coptic Bohairic version (especially early non-bilingual manuscripts), and is, in general, a mixture of Peshitta and Greek readings. It appears that the Peshitta is the initial *Vorlage* and that later Greek (and rarely Coptic) variants were introduced to the text. In the case of bilingual Arabic Coptic manuscripts, both the Arabic and the Coptic have influenced one another. On the one hand, some Coptic variants were introduced to the Arabic text, and on the other hand, Arabic variants were added to the Coptic Bohairic version. Some of the Syriac readings found in the Coptic Bohairic text (of bilingual Coptic-Arabic manuscripts) seem to have entered the text through the medium of Arabic.

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22 See for instance in appendix three, §14.2 Matthew 16:3b%; 16:14c; Mark 13:9b\*; Luke 8:12&; Luke 8:13b&; John 6:30%; John 18:24\*; 18:25%; John 18:26a%; 18:26a&; 18:26b-27%.

23 The four variants are: (1) Mt 7:18 the singular ثمر instead of the plural. However, this variant could have emerged from a Syriac reading since the main variant between the singular and plural is the two "dots" above the word. (2) Mk 6:15b, the addition الاولين which seems to be only found in the Coptic Bohairic version (some witnesses of family *k* omit this reading) and also the Greek MS 64 and some Georgian MSS; (3) Luke 8:10b, the addition of يسمعون ولا which could have agreed with the Coptic coincidentally (see also families *a* and *i*); (4) Luke 15:12, the addition of the attached pronoun لاييه instead of الاب. The addition of the pronoun is common in Arabic Gospel manuscripts and does not necessarily follow the Coptic textually.

24 See for example Mark 6:16b; 6:20b; Luke 15:15\*; 15:17\*; John 18:20a\*; 18:23.

## 6.7. Conclusion

The *Vorlage* of family *k* is still unknown. There is no evidence that this version was originally translated from Coptic. Some of the copies were later corrected against the Coptic version especially the bilingual Coptic-Arabic manuscripts. Originally family *k* might have been either translated from Syriac and then revised against the Greek Byzantine text, or translated from Syriac and Greek simultaneously. This enterprise possibly took place in the ninth or tenth century. From the twelfth century onwards, this version gradually gained acceptance amongst the Copts in Egypt, and Coptic variants were introduced to its text. From the fourteenth century onwards, it became the Arabic Vulgate. However, between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, family *j*, which circulated mainly amongst the Melkite communities, was undoubtedly taking the lead.



## 7. The Grouping of Arabic Gospel Manuscripts of Coptic, Latin and Mixture *Vorlagen*, and Manuscripts edited from Arabic Lectionaries

### 7.1. Family L: Otherwise Known as Al-As'ad Ibn al-'Assāl's Version

#### 7.1.1. Introduction to the Witnesses of Family L

The article “La version arabe des évangiles d'al-As'ad Ibn al-'Assāl” by Samir makes any new description of this version superfluous.<sup>1</sup> Not only has Samir presented a scholarly review of this version, he has also briefly described, listed and examined thirty-one manuscripts which are supposed to belong to this family. Regrettably, his study was mainly based on secondary sources and not on the manuscripts themselves (with a few exceptions). He was not able to extract the same pericope (e.g. Matthew 1:18-25) from each of the thirty-one manuscripts, and in some cases not even a verse or two. Some of the manuscripts referred to in his work do not contain the text of Ibn al-'Assāl but instead contain the “Alexandrian Vulgate” (family *k*). Samir recognized this in some cases but was misled in others, mainly because he relied on secondary sources and had no access to the texts of these manuscripts.

In the light of this study, I can confirm that of the thirty-one manuscripts at least nine do not contain the version of Ibn al-'Assāl and thirteen manuscripts may or may not contain the version of Ibn al-'Assāl since I was not able to extract passages and study them. Here is a list of the manuscripts mentioned by Samir, each followed by a brief comment.

1. The first manuscript is from Sbath *Fihris* 67.<sup>2</sup> This manuscript once belonged to Constantin Hudarī, a Greek Catholic priest from Aleppo. This manuscript seems to be lost and no text is extracted

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1 See §2.9.4 above.

2 See Samir, “Ibn al-'Assāl,” 457.

from the manuscript to ascertain whether it contains the text of Ibn al-'Assāl or not.

2. The second is Amsterdam, University Library 185 (Or. 2792). Samir learned about this manuscript from de Goeje's catalogue,<sup>3</sup> without providing any test passages from this codex. With some assistance, I was able to detect the present shelf mark of this manuscript, III G29.<sup>4</sup> It contains the version of the Alexandrian Vulgate and not Ibn al-'Assāl.
3. The third manuscript in Samir's list was previously identified by Cheikho. It comes from the Greek Catholic Patriarchate in 'Ayn Trāz. Cheikho did not extract any passage from this manuscript. According to Nasrallah this codex seems to be lost today,<sup>5</sup> therefore we cannot be certain of its contents.
4. The fourth manuscript is Beirut, B.O., Or. 433. It contains the text of the Alexandrian Vulgate and not Ibn al-'Assāl.<sup>6</sup>
5. The fifth manuscript is Beirut, B.O., Or. 434. Samir rightly argues that it contains the text of the Alexandrian Vulgate and not Ibn al-'Assāl's version.<sup>7</sup>
6. The sixth manuscript is from the library of Ibrāhīm ibn Bishārah al-Hūrī in Beirut, Lebanon. This manuscript contains Ibn al-'Assāl's version and is collated in §7.1.2.
7. The seventh manuscript is also a private manuscript which belongs to the heirs of Buṭrus Tayyān in Beirut, Lebanon. Samir rightly observes that it contains the Alexandrian version and not Ibn al-'Assāl's.
8. The eighth to seventeenth manuscripts are: Cairo, Franciscan Museum 13; Cairo, Coptic Museum, Bible 62, 90; Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate, Bible 119, 120, 126, 197, 207; Jerusalem, Dayr Mār Girgis of the Copts, 1 and 2. These ten manuscripts are located in places which I have not visited and thus excluded from this study. Samir did not extract test passages from these manuscripts and thus one cannot be certain of their contents.

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3 Ibid.

4 Thanks to the curator at the University Library in Amsterdam who helped me prepare a concordance of the following manuscripts. Numbers according to Goeje's catalogues: 2788, 2789, 2790, 2791, 2792, 2793, 2794 and 2795 have the following shelf marks respectively VI E 10, III A 16, B c 2-6, III H 25, III G 29, III E 20, III E 19, III D25a.

5 Samir, "Ibn al-'Assāl," 459.

6 As correctly noted by Father Samir, see Samir, "Ibn al-'Assāl," 548.

7 Ibid., 548-9.

9. The eighteenth to twentieth manuscripts are: Jerusalem, Orthodox Patr., Ar. 36, 194 and 220. These three manuscripts, however, contain the Alexandrian Vulgate and not Ibn al-'Assāl's.
10. The twenty-first manuscript is Leiden, University Library, Cod. 223 Scaliger; it contains Ibn al-'Assāl's version and is collated below.
11. The twenty-second manuscript is BL, Or. 1327 and Samir claims that it is an intermediate text between the Alexandrian Vulgate and Ibn al-'Assāl's.<sup>8</sup> It certainly has the text of the Alexandrian Vulgate and has the sigla *k*<sup>21</sup> in this study.
12. The twenty-third manuscript is BL, Or. 3382; it contains Ibn al-'Assāl's version.
13. The twenty-fourth manuscript is a manuscript examined by L. Cheikho in Mardin; its location is unknown today. The texts of Mt. 1: 18-25 and Jn 1: 1-14 show that it contained the Alexandrian Vulgate and not Ibn al-'Assāl's version.
14. The twenty-fifth to thirty-first manuscripts are: Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, C. 47 Inf.; Bodleian Library, Arch. Seld. A. 68, and Huntington 118; Saint-Petersburg, Institut Norodov Azii, B 1214; Vatican, Ar. 610; Vatican, Copt. 10; Vatican, Sbath 776. All these manuscripts except the Saint-Petersburg's manuscript are Ibn al-'Assāl's version and are collated below. No text was extracted from St. Petersburg's manuscript and hence, one cannot be certain of its contents.

In summary, from the thirty-one manuscripts presented by Samir, two manuscripts are probably lost today (no. 1 and 2 above); eleven have not been collated in this study (no. 8 (10 mss.) and no. 14 (1 ms.) above) and thus I am uncertain of their contents; nine manuscripts contain the Alexandrian Vulgate; and nine manuscripts definitely contain Ibn al-'Assāl's version.

In addition to the nine manuscripts of this version mentioned by Samir, I was able to detect another six of the same family (total of fifteen). Test passages from each of the fifteen manuscripts are collated in appendix one, §12.12. Other libraries, particularly in the Orient, might show the existence of a number of manuscripts of this version.

### 7.1.2. A Table of the Witnesses of Family L

As mentioned earlier, test passages from fifteen manuscripts are collated in this family. The table below shows the manuscript number, the

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

sigla assigned to each manuscript, the Biblical passages collated and the date for each manuscript (except the manuscript of Ibrāhīm ibn Bishārah al-Ḥūrī and Vatican, Sbath 1035, which are treated separately). Codex BL, Or. 3382 will be the collated base. It is the most quoted by scholars and the second earliest surviving copy. The rest of the manuscripts are listed in no specific order. The numbers with asterisks show that the manuscripts have a critical apparatus and marginal notes to the text (on this see below).

Sigla	Ms Number	Passages collated	Date
<i>l</i> <sup>1*</sup>	BL, Or. 3382	TP	1264 A.D.
<i>l</i> <sup>2</sup>	BL, Add. 5995	TP	1474 A.D.
<i>l</i> <sup>3</sup>	BL, Or. 1326	TP	1585/7 A.D.
<i>l</i> <sup>4</sup>	Cambridge, University Library, Add. 1860	TP	13 <sup>th</sup>
<i>l</i> <sup>5</sup>	Leiden, University Library, Cod. 223 Scaliger	The TP excluding John 18:19-27 <sup>9</sup>	1500
<i>l</i> <sup>6</sup>	Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, C. 47 Inf. (Or. 84)	TP	1280 A.D.
<i>l</i> <sup>7</sup>	BnF, Copt. 14	TP	14 <sup>th</sup>
<i>l</i> <sup>8</sup>	BnF, Copt. 14A	TP	1593 A.D.
<i>l</i> <sup>9*</sup>	Vatican, Sbath 776	Mt 7:15-20; Mt 16:1-4; Mk 6:14-20; Mk 13:5-11	19 <sup>th</sup>
<i>l</i> <sup>10</sup>	Vatican, Copt. 10	TP	13/14 <sup>th</sup>
<i>l</i> <sup>11</sup>	Vatican, Ar. 610	TP	1291 A.D.
<i>l</i> <sup>12</sup>	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Arch. Seld. A. 68	TP	1285 A.D.
<i>l</i> <sup>13*</sup>	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hunt. 118	TP	1259/60 A.D.

### 7.1.3. A Description of the Translation Technique in Ibn al-'Assāl's Version, with a Focus on Codex BL, Or. 3382

Scholars in the past have given particular attention to codex BL, Or. 3382 and their information will not be repeated here.<sup>10</sup> The colophon

<sup>9</sup> John 18:19-27 starts on folio 170r. Folios 169-175 are written by another and much later hand and contain the Alexandrian Vulgate (Family *k*).

indicates that this manuscript was copied by Gabriel on January 5, 1265 A.D. from a work originally prepared by a prominent literary figure of the time, Abū-l-Faraj Hibat Allāh Ibn al-ʿAssāl.<sup>11</sup> Ibn al-ʿAssāl's recension came into existence in the midst of a religious and literary renaissance among the Christians of Egypt in the thirteenth century. At this time few Copts understood Coptic, and the Coptic Bible was inadequate for their needs. According to Ibn al-ʿAssāl, there were numerous Arabic versions in circulation at that time, some of which must have come from Palestine and Syria, but they were discordant and untrustworthy. As a result, Ibn al-ʿAssāl was asked to prepare a standard Arabic text of the Gospels in 1252/3 A.D. for use among the Egyptian community. Ibn al-ʿAssāl pointed out in the introduction that the first thing he did was to seek diligently for an Arabic codex that predated the rise of Islam (before the seventh century), "that it might be derived from that with which the Apostles had preached the Gospel in Arabic to the Arabs," but he did not find any. Consequently, he decided to make his own Arabic translation from the Coptic version, which he considered the most trustworthy of the versions. But since he found himself inadequate for such a high task he gathered a number of Arabic and Coptic manuscripts of the Gospels and out of these built up his own version. Whenever the Arabic versions disagreed among themselves in a specific reading, Ibn al-ʿAssāl returned to his Coptic manuscript laid on his desk to ascertain which one was the authentic reading. According to Ibn al-ʿAssāl, the Coptic text was the final authority and the criterion to evaluate variant readings.

Moreover, in the margin (and occasionally between the lines), he placed some important variants which he found in his Arabic manuscripts. In other words the body of the text represents the authentic readings, and the apparatus in the margin shows the variant readings. In addition to this, he created twenty-eight signs for his elaborated apparatus to help the reader identify the Vorlage of a specific variant,<sup>12</sup>

10 See the review in Samir, "Ibn al-ʿAssāl," 477-8, and most importantly Bailey, "Ibn Al-ʿassāl," 11-26 and Macdonald, "Ibn al-ʿAssāl's Arabic Version," 375-392. For a codicological description of the manuscript, see the ALAGM.

11 According to BL, Or. 3382, fol. 385v, his full name is: Abu al-Faraj Hibat Allāh Ibn Abū al-Mufaḍḍal Asʿad Ibn Abū Ishāq Ibrahīm Ibn Abū al-Sahl Jirjis Ibn Abū al-Bishr Yuḥannā ibn al-ʿAssāl.

12 For example: For the Coptic he gave the sign ڤ; for the Arabic manuscripts translated from the Greek he gave the letter م; for those translated from the Syriac he gave the letter س; for the agreement of Coptic, Greek and Syriac the sigla قسر; the Coptic and Syriac against the Greek he gave the sign قس or سق; for Coptic and Greek = ق; some of the Coptic = ع; some of the Syriac = عس; some of the Greek = عر; omitted in the Coptic = فلا; omitted in the Greek = ملا; omitted in the Syriac = سلا; only in Coptic =

and he occasionally added Coptic words above the line to refer back to his authority.

One of the main areas in which this study contributes to the study of Ibn al-'Assāl's version, is by ascertaining which Arabic versions he used in the preparation of his recension. This is only possible after grouping and classifying the AGM, which are the chief concerns of this study. I will return to the Arabic versions behind Ibn al-'Assāl's recension after assessing the collation of the test passages.

#### 7.1.4. The Eight Test Passages and the Relationship between the Witnesses

##### 7.1.4.1. Introduction

The test passages of the thirteen manuscripts listed above, with a critical apparatus, are found in appendix one, §12.12.1. In addition, two manuscripts might be added to this family. They are Beirut, Library Ibrāhīm ibn Bishārah al-Ḥūrī copied in 1323 A.D. (which takes the sigla *l*<sup>14</sup>), and Vatican, Sbath 1035 copied in 1683/4 A.D. (*l*<sup>15</sup>). One passage from each of these two manuscripts is collated against *l*<sup>1</sup> (BL, Or. 3382) and are found in appendix one, §12.12.2.

The collation not only helps us group the manuscripts into one family but also sheds some light on the relationship between the members of the family.

##### 7.1.4.2. The Relationship between the Various Members of the Family

The apparatus in appendix one, §12.12.1 shows that the degree of relationship between the manuscripts varies; because of this, manuscripts can be divided into three provisional<sup>13</sup> subgroups. In each group below the manuscripts are listed in chronological order.

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قط; only in Syriac = سبط; only in Greek = مط; Greek and some of the Coptic = معق; Coptic and some of the Greek = قعر etc. (The list of the sigla, as well as the introduction of Ibn al-'Assāl's version, was transcribed, translated and published by D. B. Macdonald. See Macdonald, "Ibn al-'Assāl's Arabic Version," 375-392.

13 It is a provisional subgrouping because more passages need to be collated to better ascertain the relationship between the manuscripts.

7.1.4.2.1. Family 1<sup>a</sup>

There are seven manuscripts in this subgroup:

Sigla	Shelf-Mark	Date
<i>l</i> <sup>a13</sup>	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hunt. 118	1259 A.D.
<i>l</i> <sup>a1</sup>	BL, Or. 3382	1264 A.D.
<i>l</i> <sup>a6</sup>	Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, C. 47 Inf. (Or. 84)	1280 A.D.
<i>l</i> <sup>a12</sup>	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Arch. Seld. A. 68	1285 A.D.
<i>l</i> <sup>a5</sup>	Leiden, University Library, Cod. 223 Scaliger	1500 A.D.
<i>l</i> <sup>a3</sup>	BL, Or. 1326	1585/7 A.D.
<i>l</i> <sup>a9</sup>	Vatican, Sbath 776	19 <sup>th</sup> century

7.1.4.2.2. Family 1<sup>b</sup>

There are two manuscripts in this subgroup:

Sigla	Shelf-Mark	Date
<i>l</i> <sup>b4</sup>	Cambridge, University Library, Add. 1860	2 <sup>nd</sup> half of the 13 <sup>th</sup> century
<i>l</i> <sup>b11</sup>	Vatican, Ar. 610	1291 A.D.

7.1.4.2.3. Family 1<sup>c</sup>

There are four manuscripts in this subgroup:

Sigla	Shelf-Mark	Date
<i>l</i> <sup>c10</sup>	Vatican, Copt. 10	2 <sup>nd</sup> half of the 13 <sup>th</sup> century
<i>l</i> <sup>c7</sup>	BnF, Copt. 14	14 <sup>th</sup> century
<i>l</i> <sup>c2</sup>	BL, Add. 5995	1474 A.D.
<i>l</i> <sup>c8</sup>	BnF, Copt 14A	1593 A.D.

There are still two manuscripts unallocated here: codices *l*<sup>14</sup> and *l*<sup>15</sup>. Since I only had access to John 21:14-19a of manuscript *l*<sup>14</sup> and John 20:19-23 of *l*<sup>15</sup>, it was not possible to allocate them into subgroups.

The apparatus above seems to show that the best two representatives of this family are manuscripts *l*<sup>a13</sup> copied in 1259/60 A.D and *l*<sup>a1</sup>

copied four years later. Any attempt to reconstruct the archetype of family *l* should primarily take these two manuscripts into consideration.

Moreover, *l*<sup>a13</sup> and *l*<sup>a1</sup> (in addition to *l*<sup>a9</sup> of the nineteenth century) are the only manuscripts which contain the full apparatus in the margin. The significance of *l*<sup>a13</sup> lies not only in the fact that it is the earliest extant manuscript of this family, but also that it was copied directly from the autograph of Ibn al-'Assāl. The colophon on folio 251v of manuscript *l*<sup>a13</sup> states that this manuscript was copied from a manuscript by the hand of "al-As'ad" in year 1252/3 A. D. (969 of the Martyrs). According to Ibn al-'Assāl, stated at the end of the Gospels in codex *l*<sup>a1</sup>, he was asked to prepare this recension in year 969 of the Martyrs (A.D. 1252/3) (see BL, Or. 3382 folio 287v). Manuscript *l*<sup>a13</sup> is not only the closest chronologically but also a direct copy of the archetype.<sup>14</sup> All three subgroups emerged in the second half of the thirteenth century and not later.

This family deserves more attention in the future. Ibn al-'Assāl's explanation of his methodology for preparing his recension, has not received sufficient study. The thousands of variants inserted in the margin have never been examined closely. I have tried below to ascertain which Arabic versions Ibn al-'Assāl used for his recension and if any of these versions is represented among the families of this study.

### 7.1.5. The Arabic Versions Used by Ibn Al-'assāl in the Preparation of His Recension

#### 7.1.5.1. Introduction

It is clear from Ibn al-'Assāl's account, that this version is an eclectic recension corrected against the Coptic version. A comparison between the Arabic text of this family and the Coptic Bohairic version supports this account: the Arabic text follows closely, and sometimes literally, the Coptic Bohairic version. What interests us here are the Arabic versions behind his recension. Which Arabic translations did Ibn al-'Assāl use in preparing this version? Which families among the families examined in this study were in circulation in Egypt in the thirteenth century? Are the variants placed in the margin of the version able to help us in this respect? To this we turn now.

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14 If both accounts are correct, this means that it did not take Ibn al-'Assāl more than a year to prepare his recension.



I shall first refer to any valuable information about these manuscripts mentioned by Ibn al-'Assāl in his introduction and then compare variants from the margins of codex *l*<sup>a1</sup> with the collations of families *a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, j, k, m, n, o, p, q* and *r* and see if any of the readings in the above families match the variants in the margin of *l*<sup>a1</sup>. I shall concentrate on a selection of variants mainly from the eight test passages.

#### 7.1.5.2. What does the Introduction tell us about these Arabic versions?

After presenting and explaining the symbols used in his apparatus, Ibn al-'Assāl gives a concise list of the manuscripts which he made use of in his recension. The list can be grouped as the following:

##### 1. Arabic Sources

###### a. Manuscript a (four Gospels of a Greek Origin)

A Bilingual Arabic-Greek manuscript of the four Gospels copied in 438 A.H (1060 A.D.). It is the translation from Greek by Theophilus Ibn Tafayl of Damascus, the bishop of Egypt.

###### b. Manuscript b (four Gospels of a Greek Origin)

An Arabic codex of the four Gospels translated from Greek by the same scribe of manuscript *a* dated 591 A.H. (1213 A.D.)

###### c. Manuscript c (Gospels of Matthew and Luke of a Syriac Origin)

This manuscript contains the Gospels of Matthew and Luke in Arabic with, according to Ibn al-'Assāl, a commentary by Bashīr ibn al-Sirī. It is a very old codex and has no date. Ibn al-'Assāl notes that in Luke its text is very close to the manuscript translated from Greek. It is not clear from Ibn al-'Assāl's account whether the two Gospels were from one codex or two separate codices.

###### d. Manuscript d (Gospels of Matthew and John of a Syriac Origin)

This codex contains Matthew and John in Arabic with a commentary by Abu al-Faraj Ibn al-Ṭayyib. It is translated from Syriac. It is not clear whether Matthew and John were two separate codices of Ibn al-Ṭayyib's version or one codex.

###### e. Manuscript e (Gospels of Mark, Luke and John of a Syriac Origin)

This codex contains Mark, Luke and John in Arabic translated from Syriac by an anonymous scribe. It is not clear if they were three independent codices (Mark, Luke and John) of the same translation or whether they were just one codex. In any case, they all contain the same translation.

2. Coptic Sources<sup>15</sup>

## a. Manuscript f (four Gospels of a Coptic Origin)

This Coptic codex was copied by Stephen Ibn Ibrahīm, a student of Abu a-Faraj, the monk Damnahūr. It is dated 921 of the Martyrs (1204/5 A.D.). Ibn al-'Assāl points out that this manuscript is collated against an ancient codex which was in Jerusalem and that he relied on this manuscript in the preparation of his version.

## b. Manuscript g (Gospel of Luke of a Coptic Origin)

This codex contains the Gospel of Luke in Coptic and was copied by Macarius the Monk. It has a lacuna at the beginning.

## c. Manuscript h (Gospel of John of a Coptic Origin)

This codex contains the Gospel of John in Coptic and was copied by Gabriel the Priest.

The above list represents the five manuscripts (or, less likely, seven if manuscript *e* is considered three different codices) in Arabic and three in Coptic which Ibn al-'Assāl used in preparing his recension.<sup>16</sup> Two of the Arabic manuscripts contain a commentary interspersed with the Gospel text (manuscript *c* and *d*). This category of manuscripts is excluded from this study, as this study is mainly concerned with the AGM of a continuous text.

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15 There has been a debate in the past over whether Ibn al-'Assāl used a *Coptic source* or an *Arabic source* translated from Coptic in preparing his recension. This debate is reflected upon in Bailey's article "Ibn Al-'assāl," 14-15. Any careful reading of the introduction of Ibn al-'Assāl (and not the English translation of Duncan B. Macdonald which brought in all the confusion!) on folios 383v-385r of codex BL, Or. 3382 shows with a high degree of certainty that in the case of the Coptic manuscripts, as opposed to the Greek and Syriac, Ibn al-'Assāl relied on a Coptic text and not an Arabic text translated from Coptic. In this we are totally agreeing with Bailey's argument. However, the controversy, which Bailey failed to address, is between Ibn al-'Assāl's introduction and the marginal notes in his text. Although Ibn al-'Assāl made it clear that he was using a Coptic source and not an Arabic source translated from Coptic, in the margins we see otherwise: he gives the sigla Ⲛ (for Coptic) and he inserts an Arabic word or even a phrase. This is where the controversy lies. Would it be possible that he was using an Arabic-Coptic manuscript? If so why did he not mention it in his introduction?

16 In addition to the versions above, Ibn al-'Assāl mentioned that he has seen two copies of the Psalms and both in three columns (Coptic, Greek, Arabic and the second Syriac, Greek, Arabic). This may be of some interest for scholars working on polyglot manuscripts of the Old Testament.

### 7.1.5.3. A Comparative Study of the Variants as Found in the Margin of I<sup>a1</sup>

In his introduction, Ibn al-'Assāl made it clear that, because of his limited knowledge of languages, he had to rely on other translations to assist him in the preparation of his recension. Moreover, he clearly stated that the manuscripts available to him had textual variants. His critical apparatus inserted in the margin shows this adequately. What can these variants tell us about these versions? Have the Arabic versions used by Ibn al-'Assāl survived to the present? Are they included among the manuscripts examined in this study? The table below gives the biblical reference, the sigla given by Ibn al-'Assāl before inserting the variants, the variants as found in the margin of I<sup>a1</sup>, and its equivalent reading in one of the manuscripts of this study:

Matthew 7:15-20 and 16:1-4

Text	Sigla	The Variants	The Manuscript which has the same reading
Mt 7:15	ق Coptic (manuscript f)	تحفظوا	None
Mt 7:16	قس Coptic and Syriac	لعله يجمع	None
Mt 7:16	سر Greek and Syriac	حسك in the first clause	None of the manuscripts read حسك in the first clause, but <i>family a, b, d, j<sup>A</sup>, j<sup>C</sup></i> read الحسك in the second clause
Mt 16:1	No sigla	الاحبار والمعتزله	None
Mt 16:2	ق for Coptic (manuscript f)	اذا كان العشيات قلتم ان السما مصحيه لاحمرارها	The majority manuscripts of family <i>k</i> read similarly with one variant: اذا كان المساء قلتم ان السما مصحيه لاحمرارها
Mt 16:3	عس some of the Syriac	لان حمرة السما كمده	None
Mt 16:3	No Sigla	لان السما احمرت بعيوس	<i>k</i> <sup>48</sup> , <i>g</i> <sup>5</sup> , read لان السما محمرت بعيوس <i>J</i> <sup>b36</sup> reads لان السما محمرت بعيوس

## Mark 6:14-20 and 13:5-11

Text	Sigla	The Variants	The Ms/Family which has the same reading
Mk 6:14	No sigla	فبلغ	$h, j^A, j^B, j^C, m$
Mk 6:14	س Syriac (Ms <i>e</i> )	بخبر يشوع	$g^5$
Mk 16:14	مي Greek (Mss <i>a, b</i> )	صار ظاهر	$j^A, j^B, j^C$
Mk 16:14	س Syriac (Ms <i>e</i> )	قد عرف عنده	$g^5$
Mk 6:14	مي Greek (Mss <i>a, b</i> )	يجترح به القوى	$j^A j^B$ (some mss) and $j^C$ read similarly but transpose القوى. They read القوى يجترح به
Mk 6:14	س Syriac (Ms <i>e</i> )	تجری علی یده الجرایح	$g^5$
Mk 6:16	No sigla	قطعت راسه وهو قام من بين الاموات	$g^5$
Mk 6:16	مي Greek (Mss <i>a, b</i> )	قطعت عنقه	$k^{15}$ . Family <i>j</i> reads حسمت/قطعت انا راسه
Mk 6:17	مي Greek (Mss <i>a, b</i> )	وقيده	$j^{B36}$
Mk 6:17	س Syriac (Ms <i>e</i> )	وقذفه	$g^5, h$ and $k^8$
Mk 6:17	س Syriac (Ms <i>e</i> )	بسبب	$g^5$
Mk 6:17	مي Greek (Mss <i>a, b</i> )	زوجه	$i^1$
Mk 6:18	مي Greek (Mss <i>a, b</i> )	يجوز	$j^C$ (except $j^{C2,3}$ ) and $k^2$
Mk 6:19	مي Greek (Mss <i>a, b</i> )	فاحتفظ هيرودس ذلك a mistake for فاحتفظت هيروديا ذلك	$j^A$ (except $j^{A2,4}$ ) read فاحتفظها ذلك
Mk 6:19	س Syriac (Ms <i>e</i> )	تكن تقدر	$g^5$ and $k^8$
Mk 6:20	مي Greek (Mss <i>a, b</i> )	لعلمه	$k^8, 36, 46, 77, 85, 92, 96$ , family <i>n</i> and <i>o</i> .

Text	Sigla	The Variants	The Ms/Family which has the same reading
			$j^A$ has كان يعلم $j^{B,C}$ اذ علمه
Mk 6:20	Greek (Mss <i>a,b</i> )	واذ كان يسمع ما فعله كثيرا	$j^{A2,4}$
Mk 6:20	Greek (Mss <i>a,b</i> )	فباستماع كان يسمع له	$j^{A2}$ reads فباستماع كان يسمع
Mk 13:5	Syriac (Ms <i>e</i> )	لعل انسان يخذعكم	$g^5$
Mk 13:6	Greek (Mss <i>a,b</i> )	فيطغون/فيقطعون	Family <i>a</i> and <i>j</i>
Mk 13:6	Syriac (Ms <i>e</i> )	اناس كثيرين	$g^5$ reads ناس كثيرا
Mk 13:8	Syriac (Ms <i>e</i> )	موضع موضع	$g^5$ and <i>h</i>
Mk 13:9	Greek (Mss <i>a,b</i> )	تضربون	$b,c,j^{A,C}$ and most witnesses of <i>k</i>
Mk 13:9	Syriac (Ms <i>e</i> )	تجلدون	$g^5$
Mk 13:9-10	Syriac (Ms <i>e</i> )	لشهادتهم غير ان بشراي مزمعه ان يبشر بها	$g^5$
Mk 13:9-10	Greek (Mss <i>a,b</i> )	من اجل الشهاده لهم وينبغي ان ينادى بالانجيل	The majority of $j^B$
Mk 13:11	Coptic (Ms <i>f</i> )	فلا تتقدموا فتهتمون	$k^{2,7,10}$

## Luke 8:9-15 and 15:11-20

Text	Sigla	The Variants	The Ms/Family which has the same reading
Lk 8:9	some of the Greek	ما عسى ان يكون هذا	$j^A$
Lk 8:10	some of the Greek	لقد اعطيتم ان تعرفوا	Family <i>J</i> reads slightly differently لكم اعطى ان تعرفوا
Lk 8:10	Syriac	لكم وهب العلم	$g^5$
Lk 8:10	Some of the Syriac	كيما اذ يرون لا يبصرون واذا يسمعون لا يسمعون	$g^5$ reads كيما اذ يرون لا يرون واذا يسمعون لا يسمعون

Text	Sigla	The Variants	The Ms/Family which has the same reading
		يسمعون لا يفهمون	ويفهمون اذ يروا لا يبصروا <i>j</i> <sup>A</sup> reads واذ يسمعون لا يفهموا
Lk 8:10	Some of the Syriac	لكي الناظرون لا ينظرون والسامعون لا يفهمون	None
Lk 8:10	Some of the Greek	يبصرون ولا يبصرون ويسمعون ولا يسمعون	<i>j</i> <sup>A2</sup> reads يبصرون لا يبصروا واذ يسمعون لا يفهموا <i>j</i> <sup>B19</sup> reads ابصروا لا يسمعون يبصرون واذا سمعوا لا يسمعون
Lk 8:14	some of the Greek	وينطلقون فيختنقون من الهموم واليسار ولذات الدنيا فلا تكمل اثمارهم	<i>J</i> <sup>A</sup> reads: وينطلقون فيختنقون من الهموم وايسار <sup>17</sup> ولذات الدنيا فلا تكمل اثمارهم
Lk 8:14	No sigla	ومن الاهتمام والغنى والاوهام [بالعالم يذهب تزدهم] ولا تعطى كمالا	None
Lk 8:14	some of the Syriac	وهم في هموم الدنيا والغنى واللذات ذاهبون فيختنقون ولا يوتون ثمارا	None
Lk 8:14	No sigla	ومالهم والغنى وشهوات الدنيا يختنقون ولا يوتون ثمارا	<i>g</i> <sup>5</sup> reads: ومالهم والغنى بشهوات الدنيا يختنقون ولا يوتون ثمارا
Lk 15:13	some of the Syriac	لانه عاش [طربا]	None
Lk 15:16	Coptic	باطنه	None
Lk 15:17	some of the Greek	فرجع الى نفسه وقال	<i>k</i> <sup>46, 85, 92, 96</sup>
Lk 15:17	some of the Greek	فاقبل على نفسه وقال	<i>j</i> <sup>A3</sup>

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Text	Sigla	The Variants	The Ms/Family which has the same reading
Lk 15:17	No sigla	فلما رجع الى نفسه قال	g <sup>5</sup>
Lk 15:17	س Syriac	كم من الاجره الان في بيت ابي	g <sup>5</sup>
Lk 15:17	مي Greek	يفضل اجرا ابي من	j <sup>A</sup>

John 6:30-35 and 18:19-27

Text	Sigla	The Variants	The Ms/Family which has the same reading
Jn 6:32	عس some of the Syriac	المن	g <sup>5</sup>
Jn 6:32	عس some of the Syriac	خبز الصحه	None
Jn 6:32	مي Greek	الخبز الحقيقي	Family j
Jn 18:19	قط only Coptic	علمه	None
Jn 18:20	ق Coptic	كلمه	k <sup>54</sup>
Jn 18:20	عس some of the Syriac (probably a mistake for عر some of the Greek	فلم اكن اتكلم بشي سرا	j <sup>A</sup> (except 4)
Jn 18:20	عس some of the Syriac	وخفيه لم اخاطب ولا واحدا	None
Jn 18:20	No sigla	ولم اقل شيا في السر	None

#### 7.1.5.4. Conclusion

Among the five different Arabic versions (which we gave the sigla *a* to *e*) used by Ibn al-'Assāl, only three manuscripts have their texts represented in this study:

1. Manuscripts *a* and *b*: (according to Ibn al-'Assāl, they are translated from Greek). The text of these two manuscripts is similar but not

identical to family *j* (in the present study). Some of the readings agree with the subgroups *j*<sup>A</sup>, *j*<sup>B</sup> and *j*<sup>C</sup> (but chiefly *j*<sup>A</sup>).

2. Manuscript *e* (contains Mark, Luke and John of a Syriac origin): this manuscript is almost identical to manuscript *g*<sup>5</sup> (Beirut, B.O., Or. 430 of the nineteenth century). This manuscript is extensively quoted by Ibn al-'Assāl in his apparatus. This shows the importance of this codex and its antiquity, though only a nineteenth century codex has survived from it.
3. Manuscripts *c* and *d* are both with commentaries and their texts are not similar or close to any of the families examined in this study.
4. Manuscripts *f*, *g* and *h* are, according to the introduction written by Ibn al-'Assāl, Coptic codices and are not the subject of this study. However, there are some variants *in Arabic* which surprisingly have the sigla ⲓ for Coptic in the margin. They do not agree with any of the manuscripts examined in this study with the exception of a very few from family *k* from the sixteenth century and onwards.<sup>18</sup> If Ibn al-'Assāl was using a bilingual Coptic-Arabic manuscripts, which he failed to mention in his introduction, then the Arabic text he is using is unknown to us and is not represented in any of the manuscripts studied here.

#### 7.1.6. General Conclusion

Ibn al-'Assāl prepared an eclectic recension of the four Gospels sometime around 1253 A.D. His text follows the Coptic Bohairic version and the marginal notes are variants found in his Arabic sources of Greek and Syriac *Vorlagen*.

Scholars, such as Guidi, Macdonald, Bailey and Samir have given particular attention to this version. However, neither a full edition of this version nor an in-depth examination of the variants in the margin have yet been undertaken.

The test passages extracted from various manuscripts show that at least sixteen manuscripts contain the same text as this version and only three manuscripts contain the marginal notes of textual variants. Moreover, it was possible to group the manuscripts into three different subgroups and to show that the two codices *l*<sup>a13</sup> and *l*<sup>a1</sup> should be considered the main resources for reconstructing the text of this version, and *l*<sup>a13</sup> might be the leading manuscript. A colophon in the codex of *l*<sup>a13</sup>,

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<sup>18</sup> It is obvious that these manuscripts of family *k* were influenced by the marginal readings of Ibn al-'Assāl's version.



which does not appear to have been mentioned by previous scholars, shows that the exemplar of this manuscript is the autograph of this version. Finally, all three subgroups have at least one manuscript from the second half of the thirteenth century. This means that in less than fifty years the textual history of this version has already been split into three subgroups.

A further contribution is the discovery of a clear affinity between three Arabic versions used by Ibn al-'Assāl and some of the manuscripts examined in this study. The most important is between an Arabic manuscript (which contains the continuous text of Mark, Luke and John) of a Syriac origin and manuscript g<sup>5</sup> (Beirut, B.O., Or. 430) of the nineteenth century. This has some important implications for the possibly widespread circulation of codex Or. 430.

Finally, the marginal notes seem to indicate that occasionally Ibn al-'Assāl has made use of an Arabic text translated from Coptic (and not necessarily a Coptic source). Nothing is known about this text and none of the texts of the manuscripts of this study is similar to it.

Already at the beginning of the thirteenth century, a number of manuscripts of family *k* were given marginal notes of textual variants. This is especially true for Coptic-Arabic codices. One can recall codex Vatican, Copt. 9 as a good example in which a number of marginal notes added occasionally when the Arabic text differs from the Coptic in parallel can be found. This approach (of inserting marginal notes) might have inspired Ibn al-'Assāl in the preparation of his recension. However, the use of at least five Arabic and three Coptic manuscripts is an unprecedented and vigorous attempt in the Arab world. In addition, the very many readings inserted in the margins and between the lines have no parallel. Sadly, this masterpiece (at least, as we see it today) has in general been rejected by most communities of Christian faith. The fact that only fifteen manuscripts contain this version, and only three with the apparatus, (when about one-hundred and fifty are of the Alexandrian Vulgate) argue in favour of this failure. Was it too scholarly to be used in a church setting? It is possible, but why then has the text itself (excluding the textual apparatus) not been widely used? Were the Christians already familiar with the Alexandrian Vulgate, which by the thirteenth century had reached a more or less homogeneous status, and replacing it became almost impossible? This is also possible.

## 7.2. Family M: A Latin Origin

According to scholars such as Guidi, K. Römer, H. Goussen, Vööbus and Graf, the text of this family was translated from Latin by Ishāq ibn Balashk in 946 A.D.<sup>19</sup> Philippe Roisse's PhD thesis on this family will be thoroughly examining the textual and linguistic features of this version, with a transcription and a critical apparatus of the Gospel of Mark, therefore, I shall only list the witnesses represented in this family with the transcription of the test passages. I shall refrain from an elaborate examination of this family since it will be methodically examined by Roisse. We eagerly await the completion of his work.

### 7.2.1. A List with the Witnesses of Family M

The manuscripts which contain the text of family *m* are:

1. BL, Add. 9061
2. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Cod. 4971
3. Leipzig, University Library, Cod. Tischend. XXXI (Or. 1059B)
4. The Archive of the Cathedral of León, Cod. 35
5. Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Ar. 238
6. Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Ar. 234
7. Qarawiyyîne Library in Fes 730

### 7.2.2. The Test Passages of Codex BL, Add. 9061

Among the seven witnesses of this family, only Codex BL, Add. 9061 is mentioned in the ALAGM and collated below. The rest of the manuscripts are located in libraries, an examination of their collections goes beyond the limits of this study.

Codex BL, Add. 9061 has some lacunae in the text. Matthew 7:15-20 and 16:1-4; Mark 6:14-20; Luke 8:9-15 and 15:11-20 are the only test passages found in and transcribed from this codex. Folio 70v ends with Mark 12:37 and folio 71r starts with Mark 13:16, therefore, Mark 13:5-11 is missing. Folio 127v ends with وما آيتك التي ترينا ونومن بك قد اكل اباؤنا المنّ (John 6:30, 31a) and folio 128r starts with واوصاهم به في قفرناؤم (John 6:59b). Folio 143v ends with وصلبوا على يمينه (John 19:18b) and folio 144r starts with يكن معهم اذ اقبل اليهم يسوع فقالوا له (John 20:24). Thus John 6:30-35 and

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19 For a summary of previous works written on this version see §2.4 above.

John 18:19-27 are also missing. The rest of the test passages can be found in appendix one §12.13.

### 7.2.3. Conclusion

Family *m* which is believed to have been translated from Latin by Ishāq ibn Balashk in 946 A.D., is represented by seven manuscripts. Codex BL, Add. 9061 has many lacunae in the text and needs to be supplemented by other manuscripts to produce a full edition of this version. The linguistic and syntactical features of this version differ widely from the rest of the extant AGM. Some of the terms used in this version are found nowhere except in this version. The following is an example from Matthew 7:15 of the first test passage:

1. While all other versions read احتفظوا, احذروا or احترسوا for Προσέχετε, this version reads تجنبوا.
2. While all other versions read يجيئونكم ,يوافون ,ياتونكم for ἔρχονται, this version reads يستشعرون.
3. While all other versions read ذياب for λύκοι this version reads سباع
4. While all other versions read خاطفه (and family *n* ضاريه) for ὕρπαγες this version reads مغيره.

This comparison, as well as those of wider sections of the Gospels, shows the total independence of this version. While some other versions of the Arabic Gospel seem to be dependent on each other, this version appears to show no such indication. It seems to have been translated independently by a scribe who has a different linguistic and social background from most scribes of other versions.

The exact date of its translation, an examination of its affinities with the other six witnesses and a closer identification of the text type of its *Vorlage* are yet to be determined.

## 7.3. Family N: A Mixture of *Vorlagen* (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Do. 162)

### 7.3.1. Introduction

Codex Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Do. 162 has never been examined properly. B. Ahlwardt, in his famous catalogue of the manuscripts in Berlin, gave a concise description of the manuscript with a reference to the

beginning and ending of each book of the New Testament.<sup>20</sup> A few years earlier, in 1864, Lagarde had mentioned this codex among manuscripts of Syriac origin.<sup>21</sup> Guidi, on the other hand, included it among “singular manuscripts” without making any reference to its *Vorlage*.<sup>22</sup> Graf, probably depending on Lagarde, mentioned it among a few manuscripts translated from the Peshitta.<sup>23</sup> Neither Lagarde nor Graf gave any justification for their textual claims. Nothing is known about the text of this manuscript, except the few words from each Gospel quoted by Ahlwardt.

### 7.3.2. Description of the Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Do. 162

This codex (hereafter *n*<sup>1</sup>) with its nice brownish leather cover, consists of 348 folios. It contains the four Gospels (lacunae Mt 1:1-10:27), Acts, the fourteen letters of Paul, five Catholic letters and the book of Revelation. According to a colophon at the end of the Gospel of John (fol. 160r), this codex was copied in May year 6773 of Adam (1264 A.D.).<sup>24</sup> Some of the edges have been eaten by worms, particularly toward the end of the codex, and the manuscript seems to have been subject to water damage. On some folios, especially at the bottom of the page, the ink has run.

The text is written in a small neat *Nashki* script. It is fully vocalized with a justification at the four sides of the text. Chapter numbers are inserted in the text with big, clumsy letters. Some of the headings are in gold. Some of the folios have a few Latin words inserted in the margin<sup>25</sup>, possibly in the fifteenth century.<sup>26</sup>

According to a note at the beginning of the codex, as well as on folios 1v-2r, 4v-6r and 5v.-6r, this codex belongs to دير البالمند (Balamand

20 W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss der arabischen Handschriften der königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, vol. 9, *Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, (Berlin: A. Asher & Co., 1897), 527-529.

21 Lagarde, *Die vier Evangelien*, xvi.

22 Guidi, *Traduzioni*, 32.

23 Graf, *Geschichte*, 151.

24 Lagarde gives 1273 A.D. and G. Graf 1265 A.D. Ahlwardt and Guidi did not give the *anno Domini* date. If we consider 1<sup>st</sup> of September 5509 B.C. as the starting point (see, Déroche, *Manuel*, 347), then May 6773 of Adam represents 1264 A.D.

25 Fol. 6r, 17r, 83v, 85r, 106v, 112v, 122r, 140v, 150v, 151r.

26 As for the Latin glosses, Lagarde points out that „im XV jahrhundert hat eine europäische hand hier und da lateinische bemerkungen beige geschrieben,“ (Lagarde, *Die vier Evangelien*, xvi).



- ܠܫܡܬܐ ܠܫܡܬܐ from the root ܠܫܡ and means “to threaten”. The Arabic seems to have included both meanings into its text.
5. Mk 13:5 reads فقال لهم يسوع (and Jesus said to them) and agrees with the Syriac Sinaiticus which reads ܠܫܡܬܐ ܠܫܡܬܐ.
  6. Mk 13:9a المحافل الى يسلموكم. The Greek reads συνέδρια (*concilliis*). The Syriac Peshitta reads ܠܫܡܬܐ (rulers, judges). The Arabic does not follow the Syriac here.
  7. Mk 13:9b في المجامع. The omission of هم reads against the Peshitta ܠܫܡܬܐ ܠܫܡܬܐ.
  8. Mk 13:9c الملوك والولاة (kings and governors): The Arabic transposes the two expressions and agrees with the Peshitta ܠܫܡܬܐ ܠܫܡܬܐ, and the Old Latin *q reges et praesides*, against the Greek (and other versions) which read ἡγεμόνων καὶ βασιλέων.
  9. Mk 13:11 هو الناطق فيكم. This addition is only found in the Old Latin *l qui loquitur in vobis*.
  10. Lk 8:10a سراير (secrets) in the plural reads against the Syriac versions.
  11. Lk 8:10b the addition of يخاطبون (ܠܫܡܬܐ) is supported by the Old Syriac and Peshitta versions, and the Old Latin *g*<sup>1</sup>.
  12. Lk 8:11 اما الزارع فهو ابن البشر. This addition is supported by the Old Latin *r*<sup>1</sup> (*qui seminat est filius hominis*).
  13. Lk 8:13a يؤمنون. It agrees with the Greek πιστεύουσιν against the Peshitta which reads ܠܫܡܬܐ ܠܫܡܬܐ (their faiths) and not ܠܫܡܬܐ (as is the case with the Sinaiticus, Curetonian and the Harklean versions).
  14. Lk 8:13b يرتابون ويجحدون. The Greek, as well as the Latin, reads ἀφίστανται (*recedunt*) which means “they leave, fall away, or commit apostasy.” The Syriac ܠܫܡܬܐ (passive participle of the extended form *Ethp<sup>el</sup>* and means “be offended” and also “to doubt”<sup>27</sup> (Greek equivalent: σκανδαλίζονται). The Arabic seems to include both meanings in the text.
  15. Lk 8:14 addition of يتصرفهم (form V of صرف, to conduct oneself). This reading agrees with the majority of Greek, Latin, Coptic manuscripts with the exception of *l*524 *l*950 *l*1074, Old Latin *e* *r*<sup>1</sup>, the Peshitta and the Persian Diatessaron.
  16. Lk 15:11. The Arabic text omits Εἶπεν δε and follows the Greek manuscripts *E*<sup>suppl</sup> 69 788 983 1352.
  17. Lk 15:12 reads نعمتك against the Peshitta which reads ܠܫܡܬܐ (other Arabic versions translated from the Peshitta read بيتك).

27 See, Cardahi, *Al-Lubāb*, vol. 1, 605.

18. Lk 15:17 في بيت ابي. The addition of بيت (τῇ οἰκίᾳ – ܡܝܬܐ) is supported by two Latin Vulgate manuscripts, the Peshitta, Arabic and Persian Diatessaron and the Armenian versions.
19. Jn 18:20 قال له. The Arabic reads ܡܝܬܐ (he said) instead of ἀπεκρίθη (he answered) and follows either the Syriac Sinaiticus or the Peshitta.
20. Jn 18:22 لطمه على خده. The addition of على خده follows the Old Latin a q, as well as the Peshitta and the Sinaiticus (ܡܠܚܡܐ).
21. Jn 18:23 اجابہ يسوع وقال. The majority of Greek manuscripts, as well as the majority of Latin witnesses, read ἀπεκρίθη αὐτῷ [ὁ] Ἰησοῦς and omit εἶπεν. The Coptic Bohairic version reads “Jesus answered, he said to him”. The Syriac Peshitta reads ܡܠ ܡܝܬܐ ܥܡܡܐ ܡܝܬܐ (Jesus answered and said to him).
22. Jn 18:25 وفيما كان بطرس. The omission of Σίμων agrees, according to Tischendorf, with X and Latin b<sup>scr\*</sup>.
23. Jn 18:26a قطع بطرس اذنه. The Arabic reads Πέτρος against the Peshitta which reads ܡܝܬܐ. The Sinaiticus has both readings: ܡܝܬܐ ܡܝܬܐ. See also John 18:26b فانكر بطرس (Πέτρος) against the Peshitta (ܡܝܬܐ).

All that can be said about the *Vorlage* of this version is that it seems to have assimilated variants from various *Vorlagen*. Some variants agree closely with Old Latin manuscripts (e.g. Mk 13:11; Lk 8:11) against all other *Vorlagen*. Other variants agree closely with the Peshitta. However, this agreement with Peshitta does not seem to be consistent. Readings from a Greek *Vorlage* are also present. In a few places, the scribe seems to have inserted more than one rendering to reflect the Greek and Latin *Vorlagen* on the one hand, and the Syriac Peshitta on the other. In Chapter Nine we shall see how this version is not a fresh translation but a re-worked edition of much earlier version(s) (see §9.7.1 below).

## 7.4. Family O: An Edition of a Lectionary (BnF, Ar. 58 and Beirut, B.O., Or. 432)

### 7.4.1. Introduction

Family *o* has survived in two codices: BnF, Ar. 58 (copied in the seventeenth century) and Beirut, B.O., Or. 432 (copied in 1841). It is a distinct family as it is an edition of an Arabic version which is written in a sophisticated manner and rhymed prose. This rhymed version, which was used as the base for the text of family *o*, contains a series of lection-

aries originally translated by ‘Abd Yashū’ al-Šūbāwī. A similar text to al-Šūbāwī’s version is Beirut, B.O., Or. 431 copied in 1891.<sup>28</sup>

Little attention will be given to family *o* as it is an edition of a very loose and rhymed prose version that has deviated significantly from its *Vorlage*. On the text of Beirut, B.O., Or. 431 Cheikho asserts that he would not give a high consideration to this version as it contains “faked and embellished words.”<sup>29</sup> For this reason, I shall only give a concise description of Beirut, B.O., Or. 432, present the test passages and consider an unresolved riddle.

#### 7.4.2. Description of Beirut, B.O., Or. 432<sup>30</sup>

According to Cheikho, this manuscript originally belonged to Rizqallah Hassoun, who died in England in 1880.<sup>31</sup> He copied it from an exemplar dated in 1694.<sup>32</sup> The manuscript contains an introduction written in an elegant style (folios 2r-4r), followed by the four Gospels (folios 5r-128r) and then a lexicon of difficult terms (folios 128v-165r). Each term is written in red ink and its meaning in black. Each Gospel is preceded by a prologue with 101 chapters for Matthew, 54 for Mark, 86 for Luke and 46 for John.

##### 7.4.2.1. The Colophon

The colophon on folio 165r, which is written in the same hand as the text (but in smaller), gives the full name of the scribe: رزق الله ابن المرحوم الخواجا نعمه الله حسن (Rizqallah the son of Ni‘matallah Ḥassūn), and informs us of the following:

حرر هذا المصحف [...] رزق الله [...] عن نسخه مرقومه عن دستور المترجم نفسه عينه عام اربع وتسعين  
وستمايه بعد الالف. موقفه لكنيسة ماري الياش في مدينه حلب سنة 1841 مسيحيه

(Rizqallah has copied this volume from an exemplar [the latter of which is] copied from [the autograph?] of the translator himself in 1694 [possibly A.D.]. It [probably the exemplar of this volume] is bequeathed as a religious endowment to Saint Elias’ Church in Aleppo in 1841 A.D.)

28 On codex B.O., Or. 431 see Cheikho, *Catalogue raisonné*, 158.

29 Cheikho, “Nisakh ‘arabiyyah,” 108.

30 For a general codicological and palaeographical summary of this manuscript see the description and the literature given in ALAGM *ad loc.*

31 Cheikho, *Catalogue raisonné*, 158.

32 Ibid.



It is worth noting that the date was originally 1094 and later the phrase *six hundred* was added above the line in a different ink.

#### 7.4.2.2. The Introduction of Beirut, B.O., Or. 432

The introduction (fol. 2r-4r) has some valuable information about this version, its source, and translator/editor:

1. Folio 2r gives the name of the translator (المترجم): He is the Maronite Ya'qub Bnu Abi al-Ghayth al-Dibsi.
2. Folio 3v gives more details about the translator: he is originally from Tripoli and lives in Aleppo.
3. In folio 3v Ya'qub al-Dibsi informs his readers that he made use of an Arabic Gospel lectionary translated by Mar 'Abd Yashū'. 'Abd Yashū' al-Šūbāwī and his translation are well known to us today; he was the Metropolitan of Nisibis and Armenia and died in 1318. His translation of the Gospels (in the form of lectionaries), which can be found in Beirut, B.O., Or. 431, was accomplished in 689 A.H. and 1000 of the Alexandre (1312 A.D.).<sup>33</sup>
4. The final important note in folio 3v shows that this version is not a fresh translation but an edition based on 'abd Yashū's translation. He says:

الى ان اهداني الله تعالى الى انجيل ترجمه الشيخ مار عبد يشوع مطران نصيبين [...] قفوت اثره ضاربا في حافرتيه ممتطيا شملة عزمته ولكني اعرضت عن اساجيعه التي قصدها والزيادات التي تواردها وحريت به نثرا على الانساق...

Two important things are to be noted here: ad-Dibsi *followed* 'abd Yashū's translation *closely* but *avoided his rhymed prose and the additions* into the text.

To test the accuracy of the information given in ad-Dibsi's introduction it is worth comparing passages from both manuscripts (Beirut, B.O., Or. 432 of Ya'qub ad-Dibsi and Beirut, B.O., Or. 431 of 'abd Yashū' al-Šūbāwī) to see if it is possible to ascertain a close relationship between both texts. A short, randomly selected passage suffices (in this case we will examine John 1:1-10). I have placed both texts in parallel so that one can clearly see the omissions and the variants. The first line

33 L. Cheikho gives a different conversion. He notes "il [Ebedjésu] les [lectionaries] a traduits en 689 de l'hégire et 1000 d'Alexandre (1289 de J. C.)." It is not clear where the date "1289" comes from. According to Déroche, *Manuel*, pages 341 and 347, the Hijrah date starts on Friday the sixteenth of July 622, and the era of the Alexander starts the first of October 312 B.C. Thus 689 A.H. and 1000 of the Alexandria should correspond to 1312 A.D. See, L. Cheikho, *Catalogue raisonné*, 158 and also Graf, *Geschichte*, 165 where he points out that: „Er ['Abd Yashū'] vollendete sein Werk i. J. 1300, nach anderen 1313.“

has the text of Beirut, B.O., Or. 431 and the second of Beirut, B.O., Or. 432.

في البدء كان الكلمه موجودا في الازل والكلمه لدى الله لم يزل وكان الكلمه الله معل العلل  
في البدء كان الكلمه والكلمه كان لدى الله الله هو الكلمه

هذا كان في القدم موجودا عند الله وما انتقل  
هذا كان في القديم موجودا عند الله

كل كون بيده وهو له فعل ولا شيء من دونه موجود ومقتصل  
كل به كون ولا شيء موجود من دونه مما كان

به كانت الحياه لما اعتدل والحياه هي نور الناس لمن عقل  
وبه كانت الحيوه والحيوه هي نور الناس

والنور اضاءة في قتام الظلال ولا ادركه ظلام ولا شغل  
والنور اضاء في الظلام ولم يدركه الظلام

كان البشري الذي ارسل من الله فامتثل اسمه يوحنا اي حنان وجذل  
كان البشري الذي ارسل من الله اسمه يوحنا

هذا ورد للشهادة على النور ليشهد في جمل كيما يومن على يده كل انسان من اهل الملل  
هذا ورد للشهادة ليشهد للنور كيما يومن به كل انسان

ليس هو كان النور اذا اشتعل بل شاهدا للنور وعن الحق كما عدل  
ليس هو كان النور بل شاهدا للنور

ولقد كان نور الحق موجودا من ازل منيرا لكل انسان وقد جاء في العالم وحل  
ولقد كان نور الحق منيرا لكل انسان واردا الى العالم

وانه قد كان موجودا في العالم وما اقل والعالم بيده كان وهو له مفتعل والعالم ما كان به محيطا علما لكن عن  
مجده غفل

وانه قد كان موجودا في العالم والعالم بيده كان والعالم ما كان به محيطا علما

The text of John 1:1-10 confirms that what is noted in the introduction of Ya'qub ad-Dibsi is indisputable: ad-Dibsi has closely followed the text of 'abd Yashū' but avoided his rhymed prose and unnecessary additions.

#### 7.4.3. The Test Passages

As mentioned earlier, two manuscripts survive of this family: Beirut, B.O., Or. 432 (hereafter *o*<sup>1</sup>) and BnF, Ar. 58 (hereafter *o*<sup>2</sup>). The test passages (in appendix one, §12.15) show how closely these two manuscripts are related to each other. There are only five variants in the eight test passages collated, and most variants are an omission or replace-

ment of a single letter.<sup>34</sup> Such linguistic agreement between these two manuscripts is almost unprecedented in the Arabic manuscripts.

#### 7.4.4. The Riddle

The riddle arose when I found an article by Cheikho (in *Elementa Grammaticae Arabicae*) in which he transcribed a number of passages from the Gospels, one of which is from the *ninth century* and *contains the same text as Beirut, B.O., Or. 432*. My initial response to this discovery was that since the text of Beirut, B.O., Or. 431 is a series of lectionaries, (thus perhaps not the entire text of the Gospels is present), the scribe of Beirut, B.O., Or. 432 had supplemented the missing portions of his source (of Beirut, B.O., Or. 431) from a ninth century manuscript, a passage of which was later transcribed by Cheikho (Matthew 16:13-20).

As a result of that, I purchased a CD of the lectionary (Beirut, B.O., Or. 431) with the conviction that it is unlikely to contain the text of Matthew 16:13-20. To my surprise the pericope is present on folio 8v and hence refutes my conjectures of a ninth century second source used in the preparation of the text of family *o*.

I shall compare the text transcribed by L. Cheikho (Matthew 16:13-20) with the same text from Beirut, B.O., Or. 431 (the base of B.O., Or. 432) and B.O., Or. 432 (*o*<sup>1</sup>) and draw some conclusions.

##### 7.4.4.1. Cheikho's Reference (Manuscript O<sup>3</sup>)

Before Cheikho transcribes the passage from Matthew 16:14-20, he gives the following information about the manuscript: *Ex Versione Graecorum, facta saec. IX, Ms. Univ. Beryt. ff. 20*. This note indicates that the manuscript in question is a ninth century manuscript of a Greek *Vorlage*, it belongs to the collection of the *Bibliothèque Orientale* in Beirut, and that the transcribed text is found on folio twenty. This manuscript has been given the sigla *o*<sup>3</sup>.

##### 7.4.4.2. The Text of Matthew 16:13-20 As Found in Beirut, B.O., Or. 431 and Manuscripts O<sup>1</sup> and O<sup>3</sup>

Here below are the three texts of Matthew 16:13-20 in parallel. The first line contains the text of Beirut, B.O., Or. 431 (fol. 8v), the second manu-

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34 The five variants are: 1. يجنى/يجتنى; 2. الان / omit; 3. ليسبروه / ليبروه; 4. قحم / تحم; 5. ثبات / بثبات.

script o<sup>1</sup> (Beirut, B.O., Or. 432, on folio 24r) and the third manuscript o<sup>3</sup> (Cheikho's reference).<sup>35</sup>

Mt 16:13a

ولما أتى المخلص إلى قيصرية فيلبس بفلسطين أخذ يسال تلاميذه ويقول لهم اجمعين  
ولما أتى يسوع إلى ارجاء قيصرية فيلبس أخذ يسال تلاميذه  
ولما أتى يسوع إلى ارجاء قيصرية فيلبس أخذ يسال تلاميذه

Mt 16:13b

من يقول الناس اني انا ابن البشر ظانين  
ما الذي يقول الناس في ابن البشر  
ما الذي يقول الناس في ابن البشر

Mt 16:14a

فاجابوه قائلين. ان منهم من يقول انك يحيا الصابغ في الواردين وبعض يقول انك اليا من المقبلين  
فاجابوه قائلين ان منهم من يقول انك يوحنا الصابغ وبعض يقول انك ايليا  
فاجابوه قائلين: ان منهم من يقول انك يوحنا الصابغ وبعض يقول انك ايليا

Mt 16:14b

واخرون يقولون ارميا واحد النبيين.  
واخرون يقولون ارميا او احد النبيين  
واخرون يقولون ارميا او احد النبيين

Mt 16:15

قال لهم المخلص وكانوا له ناصتين فانتهم الان من تقولون اني انا معتقدين  
قال لهم يسوع فانتهم الان من تقولون اني انا  
قال لهم يسوع: فانتهم الان من تقولون اني انا

Mt 16:16

اجاب شمعون الصفا وقال نيابة عن جمع الحواريين. انت المسيح ابن الله الحي مخلص  
العالمين.  
اجاب سمعان الصفا وقال انت هو المسيح ابن الله الحي.  
اجاب سمعان الصفا وقال: انت هو المسيح ابن الله الحي

Mt 16:17a

اجاب المخلص قائلا له في الحين. الطوبى لك يا شمعون ابن اليون. لان ذا لحم ودم لم يكشف لك  
هذا السر المكنون  
اجاب يسوع قائلا له الطوبى لك يا سمعان بن اليون لان ذا لحم ودم لم يكشف لك  
هذا  
اجاب يسوع قائلا: الطوبى لك يا سمعان بن اليون لان ذا لحم ودم لم يكشف لك  
هذا

Mt 16:17b

لكن ابي الذي في السماء كان لك من الكاشفي

35 Cheikho, *Elementa grammaticae arabicae*, 198.

لكن ابي الذي في السموات  
لكن ابي الذي في السماوات

Mt 16:18a

وانا ايضا اقول لك انك انت الصفا لاساس الدين وعلى هذا الصفا ابني بيعتي وعلى هذا الراي  
[المكين]  
وانا ايضا اقول لك انك انت الصفا وعلى هذا الصفا ابني بيعتي  
وانا ايضا اقول لك انك انت الصفا وعلى هذا الصفا ابني بيعتي

Mt 16:18b

وابواب الجحيم لن تقهرها وتلك شرور الطاغين  
وابواب الجحيم لا تقهرها  
وابواب الجحيم لا تقهرها

Mt 16:19a

اليك افوض مقاليد ملكوت السماء وهي السنن المؤديه الى عُلْيَا  
اليك افوض مقاليد ملكوت السماء  
اليك افوض مقاليد ملكوت السماء

Mt 16:19b

وكل شي تعقده في الارض من القوانين يكون معقودا في السماء الى الابد  
وكل شي تعقده في الارض يكون معقودا في السماء  
وكل شي تعقده في الارض يكون معقودا في السماء

Mt 16:19c

وما تحله في الارض من وثاق الخاطئين يكون في السماء من المطلقين  
وما تحله في الارض يكون محلولا في السماء  
وما تحله في الارض يكون محلولا في السماء

Mt 16:20

عند ذلك امر تلاميذه ان لا ينبئوا احدا انه يسوع المسيح  
عند ذلك امر تلاميذه ان لا ينبئوا احدا انه يسوع المسيح

The following can be said about the three texts of Matthew 16:13-20:

1. The passage of Beirut, B.O., Or. 431 is written in a rhymed prose. There are additions to the text to make it rhyme smoothly. For instance the addition of من وثاق الخاطئين and its parallel من المطلقين in verse 19c. The style is not unique to this passage as it is found in the entire text of codex. Beirut, B.O., Or. 431.
2. Manuscript  $\sigma^1$  is certainly derived from Beirut, B.O., Or. 431. The scribe of  $\sigma^1$  has omitted these rhymed prose phrases found in the text of Beirut, B.O., Or. 431 and brought it closer to the biblical text. In the case of verse twenty, the scribe had to translate it again.
3. The texts of  $\sigma^1$  and  $\sigma^3$  are almost identical. The variants are: the addition of *colons* in verse 14a, 15 and 16,17a, which might have been

added by Cheikho and do not necessarily come from the manuscript and the omission of ٤ in verse 17a.

4. In summary, the text of *o*<sup>1</sup> (prepared in the seventeenth century) is undoubtedly derived from the text of Beirut, B.O., Or. 431 (translated in 1289 A.D.). The riddle is that the text of *o*<sup>1</sup> is identical to a *ninth century codex* (*o*<sup>3</sup>), which we only know about through secondary sources (Cheikho's article). If all the information above is correct, how could *o*<sup>1</sup> be derived from a text translated in 1289 A.D. when *o*<sup>1</sup> is identical to a text from the ninth century?

There is not enough light to resolve this riddle. It might be that the information provided by Cheikho is inaccurate, particularly the date. This also happened in the case of family *h* (see §5.1.4.2.2 above). This could also be the case here. However, to make this issue even more complicated, the language of family *o* seems to be very archaic and close to other ninth century versions (for instance, الصايغ (verse 14a), النبيين (verse 14b), بيعتي (verse 18a) and مقاليد (verse 19a)). Moreover, as mentioned earlier, the date in the colophon of Beirut, B.O., Or. 432 was originally 1094 (possibly A.D.?) then changed to 1694 A.D.

## 8. Manuscripts of Mixed Arabic Versions and Fragmentary Manuscripts

### 8.1. Manuscripts of Mixed Arabic Versions

#### 8.1.1. Family P<sup>0</sup>: Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 6, 5, 63

##### 8.1.1.1. Introduction

The only reference to Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 5, 6 and 63 is found in Meimaris's Greek-Arabic catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts of the newly-discovered Sinai collection. Meimaris did not notice that the text in these manuscripts is continuous, and that they originally belonged to the same codex. This codex consists of seventeen quires (17 x 8 = 136 folios) divided between three manuscripts as follows:

1. Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 6 contains Matthew 1:1-John 4:38a. Verse 28 reads *و اما لم تعنوا به اخرين عنيا وانتم*. Originally, the manuscript had 14 quires (8 folios x 14 quires = 112 folios) of which 109 folios have survived. Folios 64r-70v have been replaced and copied by a tenth/eleventh century hand.
2. Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 5 starts with John 4:38b *دخلتم في عناهم* and ends with John 8:59a *فحملوا حجاره ليرجموه فاخثفا*. It contains the fifteenth quire (of eight folios).<sup>1</sup>
3. Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 63 starts with John 8:59b *عنهم يسوع وخرج من الهيكل* and ends with John 21:25. It originally contained quire sixteen, seventeen and three additional leaves ((8 x 2) + 3 = 19 folios). Of these 19 folios only ten have survived.<sup>2</sup>

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1 On the top of folio 8v it is written *خمسه اعشر* (fifteen). This also supports the fact that N.F. Parch 5 is the continuation of Parch 6.

2 The lacunae in the text are: John 9:25v-13:12a (six folios from quire sixteen); John 18:24b-19:11a (one folio from quire seventeen); 19:33b-21:7a (the first folio of the last gathering). The last gathering does not seem to be made of four leaves (8 folios) but rather one leaf (two open folios) and one folio. The leaf is missing. It contained 19:33b-21:7a (the first folio) and possibly the colophon (on the second folio).

The colophon is missing; it might not have existed in the first place. On paleographical ground, it is most likely to have been copied in late eighth or early ninth century. Some of the paleographic characteristics of this codex, which might support an earlier date, include the following:

1. The *dāl* and the *dhāl* always have an upward right bend at the top of the letter.
2. The head of the middle *ʿayn* consists only of two oblique strokes (like the letter *v* in English).
3. The *ʿalif* bends to the left on the top and to the right at the base (this happens regularly but not always).
4. The tail of final *yāʾ* extends remarkably to the right and goes under whole word and sometime beyond.
5. The tail of final *qāf* is similar to some extent to the *waw*.
6. The final *bāʾ* does not have the final upper stroke.

However, the one dot on the *fāʾ* and the two dots on the *kāf* might point to a ninth century codex. In any case the omissions in the text, due basically to homoeoteuton, show that the text is a copy of an earlier exemplar which was in circulation in the eighth century at the latest.

Since the text of Matthew, Mark and Luke (found on folios 2r-104v of Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 6) contain the same family as *b*, and therefore treated in §4.4 above, no further discussion about its textual feature is undertaken here. It is sufficient to examine some of the linguistic and textual characteristics of the Gospel of John which will be placed under family *p* followed by the sigla <sup>(1)</sup> for John.

#### 8.1.1.2. Family P<sup>(1)</sup> (Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 6, 5, 63)

This family survived in the last few folios of manuscript Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 6 and in manuscripts Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 5 and 63. As mentioned earlier, it seems to be an independent translation which contains the Gospel of John only. John starts on folio 104r of Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 6, then throughout Sinai, Ar. N.F. 5 and ends on folio 10v of Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 63. The transcription of the two test passages of John is found in appendix one, §12.16.1.

The test passages show that this family *p*<sup>(1)</sup> is dissimilar to any other families analyzed in this study. The relationship between this family and other families will be studied in a separate chapter. The point here, through the test passages, is to show the distinction between the versions.



8.1.1.2.1. The *Vorlage* of the Gospel of John in family P<sup>(1)</sup>

There are many omissions in the Gospel of John. Letters, words and even phrases are missing which might reflect the careless attitude of the scribe towards his text.<sup>3</sup> Some of the omitted phrases were added in the margin in an apparently different hand.<sup>4</sup> There are some additions (some of which are superfluous) in the text which are not supported by any known *Vorlage*.<sup>5</sup>

The carelessness of the scribe, and sometimes the additions in the text, virtually eliminates the opportunity to ascertain conclusively whether a variant is textual or not.<sup>6</sup> Hence, learning about the *Vorlage(n)* becomes exasperating and almost impossible. After reading the forty folios of John with a Greek and Syriac comparison, and selecting John 1 and John 19:10-33 as a case study of the *Vorlage* of this version (see appendix two, §13.11), the following conclusions are reached:

1. The text was originally translated from the Syriac Peshitta and not Greek. The choice and order of words as well as very many textual variants argue clearly in this direction.
2. The text has later been corrected at a later date against another source. This source is either the Harklean version or a Greek (more likely Byzantine) source.
3. The corrections are not meticulous. Syriac Peshitta readings are still present and almost everywhere. The remarkable thing is that as the

3 For example (1) in Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 6, the omission of: لم تزل (fol. 105r) in Jn 1:1; in Jn 1:23 (105v); in Jn 3:9 (added later in the margin); (2) in Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 5, the omission of: *εις την Κανα της Γαλιλαιου* *οπου εποιησεν το υδωρ οινον* (or even better *سحب لك الحسد من سحبه* since the Arabic text follows the Syriac after that *كفرناحوم* (وكان في كفرناحوم) in Jn 4:46 (fol. 1r); *ابني* in Jn 4:49 (fol. 1r); *سبح* in Jn 5:16; *لا اصعد الى هذا العيد* in Jn 7:8 (fol. 5v); (3) in Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 63, the omission of: *سحب لك الحسد* in Jn 13:32 (fol. 2v); *سحب لك الحسد* in Jn 19:25 (fol. 4v – folio 4 is misplaced in the manuscript).

4 See for instance Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 6 folio 107v; Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 5 folios 5v, 7r and 8v; and Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 63 folios 4r, 5v, 8r and 9v.

5 For instance, Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 6 adds *وصعد ناس كثير* after *فصعد يسوع الى اورسليم* in Jn 2:13 (fol 107r); Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 5 adds *بيت المجد* after *يدعنا بالبرانيه بيت حسدا* in Jn 5:2 (fol. 1v); Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 63 adds the superfluous phrase *على الارض* after *واكرمته* after *والروح القدس* in Jn 17:4 (fol. 7v) and *وامجدني* in Jn 17:5 (fol. 7v).

6 For instance in Jn 1:17, Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 6 (fol. 105v) omits *Χριστος*. Is it a textual variant (which agrees with the Greek *κ*) or a scribal error? In Jn 1:27 (folio 105v) the scribe omits *ος εμπροσθεν μου γεγονεν*. This omission might be either textual (agreeing with P<sup>5.65.75</sup> C\* L N\* etc. and Sy<sup>s.c.</sup> Co) or due to homoeoteleuton (the occurrence of *الذي* three times). Another example of a different kind is the addition of *القدس* after *الروح* in Jn 1:32 (folio 106r). This variant could either be textual (agreeing with the Syriac Sinaiticus) or merely a scribal addition (as is the case in Jn 1:33 *الروح القدس*).

text proceeds to the end, it gets closer and closer to the Syriac Peshitta version. It seems to me that the scribe who was in charge of correcting his text (of a Syriac Peshitta origin) against the Greek or Harklean version became less and less scrupulous as the text advances and reaches its end, and hence overlooked many Syriac readings of his exemplar.

#### 8.1.1.2.2. Conclusion Concerning Family P<sup>(1)</sup>

This is another independent and unusual version. It has only survived in three manuscripts which were originally one codex. Unfortunately the text was corrupted by the carelessness of the copyist. On paleographical grounds the manuscript was most probably copied any time prior to the second half of the ninth century. It is a copy of a much older exemplar. Originally translated from the Peshitta, it was corrected against the Harklean version and/or a Greek source.

This version might not be of great interest for Greek textual scholars, nor even Syriac scholars, as its text has been sporadically corrected and imprudently copied. However, this codex is new evidence towards recovering the history of the Arabic translation of the Gospel text. From this text one can argue that by the end of the eighth and early ninth century, the Arabic Gospel text had been revised and corrected against different sources. All the evidence suggests that scholars should see the second half of the eighth century not as the starting point in the history of the Arabic Gospel text, but as a time during which the Arabic text went through various revisions of more primitive exemplars. The second half of the eighth century is when we should talk of *the history of transmission* of the Arabic Gospel text and not the beginning of the Arabic translation of the Gospels.

#### 8.1.2. Family Q: Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 36

This parchment manuscript (Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 36, hereafter *q*<sup>1</sup>) of about the tenth century is one of the very few manuscripts which contain a mixture of families. Q<sup>1</sup> has many lacunae in the text. It starts with Matthew 1:1 and ends with Luke 7:34. The hand writing is almost identical to that of Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 64. This might be an indication that both codices were originally one. However, because of the lack of sufficient evidence, they are treated as two separate codices.<sup>7</sup>

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7 Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 64 contains Luke 23:2-24:53 only, and agrees with family *b*.

The test passages in appendix one, §12.16.2 show that Matthew 7:15-20 of *q*<sup>1</sup> agrees with family *d* and family *b* (although the text is similar to *d* and *b* (with some slight variations), it is closer to *d* than to *b*). Mark 6:14-20 agrees with family *b*. Finally, Mark 13:5-11 and Luke 1:15-34 agree with family *c*.

As far as I know, *q*<sup>1</sup> has not been microfilmed yet. The test passages were able to show the mixture of families this codex contains. Any further study on this manuscript requires first access to the entire codex and secondly a thorough study of its entire text.

The attempt to create one version from three different versions might indicate that by the tenth century (or even earlier) there was a need for a more homogenous text, or an eclectic recension which took into consideration and benefitted from other pre-existing versions. Should this be the case, then one might venture to argue that the scribe was unsuccessful: this eclectic recension has not trace outside this codex.

### 8.1.3. Family R: Leipzig, University Library, Cod. Tischend. XII & BL, Add. 14467

The two tenth century bilingual Arabic-Syriac manuscripts Leipzig, University Library, Cod. Tischend. XII (Or. 1075) and BL, Add. 14467 (Brit. Mus., Syr. Wright 97) were originally one codex and belonged to Saint Mary Deipara in the Nitrian desert<sup>8</sup> (hereafter *r*<sup>1</sup>). In a meticulous examination of this version, Gildemeister argues that this version follows the Syriac Peshitta strictly, while occasionally showing close affinity with the Greek.<sup>9</sup> This led Guidi to suggest that this version was originally derived from the Greek and then corrected against the Peshitta, leaving traces of its origin.<sup>10</sup> According to Gildemeister its exemplar dates to between 750 A.D. and 850 A.D.<sup>11</sup>

Leipzig, University Library, Cod. Tischend. XII contains: Matthew 17:13-22:3; Matthew 22:24-John 8:58; John 10:41b-11:44. And BL, Add. 14467 contains Matthew 7:22-11:1; 11: 22-12:10; 16:21-17:13; John 8:59-10:18; 16:13-18:3; 19:27-20:25.

8 See Graf, *Geschichte*, 150, and Burkitt, "Arabic Versions," 136.

9 See Gildemeister, *De Evangeliiis*, 37.

10 Guidi, *Traduzioni*, 13.

11 Cheikho agrees with the date ascribed to the manuscript, see Cheikho, "Naskha 'Arabiah," 99.

Since there seems to be a mixture of Arabic versions incorporated in the text of  $r^1$ , I shall approach this version by examining each Gospel separately. Mark and Luke will be studied first, then Matthew and finally John.

### 8.1.3.1. Gospel of Mark and Luke

There is little doubt that the texts of  $r^{1(Mk\&Lk)}$  share the same archetype as family  $c$  of a Greek origin showing occasional Syriac influence. The test passages below show this adequately.

Mark 6:14-20

$r^1(Mk)$	$c^1$ (Sinai, Ar. 75)
فسمع هيرودس الملك بيسوع لان اسمه قد كان شاع في الناس وكان يقول ان يوحنا المعمد قد قام من بين الاموات فلذلك يصنع هذه الايات	فسمع هيرودس الملك بيسوع لان اسمه كان قد شاع في الناس وعرف وكان يقول ان يحنا المعمد انه قد قام من بين الاموات فلذلك هذه الايات تعمل علي يديه
ويقول اخرون انه ايليا واخرون انه نبي [كاحد] الانبيا	واخرين كانوا يقولون انه ايلياس واخرين كانوا يقولون انه نبيا كاحد الانبيا
فلما سمع هيرودس قال هذا يوحنا الذي [ضرب] عنقه قد قام من بين الاموات	فلما ان سمع هيرودس قال هذا يحنا الذي [جلدت] عنقه هو قام من بين الموت.
فان هيرودس هو الذي كان ارسل [فخذ] يوحنا فحبسه في السجن من اجل هيروديه امراه اخيه [فيلفوس] التي تزوج بها	لان هيرودس كان ارسل فاخذ يحنا فجسه في السجن من اجل هيروديا امراه اخوه فيليبس التي تزوج
وكان يوحنا يقول لهيرودس لا يحل لك [.....] امراه اخيك	لان يحنا كان يقول لهيرودس ليس يحل لك ان تتزوج امراه اخوك
وكانت هيروديه [.....مما عنه لذلك] وارادت قتله فلم تكن تقدر	وكانت هيروديا عليه [ضاعنه] وكانت تريد قتله فلم تكن تستطيع
وكان هيرودس يخاف يوحنا لانه كان معروفا بانه رجل بار مقدس وكان يحتفظ به ويكثر الاسماع منه ويعمل ويستلذ اسماعه	وكان هيرودس يخاف يحنا لانه كان يعلم انه رجل بارا مقدسا وكان يتهيبه كثيرا ويسمع منه جدا وكان يشتهي ان يسمع من قوله

## Mark 13:5-11

r <sup>1</sup> (Mk)	c <sup>1</sup> (Sinai, Ar. 75)
فبدا يسوع يخبرهم احتفظوا الا يطغىكم احد فان كثيرا ياتون باسمي ويقولون اني انا <sup>12</sup> وكثيرا يضلون	فبدا يسوع يقول لهم احتفظوا الا يطغىكم احد فان كثيرا ياتون علي اسمي ويقولون اني انا المسيح وكثيرا يضلون
فاذا سمعتم بالقتال والحروب فلا تخافوا فان ذلك سيكون لكن لما يكون الانقضا	فاذا انتم سمعتم بالقتال وسمع الرجوف فلا تخافوا فان ذلك كايما ولكن لما يكون الانقضا
[سيا..] قوم قوما ومملكه مملكه ويكثر الزلازل في مكان مكان ويكون جوع وذعر وهذا كله اول المخاض	فانها ستقوم امه على امه وملكا على ملك وترجف الارض في مكان مكان ويكون جوع واستجاس وهذا كله اول المخاض
فاحفظوا انفسكم فانكم تسلمون الى القضاء وتعذبون في جماعاتهم وتقومون بين ايدي الملوك وذوي السلطان من اجل لشهادتهم	ولكن احفظوا انتم انفسكم فانهم سيسلموكم الي الدانه والى جماعاتهم وتضربون وتقومون بين يدي الملوك وذوي السلطان علي شهاده عليهم
وينبغي ان ينادى بدعوتي في كل الامم	وفي كل الامم سيكون بشرى الانجيل
فاذا هم اخذوكم ليسلموكم فلا يهمنكم ماذا تتكلمون ولا تعدوا لذلك كلاما لكن انطقوا بما يعطون ساعتي فلستم انتم تنطقون ولكن روح القدس	فاذا اخذوكم ليسلموكم فلا يهمنكم ماذا تتكلمون ولا تعدون لذلك كلاما ولكن ما اعطيتم من الله في تلك الساعه ذلك فتكلموا فانكم لستم انتم الذين تتكلمون ولكن روح القدس

## Luke 8:9-13

r <sup>1</sup> (Lk)	c <sup>1</sup> (Sinai, Ar. 75)
وساله تلاميذه وقالوا <sup>13</sup> ما هذا المثل فقال لهم اياكم اعطى ان [تعلموا] سر ملكوت الله فاما [سايركم بامثال] يقال لهم fol. 76v. فاذا راوا لا يبصرون واذا سمعوا لا ينظرون [يبصرون / ينظرون] فاما هذا المثل فان الزرع هو كلمه الله والذي زرع على حافه الطريق فهم الذين يسمعون الكلمه فيجي الشيطان فيقلع الكلمه من قلوبهم ليلا يومنوا فيحيوا والذي زرع على الصفا هم الذين اذا سمعوا الكلمه قبلوها بفرح وليس لهم فيها اصل وانما ايمانهم لساعه فيرتابون عند [العسر] والبلا والذي سقط بين الشوك هم الذين يسمعون الكلمه فيخنقها هم والغنا وشهوات العالم ولا يثمرون ثمرا والذي زرع في الارض الطيبه هم الذين يسمعون الكلمه بقلب نقي صلح ويحفظونها ويثمرون ثمرا بالصبر والرجا	فساله تلاميذه وقالوا ما هذا المثل. فقال لهم لكم اعطي ان تعلموا سراير ملكوت الله. فاما اولايك فبالامثال يُقال لهم لكيما يرون فلا يبصرون ويسمعون فلا يفهمون. فاما هذا المثل فان الزرع هو كلمه الله. واما الذي زرع على ظهر الطريق فهم الذين يسمعون الكلمه فياتي الشيطان فياخذ الكلمه fol. 58r. من قلوبهم لكيما لا يومنون فيحيون. واما الذين زرعوا على الصفا فانهم الذين اذا سمعوا الكلمه قبلوها بفرح وليس لها فيهم اصل ولكن ايمانهم حيناً قليلاً وفي زمن البلا يكفرون بها. واما الذي سقط بين الشوك فانهم الذين يسمعون الكلمه فيباليهم الغنا وشهوه الدنيا تخنقها فلا ينبتون انباتا. فاما الذي زرع في ارض طيبه فهم الذين بقلب صالح طيب يسمعون الكلمه فيمسكوها وينبتون انباتاً بصبر ورجا

12 The word المسيح is written in the margin by the same hand. This shows that the scribe is not translating but copying his Arabic manuscript. The Syriac omits it. Sinai, Ar. 75, which is from the same family, reads المسيح.

13 This reading is not found in the Peshitta in parallel.

## Luke 15:11-20

<i>r</i> <sup>1</sup> (Lk)	<i>c</i> <sup>1</sup> (Sinai, Ar. 75)
<p>ثم قال لهم يسوع ايضا ان رجلا كان له ابنان فقال له ابنة الاصغر يا ابتاه اعطني القسمة التي تصيبني من بيتك فقسم لهما ماله فلما كان بعد ايام يسيره جمع ابنة الاصغر كل شي اصابه فذهب الى مكان بعيد ففارق ماله هنالك وكان يعيش [مقويا فارغا] فلما افتى كل شي كان له وتلفه كان في ذلك البلد جوع شديد واصابه العوز وجعل [يتنمر] ولحق برجل من اهل مدينه ذلك البلد فارسله الى قريته ليرعى له الخنازير وكان يشتري ان يملا بطنه من الخروب الذي كانت تاكل الخنازير منه فلم يكن احد يعطيه. فلما ان راجع نفسه قال كم من اجير في بيت ابي قد فضل منه الطعام وانا ها هنا قد اهلكني الجوع اني اقوم فاتي الى الاب واقول له يا ابيه قد اخطأت في السما وبين يدك fol. 95r. ولست باهل ان ادعا لك ابنا فاجعلني كاحد اجراك. فقام فاتى الى ابيه فبين ما هم يعيدان منه راه ابوه فرحمه فسعا اليه فاعتنقه وقبله</p>	<p>ثم قال ايضا رجل كان له ابنين فقال له ابنة الاصغر يا ابتاه اعطني [حصتي] الذي ينوبني من بيتك. فقسم لهما ماله. فلما ان كان بعد ايام قلائل جمع ابنة الاصغر كل شي بلغه فذهب مسافرا الى ارض بعيدة ففارق ماله هناك بعيش شاطر. فلما ان اهلك كل شي له وافناه اصاب تلك البلد جوعا شديدا فجعل ينتقص ويندم فذهب فلحق باحد [بنك] تلك البلد. فارسله الى قراه ليرعا خنازيره وكان يشتري ان يملا بطنه من الخروب الذي كانت تاكل الخنازير منه فلم يكن احد يعطيه. فلما ان راجع نفسه قال كم اجير في بيت ابي الان يفضل له الطعام وانا ها هنا قد اهلكني الجوع. اقوم فاذهب الى ابي فاقول له. يا ابتاه قد اخطأت في السما وبين يدك. ولست اهل ان ادعا لك ابنا، اجعلني كاحد اجراك. فقام فاتى الى ابيه فبين ما هم يعيدان منه راه ابوه فرحمه فسعا اليه فاعتنقه وقبله</p>

What can be determined from the comparison above is that the scribe of *r*<sup>1</sup>(Mk&Lk) was not producing a fresh translation from the Syriac, but using a manuscript already in circulation and correcting it against the Syriac (and occasionally improving its style). The exemplar which the scribe has used is now identified as a text similar to Sinai, Ar. 75 (family *c*). Thus, Gildemeister was correct to suggest that the text of Leipzig, University Library, Cod. Tischend. XII goes back to a period between 750 A.D. and 850 A.D, though he had no idea that a similar text of the exemplar has survived in a number of manuscripts including Sinai, Ar. 75 of the ninth century (family *c*). I previously argued that family *c* was originally translated from Greek and then corrected on a number of occasions against the Syriac. Hence, the traces of Greek which Gildemeister found in Leipzig, University Library, Cod. Tischend. XII are now explained (see the discussion in §4.5.2 above).

Once again, what we find in the text of Leipzig, University Library, Cod. Tischend. XII is the text of family *c* (which was once translated from Greek) being inundated by the Syriac version. Elsewhere I have argued that there seems to be a process of assimilation of Syriac readings in the history of the Arabic text of this version (see §§4.5.5,6 above). This is an attempt at a full revision of the text of family *c*

against the Peshitta (found in the first column), but this revision is far from prefect and Greek traces are still present.

After we have identified the text of Mark and Luke, we turn to Matthew and John to see whether or not a similar relationship is ascertained.

### 8.1.3.2. The Gospels of Matthew and John

As opposed to Mark and Luke, the Gospels of Matthew and John (hereafter  $r^{1(Mt\&Jn)}$ ) seem to have significantly departed from the text of family  $c$ , thus, it is not possible to be certain whether  $r^{1(Mt\&Jn)}$  is an offshoot of family  $c$  or an independent translation. Since the text of  $r^{1(Mt\&Jn)}$  is fragmentary, only John 6:30-35 of the eight test passages has survived. I have examined two additional passages (Matthew 8:5b-13 and John 9:1-11), and when Matthew 8:5b-13 of families  $c$  and  $r$  are compared, the result is far from conclusive. There seems to be some linguistic similarity between both texts and also considerable dissimilarity. In the case of John fewer similarities are detected than in Matthew. At this stage it is not possible to ascertain whether the similarity is coincidental or organic. Below are the texts of Matthew and John in parallel.<sup>14</sup> I have highlighted the words and phrases which are similar in both texts.

#### Matthew 8:5b-13

$r^{1(Mt)}$	$c^1$ (Sinai, Ar. 75)
fol. 1v دنا منه رجل قايد وجعل يطلب اليه ويقول، رب ان [صبيا لي] مقعدا في [البيت] في عذاب شديد فقال له يسوع انا اتيه واشفيه، اجاب ذلك القايد وقال رب اني لست باهل ان [.....] ظلال بيتي، لكن قل مولاي فقط ك[لمه] فيبرا صبي، فاتي [وانا.....] سلطان، تحت يدي فرسان، واقول لبعضهم انطلق فيطلق، ولبعضهم اقبل فيقبل، ولغدى افعل كدى فيفعل، فلما سمع يسوع ذلك عجب وقال لتابعيه، الحق اقول لكم،	Fol. 8 اتاه رجل امير على مايه فساله وقال رب ان غلامي مخلع في البيت في عذاب شديد فقال له يسوع انا اجي فابريه فاجابه ذلك الاركون وقال رب اني لست باهل ان تلج تحت ظلال بيتي ولكن قل كلمه فقط فيبرا غلامي فاتي وانا رجل صاحب سلطان و تحت يدي فرسان فاقول لهذا اذهب فيذهب وللآخر تعال فيجي ولعبدي اصنع هذا فيصنع فلما سمع ذلك يسوع عجب وقال للذين تبعوه امين اقول لكم

14 For Matthew 8:5-13 and John 9:1-11 see also: manuscripts  $a^1$  (fol. 14v-15r and 218r-219r),  $b^1$  (fol. 14v and 115v-116r),  $d^1$  (fol. 10r-10v and 98r-v),  $e^1$  (fol. 33r-33v and 304v-306r), family  $f$  is written in rhyme prose and very different from family  $r$ ,  $g^5$  (fol. 12r, 160r-v),  $h^1$  (fol. 9v-10v - John 9:1-11 is defective),  $i^1$  (fol. 141v-142v - Matthew 8:5-13 is defective),  $j^{A1}$  (fol. 20v-21r and 246r-v),  $k^2$  (fol. 27v-28v and 357r-358v),  $l^1$  (fol. 20v-21r and 332v-333v),  $m^1$  (fol. 14r-v; 135v-136r);  $n^1$  (fol. 138r-v - Matthew 8:5-13 is defective),  $o^1$  (fol. 12v and 113r-v),  $p^1$  (see Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 6 fol. 8v and Parch 63 fol. 1r-1v),  $q^1$  (fol. 13r - John 9:1-11 is defective).

اني لم اجد في اسرائيل مثل هذه الامانه اقول لكم ان كثير ياتون من المشرق والمغرب فيبتكون مع ابراهيم واسحق ويعقوب في ملكوت السما فاما ابنا الملك فيخرجون الى الظلمه القصوى هنالك يكون البكا وتقعق الاسنان فقال يسوع لذلك الامير على الميه فكما امننت يكن لك فرجع الى بيته فوجد غلامه قد برى في تلك الساعه	اني لم اجد في اسرائيل مثل هذا الايمان، اقول لكم يقينا، ان كثيرا ياتون من المشرق والمغرب [فيبتكون] مع ابراهيم ويعقوب في ملكوت السما، (fol. 2r) فاما ابنا الملكوت، فيخرجون الى الظلمه البرانيه، حيث يكون بكا و[يصريف] الاسنان، وقال يسوع لذلك القايد، اذهب كما امننت كذلك [يسعف] وير اصبه من ساعته،
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## John 9:1-11

r <sup>1</sup> (Jn)	c <sup>1</sup> (Sinai, Ar. 75)
(fol. 9r) وبينما هو ذاهب اذ راى رجلا ولد من بطن امه مكفوقا فساله تلاميذه وقالوا له ربنا من الذي اخطى هذا او ابواه حيث ولد اعمى فقال لهم يسوع لم يخط هذا ولا ابواه بل لتظهر فيه اعمال الله وقد يجب علي ان اعمل اعمال الذي ارسلني ما دام النهار وسياتي الليل الذي لا يقدر احد على العمل فيه. ما دمت في العالم فانا نور العالم. فلما قال هذا بصق على الارض وعمل من بصاقه طينا وطللى به عيني ذلك الاعمى وقال له انطلق واغسلها في نهر [تلون حسطا] وانطلق فغسلهما ورجع مبصرا. واما جيرانه والذين راوه من قبل يستطعم جعلوا يقولون ليس هذا الذي كان جالسا يستطعم (fol. 9v) فقال بعضهم نعم هو ذاك وقال اخرون لا. هو شبيه به. فقال لهم بل انا هو انا. فقالوا له وكيف انفتحت عينك، فاجابهم وقال لهم بان رجل اسمه يسوع عمل طينا [-----]	fol. 92v فجاز كذلك فنظر انسان اعما من مولده فساله تلاميذه وقالوا يا معلم من اخطا هذا او والديه انه ولد اعما اجاب يسوع فقال لا هذا اخطا ولا والديه ولكن لتظهر اعمال الله فيه ينبغي لي انا ان اعمل اعمال الذي ارسلني ما دام النهار فان سيأتي الليل حيث لا يقدر احد يعمل ما دمت في العالم فاني نور العالم فلما قال هذا بصق في الارض وصنع طينا من البصاق ووضع الطين على عيني الاعما وقال له اذهب توضا في بركة سلوان الذي يترجم المرسل فانطلق فتوضا فجا وهو يبصر فقال جبرته والذين كانوا يبصروه قبل انه كان يستطعم ليس هذا هو الذي كان قاعد بسل اخرين قالوا لا ولكن هذا شبيه به فاما هو فقال انا هو قالوا له كيف انفتحت عينك اجاب ذلك وقال انسان يقال له يسوع عمل طينا ومسح على عيني وقال لي اذهب الى عين سلوان فتوضا فلما ذهبت توضات ابصرت

Matthew 8:5b-13 does not contain any significant textual or linguistic variants which could help identify the *Vorlage* of r<sup>1</sup>(Mt&Jn). In the case of John 9:1-11 there are few but sufficient variants which argue in favour of a Peshitta *Vorlage*:

1. John 9:1 (رحم) رجلا
2. John 9:2 (رحم) ربنا
3. John 9:3a (رحم) فقال لهم يسوع
4. John 9:3b (رحم) لتظهر فيه اعمال الله
5. John 9:9 (رحم) لا هو شبيه به.
6. John 9:11 (رحم) فاجابهم وقال لهم بان رجل...



## 8.1.3.3. Conclusion

Family *r* is represented by two bilingual Syriac-Arabic manuscripts: Leipzig, University Library, Cod. Tischend. XII and BL, Add. 14467. These two manuscripts belonged originally to one codex copied in the tenth century. In Mark and Luke, the text is an offshoot of family *c* and has been linguistically improved and textually corrected against the Syriac Peshitta. In the case of Matthew and John there seems to be no close affinity with family *c*. The text of Matthew and John is either an independent translation (as for John, translated from the Syriac Peshitta) or a re-worked edition based on the text of family *c* which has significantly departed from its exemplar, and thus can no longer be associated with it.

## 8.1.4. Family S

8.1.4.1. Family S<sup>A</sup>: BnF, Ar. 57

Codex BnF, Ar. 57, copied in 1646 A.D. is another manuscript with a mixture of Arabic Versions. The test-passages in appendix one, §12.16.4.1 show that the text of Matthew contains the version of Ibn al-'Assāl (family *l*), and the texts of Mark, Luke and John belong to family *k*.

Moreover, it is worth noting that the first test-passage of Matthew is closer to manuscript I<sup>A3</sup> and that the second test-passage is closer to manuscripts I<sup>B4,11</sup> than the other witnesses of family *l*.

8.1.4.2. Family S<sup>B</sup> Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ms. Or. 14

Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ms. Or. 14 is a fragmentary manuscript of the seventeenth century. It contains Mt 1:1-25:27. The two test-passages in appendix one, §12.16.4.2 show that the text of Mt 7:15-20 is of family *k* and Mt. 16:1-4 of family *l*.

## 8.1.5. Family T: Sinai, Ar. 102

Codex Sinai, Ar. 102, copied in the thirteenth century, is a mixture of at least three Arabic versions: *a*, *j* and *k*. The scribe seems to have selected the most well known Arabic versions and from which he constructed his own. The test-passages in appendix one, §12.16.5 show how in Mat

thew the scribe depended significantly on  $j^B$  and  $j^C$ . In Mark 6:14-20 he relied on family  $a$  and  $j^C$ , and in Mark 13:5-11 on families  $a$ ,  $j^B$  and  $k$ . Luke 8:9-15 is a mixture of families  $a$  and  $j$  and Luke 15:11-20 is a mixture of  $j^C$  and  $k$ . John 6:30-35 is heavily influenced by family  $k$ , and John 18:19-27 mainly by family  $a$ .

This is another attempt for an eclectic edition which took into consideration a number of well known pre-existing versions. As is the case with family  $q$ , this eclectic recession has left no trace outside this codex.

Now we turn to the fragmentary manuscripts.

## 8.2. Independent Fragments

### 8.2.1. Family U : BL, Or. 1242(4)

All that we know about this version comes from a fragment which is in the possession of the British Library, and has the shelf mark Or. 1242(4). This fragment contains Luke 23:29-31, 33 in Coptic and opposite to it Luke 23:29-30a in Arabic. The fragment is copied on the verso of a single paper folio with small handwriting. On paleographical grounds the Arabic is possibly from the thirteenth or fourteenth century. The Arabic text reads:

29 هوذا ستاتي عليكم ايام تعطون الطوبا لبطون العواقر الذين لم يحبلى ولم يلذن ولم يريون ولم يقوين  
30 [كيف ولن] للجبال لتسقط عليهم

A comparison of these two verses with the representatives of other families shows that this fragment does not belong to any of the families examined in this study and needs to be listed separately. This claim is based on the two verses only and might be refuted if a longer portion of the text could be analyzed. However, the data available shows that it is an independent translation.

Concerning the *Vorlage* of this family, it is impossible to ascertain as only less than two verses survived. In addition, not all the words are legible. Moreover, the translation seems to be free.<sup>15</sup>

15 For instance the expression تعطون instead of يقولون عليهم instead of علينا. Moreover, note the addition of consecutive verbs not all of them found in any *Vorlage* (لم يحبلى ولم يلذن (ولم يريون ولم يقوين).

## 8.2.2. Family V (Cambridge, University Library, Add. 1905)

This fragment contains the first four chapters of Mark. It was copied with a good modern *naskhi*, in the late nineteenth or twentieth century. However, it seems to preserve a very old text. Below is the transcription of Mark 1:1-13 (fol. 1r).

بدايه انجيل يسوع المسيح ابن الله مثل ما هو مكتوب في اشعيا النبي ها انا ارسل ملاكي قدام وجهك الذي يسهل دربك قدامك صوت يصيح في البريه حضرُوا درب الرب وعدلُوا طرقه كان يوحنا المعمدان في البريه يعمد ويكرز بعموديه التوبه لغفران الخطايا وكانوا يخرجون اليه جميع اهل اضياع اليهوديه وكل اهل اورشليم ويعتمدون منه في شط الاردن معترفين بخطاياهم وكان لبس يوحنا من صوف الجمال ومتحزماً بالجلد على وسطه واكله الجراد وعسل البريه ويبشر ويكرز قايلاً بجى بعدى الذى هو اقوى منى الذي انا لست<sup>16</sup> مستاهلاً ان انكب واحل سيرا يمنتته انا عمدتكم بالماء وهو يعمدكم بروح القدس وكان في هذيك الايام جا يسوع من ناصره الجليل واعتمد في الاردن من يوحنا ولما طلع من الماء قشع السموات قد انشقت والروح مثل حمامة نازلاً عليه وكان صوت من السماوات يقول انت ابنى الحبيب بك رضيت وفي الحال اخذه الروح الى البريه وكان في البريه اربعين يوماً واربعين ليله ويجريه الشيطان وهو مع الوحوش والملايكه<sup>17</sup> يخدمونه.

The choice of words<sup>18</sup> and the grammatical and orthographical mistakes<sup>19</sup> are all indicators that this manuscript might have been copied from an old exemplar. Moreover, the free-nature of the translation also suggests that the translation is not a recent one.<sup>20</sup> This version does not correspond to any other families examined in this study and receives the sigla *v*. Textually, Family *v* differs from the Greek and Syriac and follows the Coptic Bohairic version.<sup>21</sup> Unfortunately this manuscript has not survived to study it in depth. This is not surprising if its archetype goes back to the beginning of the second millennium, however, this claim needs more evidence to be vindicated.

16 These three dots are made by the author to get to the end of the line for a perfect justification. No words are missing.

17 There is a small *hamza* on the letter ي.

18 Like for instance, عدلوا; بجى; قشع etc.

19 Like for example يخرجون (grammatical mistake) and السموات (orthographical mistake).

20 See for instance, يعمد ويكرز (verse 4) and also يبشر ويكرز (verse 7).

21 See for instance the addition of ابن الله in verse 1; اشعيا النبي in verse 2 and اربعين ايام and اربعين يوماً in verse 13. All these variants together are only found in the Coptic Bohairic.

## 8.2.3. Family W (Cambridge, University Library, Add. 1045)

This manuscript contains the story of the Prodigal Son (Luke 15:11-32) followed by the story of Joseph and his brothers (Genesis 37, 39-45).<sup>22</sup> The manuscript has no date. It was possibly copied in the nineteenth or twentieth century. Its linguistic features suggest that the translation might have been done during that same period rather than earlier. The manuscript, especially the text of Genesis, has many corrections in the margin. Often, the scribe strikes the word and replaces it in the margin in red ink. The titles and verse numbers are also in red. The manuscript is written in modern Arabic. It is almost unique in using the Islamic expression عيسى to refer to Jesus.<sup>23</sup>

The text of this manuscript does not correspond to any families examined in this study; it has been assigned the sigla *w*.

Mark 15:11-20 reads as the following (fol. 3r):

انجيل لوقا الباب الخامس عشر [بكمه] 11 حكاية الشاب المسرف

11 ثم قال لهم عيسى كان لرجل ابنين 12 فقال صغيرهما لابي يا ابنت اعطني الحصة التي تنتسب الي من الاموال فقسم وجه معاشه عليهما 13 وبعد ايام قليله جمع الابن الصغير جميع الاموال وسافر الى ارض بعيدة وبذر امتعته هناك في رفاهيه العيش 14 ولما صرف جميع المال عرض في تلك<sup>24</sup> الديار قحط عظيم احوجه<sup>25</sup> الى الاحتياج 15 فسار والجئ نفسه الى بعض اعيان تلك البلاد فارسله يرعى الخنازير في قاعه 16 وكان يتمنى ان يملئ بطنه من الثيب الذي ترعاه الخنازير ولم تعطه اياه احد 17 فحينئذ رجع الى نفسه وقال كم لابي من خادم عندهم من الجبز [..] يكفيهم للاكل والهيئة وانا اهلك ها هنا من الجوع 18 اقوم [..] فاني سوف اقوم واذهب الى عند ابي واقول له الا يا ابنت اني قد اخطت تحت السماء وامام وجهك 19 وبعد هذا لا استاهل بانى اسمى لك ابنا فاجلني مثل بعض من استاجرت من خدامك 20 ثم قام واتى الى ابيه وبينما هو بعيد بفاضله جيده ابصره ابوه وتحنن عليه وقام يركض وخر على عنقه وقبله

It is almost impossible to draw any conclusion about the language of the *Vorlage* from this specific passage which might be Greek, Latin or Syriac. The Coptic version has some major variants in this passage, but the Arabic text does not follow it.<sup>26</sup> Here is a list of some important variants:

22 The fact that these two stories are put together might suggest a relationship perceived in the mind of the scribe. See K.E. Bailey (who might have been influenced by this manuscript) in *Jacob & the Prodigal: How Jesus Retold Israel's Story* (Illinois: Inter-Varsity Press, 2003).

23 Family *f* also gives the name عيسى to Jesus.

24 Written above the line in another hand and ink.

25 Written above the line in another hand. The same which added تلك above.

26 Compare for instance verse 20 which reads "And he rose, he came to his father saw him, and had compassion, he ran, he threw himself upon his neck, and kissed his mouth" (The English translation is from Horner, *The Coptic Version*, 215).

1. The addition of *لهم عيسى* in verse 11 agrees with the Peshitta (ܐܝܫܐ ܠܗܡ ܥܝܫܐ) against the Greek *εἰπεν δε* (and Latin).<sup>27</sup> However the Arabic omits *لهم*.
2. In verse 12 the Arabic omits *ܡܝ* with the Greek, against the Peshitta.
3. In verse 13a the Arabic has *قليله* with the Syriac *ܡܠܝܕ*. The Greek (and Latin) however, has *ου πολλας*.
4. In verse 13b the Arabic reads *الابن الاصغر* with the Greek (and Latin) *ο νεωτερος υιος*. The Syriac, however, has *ܚܕܐ ܡܝ ܡܝܢ*.
5. Verse 17 the Arabic reads *لبي* with the Greek (and Latin) *του πατρος μου*. The Syriac, however, reads *ܡܝܢ ܡܝܢ*.

Some readings above agree with the Peshitta and other with the Greek and Latin. This narrative is not sufficient to suggest which *Vorlage* is the closest to the Arabic text. The scribe clearly intends to write correct Arabic. As a result, divergence from the *Vorlage* is inescapable, and makes it even harder to discern the language of his *Vorlage*.

#### 8.2.4. Family X: BL, Add. 17224

Codex Add. 17224, from the British Library collection, is a Syriac manuscript copied in the thirteenth century. The Syriac text is written in two columns. Folios 58-65, most of which are torn on the edges, contain an Arabic translation placed on the left hand side of each of these pages. Folios 58 and 59 contain Matthew 5:10-19 and 6:13-24, and folios 60-65 contain Mark 12: 14, 20, 39-14:13, 28-40. Lessons are marked on the margins by a different hand.

The Arabic translation of family *x* is not similar to any version discussed in this study. It is most probably an independent translation made from the Syriac Peshitta. This version does not seem to have survived beyond these eight folios. Below is the transcription of Mark 13:5-11 (fol. 50v-51r):

- 5 فبدا يسوع يخبرهم احتفظوا الا يطغىكم احد  
 6 فان كثيرا ياتون باسمي ويقولون انا وكثيرا يضلون  
 7 فاذا سمعتم بالقتال والحروب فلا تخافوا فان ذلك سيكون لكن لما يكون الانقضاء  
 8 [ساصب] قوم قوما ومملكه مملكه ويكثر الزلازل في مكان مكان ويكون جوع وذعر وهذا كله  
 اول المخاض  
 9 فاحفظوا انفسكم فانكم تسلمون الى القضاء وتعذبون في جماعاتهم وتقومون بين ايدي الملوك  
 وذوي السلطان من اجل لشهاداتهم

27 Except the Old Latin r<sup>1</sup>. It agrees with the Arabic, but the convergence is coincidental.

10 وينبغي ان ينادى بدعوتي في كل الامم

11 فاذا هم اخذوكم ليسلمونكم فلا يهمنكم ماذا تتكلمون ولا تعدوا لذلك كلاما لكن انطقوا بما يعطون ساعتئذ فلستم انتم تتطفون ولكن روح القدس

## 9. The Organic Linguistic Relation between the Families

### 9.1. Introduction and Preliminary Remarks

This chapter uses phylogenetic software to reconstruct the evolutionary history of the Arabic Gospel families by studying their shared characteristics. Here are some preliminary remarks:

1. The relationship between the families will only be studied on the level of the *representative* of the families (e.g. manuscript  $a^1$ ,  $b^1$  etc.) and not on the level of the witnesses of each family (e.g. manuscripts  $a^{1,2,3,4,5\text{etc.}}$ ,  $b^{1,2,3\text{etc.}}$ ). For the eight test passages set in parallel with brief comments, see appendix three, §14.2.
2. The data sets used for this analysis will be extracted from the eight test passages only. Thus, fragmentary manuscripts, which do not contain at least one test passage, will be omitted from this study.
3. The following representative manuscripts will be included in this study:

Manuscript  $a^1$  (Sinai, Ar. 74)

Manuscript  $b^1$  (Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 8, 28)

Manuscript  $c^1$  (Sinai, Ar. 75)

Manuscript  $d^1$  (Sinai, Ar. 70)

Manuscript  $e^1$  (Vatican, Syr 269)

Manuscript  $g^5$  (Beirut, B.O., Or. 430)

Manuscript  $h^1$  (Vatican, Ar. 13)

Manuscript  $i^1$  (BL, Or. 2291)

Manuscript  $j^{A1}$  (Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Gr. 539 (1))

Manuscript  $j^{B1}$  (Sinai, Ar. 106)

Manuscript  $j^{C1}$  (Sinai, Ar. 76)

Manuscript  $k^4$  (Sinai, Ar. 101)

Manuscript  $l^{*}$  (BL, Or. 3382)

Manuscript  $n^1$  (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Do. 162)

Manuscript  $o^1$  (Beirut, B.O., Or. 432)

Manuscript  $p^{(0)}$  (Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 6, 5, 63)

Manuscript  $q^1$  (Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 36)

Manuscript *r*<sup>1</sup> (Leipzig, University Library, Cod. Tischend. XII and BL, Add. 14467), Mark, Luke, John (1 test passage)<sup>1</sup>

4. In addition to the above manuscripts, I have added the well-known and widely used al-Bustāni-Smith-Van Dyke, (Vk), printed edition of 1865 A.D. Since we know that this contemporary version is unrelated to any of the Arabic manuscripts mentioned above,<sup>2</sup> its inclusion here will help us ascertain how PAUP (see §9.4 below) will relate to it and where the software will locate it in the stemma. (Trees 1-37 include the Vk edition and Trees 38- 65 exclude it).

Before proceeding with the result of this analysis, I shall present what I consider the *intrinsically inquisitive* approach to translating documents, then the difficulty in ascertaining any relationship between families and finally a concise description and the limitation of the phylogenetic analysis and software.

## 9.2. Translators are Intrinsically Inquisitive

When it comes to the study of the relationship between the families/versions, I presuppose that translators in general are intrinsically inquisitive, and so will look at other translations of the same document made by their predecessors. It seems unlikely that a prominent scholar/scribe who is engaged with the translation of the Gospels into Arabic will not have examined previous work available to him. Thus we should expect to see either a fresh translation (because the scribe had no access to any Arabic text), or a translation that has slightly (directly or indirectly), moderately or extensively been influenced by another version in circulation at the time.

## 9.3. The Difficulty in Establishing Relationships between Families of Translated Documents

The aim of this chapter is to try to establish a relationship between the translated documents and not between a specific translated document and the *Vorlage* of another translated document. But how can one tell

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1 The two manuscripts *m*<sup>1</sup> (BL, Add. 9061) and *f*<sup>1</sup> (Leiden, University Library, Cod. 561 Warn) translated in rhymed prose will not be included as their linguistic style differ significantly from the rest.

2 One might argue, however, that Vk was depended on family *k* which was in circulation in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.



whether the relationship is on the level of the translated document or the original document? Sometimes, it seems almost impossible to know. For example, in Matthew 16:3 families *a*, *j*<sup>(b)</sup> and the printed text of Van Dyke (1865 A.D.) read against all other families (تستطيعون) ([you are] able to -2<sup>nd</sup> person plural). Can we assume a relationship between these three versions? Or should we see this as a misleading similarity on the level of the Arabic text, since the original (Greek in this case) has δύνασθε (be able to) against the Syriac Peshitta مدحيم (know)? On the other hand only families *g*, *k*, *h*, *q* use the verb تعرفون (know – 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural), does this suggest a relationship between the four Arabic versions or between each one and the Syriac which underlines them? Consistency should play the major role in establishing relationship between the Arabic versions.

#### 9.4. Phylogenetic Analysis and the Arabic Versions

Phylogenetic analysis was originally developed by biologists for the purpose of reconstructing “evolutionary genealogies of species based on morphological similarities.”<sup>3</sup> This kind of analysis is being applied to literary texts for the purpose of reconstructing stemmas and family trees of manuscripts, and learning about the transmission and evolution of the text through its tradition.<sup>4</sup>

The software used in the analysis of phylogenetic relationships between the nineteen Arabic versions mentioned above is PAUP (Phylogenetic Analysis Using Parsimony) version 4.0, which was developed by David Swofford in 1991 and is today “the most widely use software package for the inference of evolutionary trees.”<sup>5</sup>

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- 3 For an introduction to phylogenetic analysis see, Peter H. Weston and Michael D. Crisp, “Introduction to Phylogenetic Systematics” [article online]; available from <http://www.science.uts.edu.au/sasb/WestonCrisp.html> ; Internet; accessed 25 June 2007, and also Stuart M. Brown, “Introduction to Phylogenetics” [article online]; available from <http://www.med.nyu.edu/rcr/rcr/course/phylo-intro.html> ; Internet; accessed 25 June 2007.
  - 4 See Peter M. W. Robinson and Robert J. O’Hara, “Report on the Textual Criticism Challenge 1991,” *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 3 (1992): 331-337, Peter M. W. Robinson, “Computer-Assisted Stemmatic Analysis and ‘Best-Text’ Historical Editing” in Pieter van Reenen and Margot van Mulken, eds., *Studies in Stemmatics* (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1996), 71-104 and *ibid.*, “The One Text and the Many Texts,” *Literary and Linguistic Computing* 15 (2000): 5-14.
  - 5 See David Swofford, “PAUP” [article online]; available from <http://www.paup.csit.fsu.edu/about.html> ; Internet; accessed 25 June 2007, and Robinson and O’Hara, “Report,” 333-336.

The analysis is based on 801 entries (1-801). Each variant in each entry is converted to a digit. Thus in Matthew 7:15 the verb احذروا, which is the first entry (number 1), has the following digits:

a	b	c	d	e	g	h	i	j <sup>A</sup>	j <sup>B</sup>	j <sup>C</sup>	k	l	n	o	p	q	r	Vk
1	2	2	2	1	1	1	?	1	2	3	1	1	?	1	?	2	?	1

The table above indicates that families *a*, *j<sup>A</sup>*, *k*, *l*, *o* and *Vk* read similarly احذروا (digit 1) and that families *b,c,d*, *j<sup>B</sup>*, and *q* have احتفظوا (digit 2) and that manuscript *j<sup>C</sup>* has a singular reading احترسوا (digit 3) and that manuscripts *i*, *n*, *p* have lacunae (a question mark (?)).

## 9.5. The Limitation of PAUP in Relation to the Arabic Versions

In general, phylogenetic software presupposes a relationship between all species/manuscripts which evolved from *a single* organ/archetype. This presupposition is most likely to be true when it comes to original documents (e.g. Greek biblical manuscripts) but not translated documents. The same text could have been independently translated a number of times, and each translation would be an archetype of its own. Applying this software to members of the same translation/family/version to learn about how the translation in question has evolved might be more effective, but this is not the aim of this chapter. While we can anticipate a great benefit of using PAUP since we do not know whether one or more families are organically related, this analysis should be undertaken with a recognition of its potential limitation.

The second limitation is concerned with *the level of relationship* ascertained. This chapter is concerned with discerning a relationship between the translated families themselves (level one), and not between families and *Vorlagen* (e.g. Greek, Syriac etc – level two). Since PAUP is highly sophisticated in tracing relationships, it might draw a relationship between two independent translations translated from a similar *Vorlage* (e.g. Syriac in the case of family *d* and *e*); the relationship which PAUP proposes might therefore be misleading.

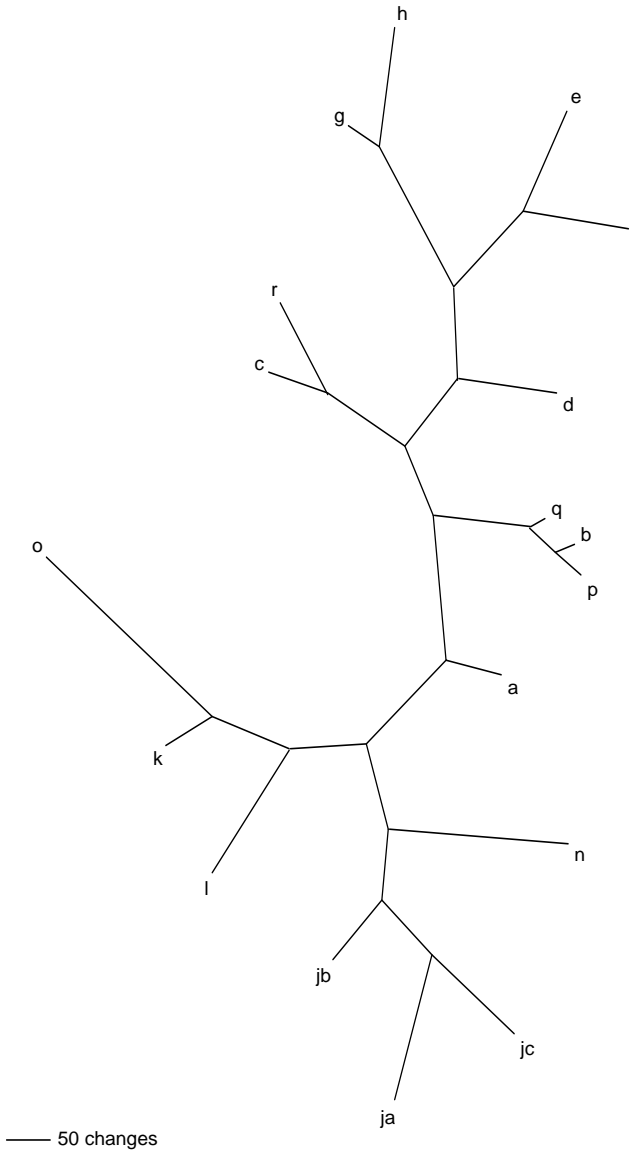
The most important thing about PAUP is the stemma or the phylogenetic tree. This branching structure is crucially important for this study; every time two or more branches approach each other, the hypothesis of relationship between the families grows, and every time they

distance themselves from each other, the likelihood of misleading similarity or relationship rise.

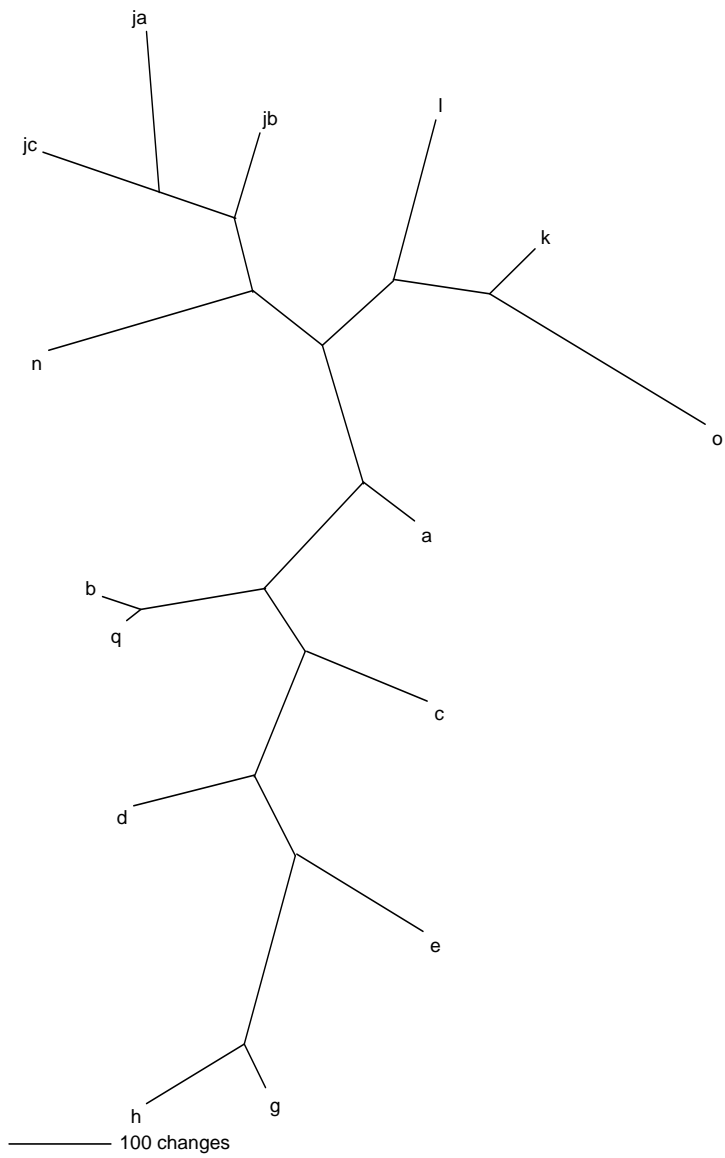
We now turn to present the stemmas and comment on them. In appendix four, there are sixty-five different stemmas which reflect the relationship between the families (stemmas for each test passage, stemmas for each Gospel presented separately (two test-passages), and stemmas for the four Gospels analysed collectively). Below I will place a representative stemma for the four Gospel (tree number 38), and one stemma for each Gospel (trees 41, 50, 56, 62). The reader is advised to consult the appendix should they want to see more stemmas.

## 9.6. The Outcome of the Analysis

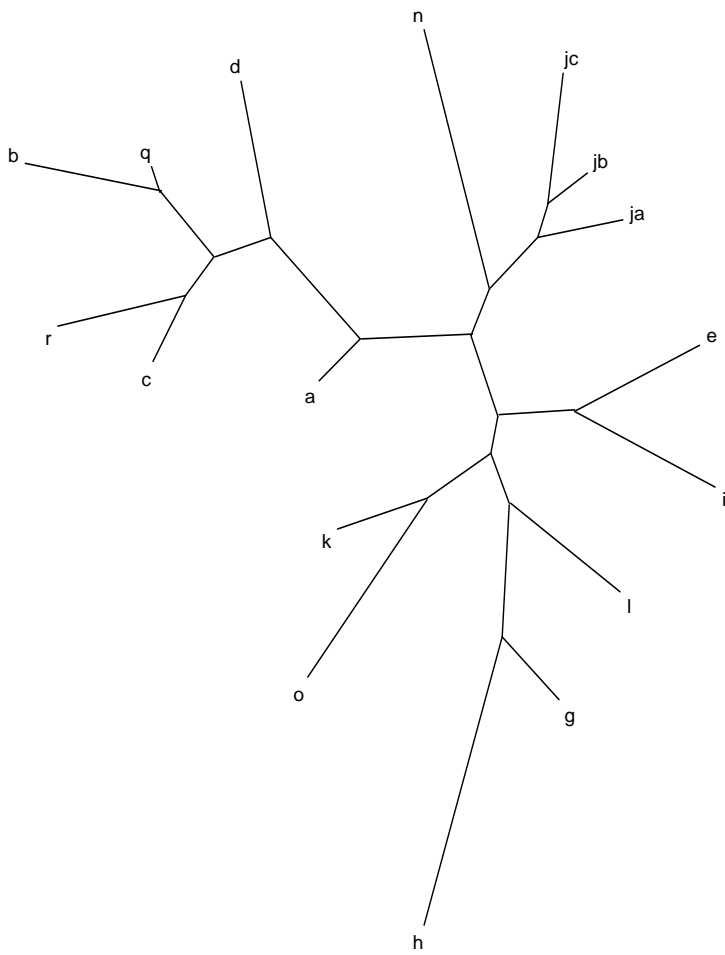
TREE 38: All test passages:



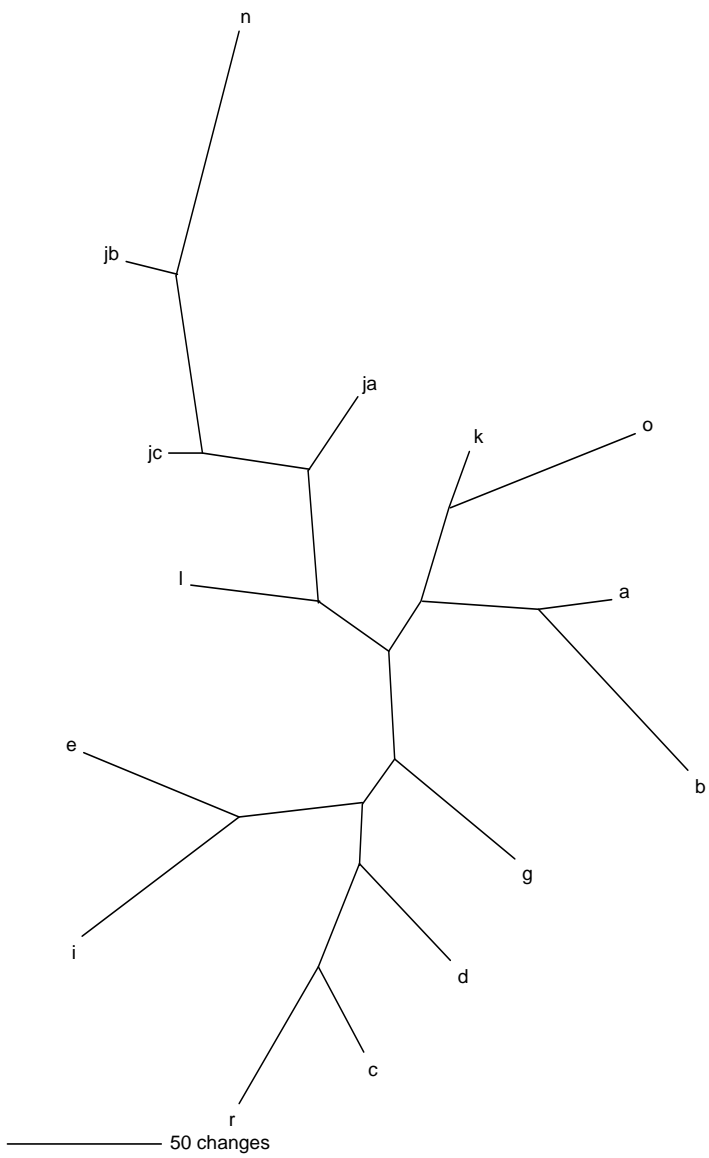
TREE 41: Matthew – both test passages:



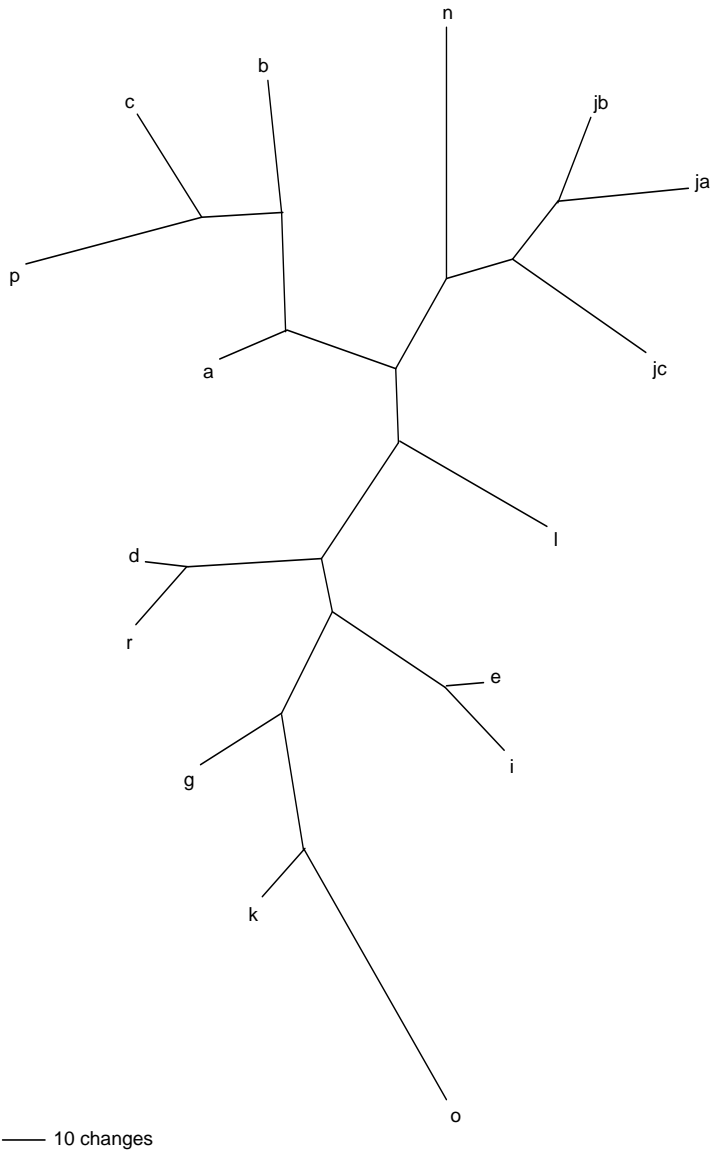
TREE 50: Mark – both test passages:



TREE 56: Luke – both test passages:



TREE 62: John – both test passages:





## 9.7. Tribes: Relationship Between Families

The trees above (and in appendix four) depict the possible relationship between the families. This relationship, obtained by running PAUP, confirms some of the observations made throughout the study. We can to some extent argue that the families can be grouped into seven provisional mega-groups or *tribes*.

### 9.7.1. Tribe One (Families J and N)

This tribe consists of two families and three subgroups: Family *j* (subgroup *j<sup>A</sup>*, *j<sup>B</sup>*, *j<sup>C</sup>*) and family *n*. There is considerable consistency in the relationship between the families and subgroups of this tribe throughout the eight test passages. When each of the test passages of Matthew is analysed separately this relationship might not be clearly identified, possibly because of the limited number of variants. The relationship becomes clearer when both test passages in Matthew are analysed, or any other test passages from Mark, Luke or John. The earliest manuscript of this tribe goes back to about 1000 A.D.

### 9.7.2. Tribe Two (Families H and G)

This tribe consists of family *h* and *g*. A linguistic comparison between these two families shows undoubtedly that family *g* is an edition of family *h*.<sup>6</sup> The phylogenetic software confirms this relationship. The original text of family *h* might go back to *circa* sixth century.

Earlier (see §5.2.4 above) I suggested a possible relationship between family *h* and family *j*. However, the phylogenetic analysis above does not seem to show any close (and consistent) relationship between these two families (with a possible exception; see trees 9, 43, 44 of Matthew). Therefore, since further research is needed in this direction, no conclusion will be drawn here, and the question of whether or not there is a relationship between both families will remain open.

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6 See particularly H. Kachouh, 'The Arabic Gospel Text of Codex Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale, 430: Is it Recent or Archaic?', *Parole de l'Orient*, 32 (2007) 105-121.

## 9.7.3. Tribe Three (Families E and I)

Two families belong to this tribe: *e* and *i*. We have seen in the body of the study that family *i*, which is corrected against the Harklean version, has more than a few Peshitta readings in its text. Moreover, I have suggested above that this family might have been an edition of an earlier Arabic version translated from the Peshitta (§5.1.6.4 above). PAUP reveals the consistent close relationship between *e* (translated from the Peshitta) and *i* (corrected against the Harklean version). This suggests that the text which the scribe of *i* used to prepare his edition is most likely to be similar to the text of *e*. This relationship, however, is less apparent in Matthew. This might be because the scribe was working carefully and meticulously at the beginning of his edition, but became less thorough as his text progressed toward the Gospel of John.

## 9.7.4. Tribe Four (Mainly Family A)

This tribe is constituted mainly of family *a*. The phylogenetic analysis does not seem to relate this family, closely or consistently, to any other families (with possible exceptions, see below), and should be considered for now as an independent translation. More test passages need to be studied to ascertain the credibility of this claim. A close examination of the trees above suggests that apart from Matthew (both test passages), Mark (first test passage) and Luke (first test passage), there could be a close relationship between family *a* and *b*. This relation gets stronger in the second part of Luke and John's Gospel. It is also possible to claim, in the case of John's Gospel only, that family *a*, *b* and *c* are genetically related.

Since there is some inconsistency in the data above, we shall leave this matter open for a more thorough analysis.

## 9.7.5. Tribe Five (Family L)

Tribe Five also represents a single family; family *l* (prepared by Ibn al-'Assāl). This family seems to be situated in general at the foot of tribe One (especially family *j*) and might in some places be related to it. We have already seen that one of the versions Ibn al-'Assāl used in this preparation of this eclectic edition has a similar text to family *j* (see §7.1.5.4 above).

## 9.7.6. Tribe Six (Families K and O)

This tribe consists of family *k* with a possible relationship with family *o*. We have already seen that family *o* is an edition of a lectionary written with rhymed prose (see §7.4 above). It is remarkable that PAUP was able to ascertain a consistent connection between *k* and *o*. This might suggest that the scribe of *o* was familiar with the text of *k* (Alexandrian Vulgate) and was influenced by it. The study of the AGM has shown conclusively that the most influential and widespread version in the seventeenth century (the time when scribe *o* prepared his edition) was family *k*. Hence, it is reasonable to claim that the scribe of *o* was familiar with and might have been influenced by the text of *k* in preparation of his edition.

## 9.7.7. Tribe Seven (Mainly Families C and R)

Families *c* and *r* are closely related, primarily in Mark and Luke. It is also possible to add families *d*, *b* and *q* to this tribe, though the data is not always consistent. Family *p*<sup>(0)</sup>, which only contains John,<sup>7</sup> might be related to families *c* and *b* but further investigation is still needed in this direction.

## 9.7.8. Conclusion

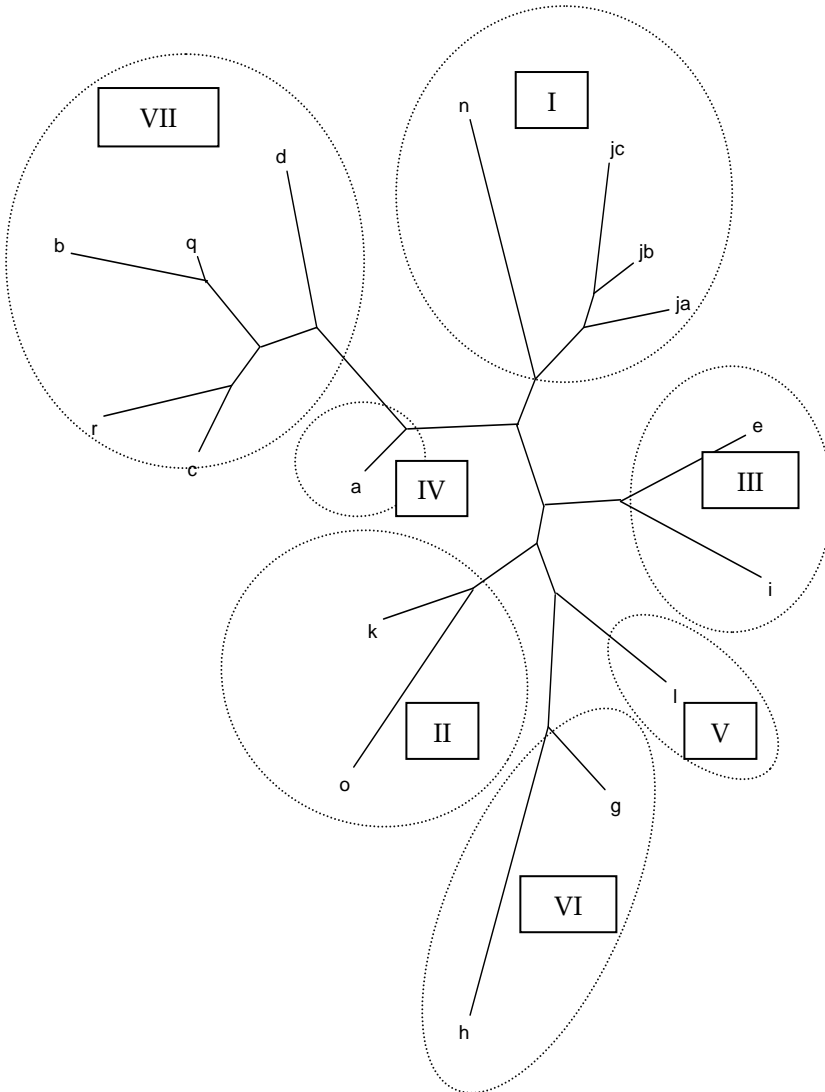
The grouping of the families into seven provisional tribes can, to a considerable extent, be seen in most trees presented above. The two *trees* which seem to reflect this relationship most accurately are *trees* forty-nine and fifty (of both test passages of Mark). This is not surprising because

1. All the families (except *p*) are included in the analysis of Mark (where for the first test passage of Matthew families *i*, *n*, *p*, *r* are excluded as their texts have lacunae here, and for the second test passage of Matthew families *i*, *p*, *q* and *r* are excluded).
2. The two test passages in Mark have a high proportion of variants (216 unit-variants against Matthew 137 unit-variants).

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7 Since this family contains the Gospel of John, only the diagrams/trees of John should be examined and not, for instance, the first tree which contains the analysis of the eight-test passages (and might be misleading).

3. Contrary to Matthew, Mark might have been less edited, and thus the relationship between the families could be perceived more accurately. Here is again *tree 50* (*tree 49* is almost identical to 50), in which every *tribe* is encircled and numbered:



In addition to the seven tribes above we must not forget the fragmentary manuscripts and also the two independent families *f* and *m* which were not included in the above study. The hope is that further investigation into the relationship between the families will vindicate the claims set out above. The final issue to be considered at the end of this study is related to the date of the first translation of the Arabic Gospel.

### 9.8. The Date(s) of the Archetype(s)

The earliest surviving dated (or datable) Arab Christian apology is found in codex Sinai, Ar. 154, copied in about 750 A.D. According to Samir, the text should be dated from 737/738 A.D., 767/768 A.D., or 770/771 A.D.<sup>8</sup> There are other treatises dated in/from 772 A.D.<sup>9</sup>, 781 A.D., and 785 A.D.<sup>10</sup> Our knowledge of the existence of these treatises in either the Umayyad or early Abbasid Period (which begins in 750 A.D.) allows us to safely set the boundary of the first existence of a Christian religious text in Arabic. It may be stated, therefore, that it is likely that the Arabic religious/biblical text has preceded the period when Christians start writing apologies, treatises and sermons in Arabic.<sup>11</sup> Thus any time before 750 A.D. is a conceivable claim.<sup>12</sup>

The two palimpsested manuscripts Sinai, Ar. 514 and Codex Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 8 and 28 contain layers of Arabic which could be dated back to not later than the first Hijra century (late seventh, early eighth century). According to Atiya, the Arabic layer of Codex Sinai, Ar. 514 might contain the text of Luke. This is not yet clear; however, the text is most likely to be a Christian text and pushes back the hypothesis of the first existence of the Arabic Bible to the seventh century if not earlier.

This book was able to show that the AGM of the eighth and early ninth centuries are copies of much earlier exemplars, and that already

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8 Samir, "Earliest Arab Apology," 63.

9 See Griffith, "The Gospel in Arabic," 135.

10 Samir, "Earliest Arab Apology," 64.

11 Sinai, Ar. 154 also contains Acts of the Apostles and the Seven Catholic Epistles. According to M.D. Gibson, Acts and the Epistles predate the treatise, which, according to Samir is from *circa* 750 A.D. Thus, it is safe to conclude that the biblical text of Sinai, Ar. 514 is from the eighth century. See in the introduction in Margaret Dunlop Gibson, *An Arabic Version of the Acts of the Apostles and the Seven Catholic Epistles from an Eighth or Ninth Century MS. in the Convent of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai*, Studia Sinaitica no. VII, (London: Cambridge University Press, 1899), v-ix.

12 The earliest surviving dated manuscript of the Gospel is Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 14 & 16 dated 849 A.D.

in this period the Gospel texts had been textually contaminated and linguistically improved. Therefore, already in the second half of the eighth century, one should be able to talk about the history of transmission and development of the Arabic Gospel versions, and not about the first existence of the Arabic Gospel versions. Thus to suggest that a number of the eighth/ninth century manuscripts originated in the seventh century<sup>13</sup> is not only possible but most likely to be the case.

Moreover, textually speaking, we were able to see that family *b* most likely precedes all other manuscripts whose roots go back to the seventh or early eighth century. Furthermore, family *h* has the most archaic language, and based on linguistic comparison and also textual considerations, its text precedes most if not all the Arabic versions of that period. *The Arabic text which this version exhibits is unique and is incompatible with biblical texts of southern Palestine the roots of which go back to the seventh century.* Thus, it is indeed plausible to propose that the Arabic Gospel text first appeared in the pre-seventh century era.

Family *b* contains an Arabic version translated from a non-Byzantine Greek text. It has very archaic readings found in early Greek papyri and pre-Byzantine Majuscule manuscripts. This possibly suggests that this version was translated into Arabic at a time when the Byzantine text had not yet taken over and a homogenous text not yet been ratified by the Church. Thus, a sixth/seventh century date could explain its textual inconsistency with the Byzantine text.<sup>14</sup>

Family *h* differs significantly from all other Arabic versions. It is translated from a form of the Syriac Peshitta which has preserved many pre-Peshitta readings (indicating the antiquity of the translation). It appears to have been written any time in the sixth or early seventh centuries for a community, possibly in middle/south of Arabia, who were unfamiliar with Greek, Syriac and the language of the Qurʾān. This Arab tribe were most likely Christians who wished to read and worship in their native language.

The data above seems to suggest that the Gospel existed in Arabic among the Arab Christian community no later than the seventh century, which suggests that the Gospel was first translated into Arabic by the sixth century. The best example of this sixth century version is the text of family *h* and in particular, in the earliest form of the remaining Gospel text of Vatican, Ar. 13 (see §5.1.5.8 above).

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13 Cf. Burkitt, "Arabic Versions," 136.

14 On the Byzantine text, Kenyon points out that this type of text originated "in a revision which seems to have begun in Syria at the end of the fourth century." See, F.G. Kenyon, *The Text of the Greek Bible*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn. Revised and Augmented by A.W. Adams, (London: Duckworth, 1975) 106.

From a historical perspective could the date set above be feasible? No one doubts that Christianity spread among the Arabs from at least the fourth century. Bishoprics with churches and monasteries were established well before the rise of Islam. The main controversy is whether these Christianized Arab tribes had their own written liturgy and translation of the Bible in Arabic or used a Syriac and Greek liturgy with possibly a spontaneous oral translation, if needed. The use of expressions like الياسين and الارداء in family *h* shows that the Arabs had *their own native religious vocabulary* at this time (pre-seventh century) and were not borrowing from other languages (e.g. Syriac and Greek). Although the text of family *h* is translated from Syriac it is written to a community which appears only to have known Arabic and not Syriac, Greek or terminology used within the Qur'ān.

There are three places where we might expect the possible existence of the Arabic Gospel before the rise of Islam. The first is in *Bilād al-Shām* among tribal confederations as the Salihids (of the fifth century) and particularly the Ghassanids (of the sixth century). The Ghassanids had a famous king, al-Hārith ibn Jabala (529-569 A.D.), who resuscitated the Monophysite Church,<sup>15</sup> and played an important part in the ordination of two bishops, Jacob Baradaeus and Theodore. Theodore might have been involved in the ordination of Arab clergy,<sup>16</sup> and the construction of churches and monasteries,<sup>17</sup> a number of which have survived to the present time (for instance, the monastery tower at Qasr al-Ḥay al-Gharbī between Damascus and Palmyra).<sup>18</sup> Scholars have not reached a consensus on whether the Arabic language was also used in these monasteries in addition to Greek and Syriac during this period. The case of the "Monastery of the Arabs" in the north near Antioch suggests, as Shahīd puts it,

a strong sense of identity and community as Arabs on the part of the monks who chose to live together with their fellow Arabs. These, it should be remembered, were not Rhomaic Arabs but federate Arabs, allies who had come from the Arabian Peninsula in fairly recent times. Although some of them, especially their phylarchs, acquired a knowledge of Syriac

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15 Al-Hārith's son, Mundir (569-582? A.D.), was even more influential than his father and represented his church in the third council of Constantinople in March 580 A.D.

16 See Irfan Shahīd, "Arab Christianity Before the Rise of Islam", *Christianity: A History in the Middle East*, (Lebanon: MECC, 2005), 437-8, and *Ibid.*, *BASIC*, 1, 2, 761-768 in which Shahīd concludes that "Theodore emerges from this analysis as the bishop of the Arabs in Orients and in the neighboring Arab region for almost one-third of the sixth century".

17 Shahīd, "Arab Christianity Before the Rise of Islam", 438 and 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Hashimi, *Mawsū'at Tārīkh al-'Arab*, vol. 1, (Beirut: Dār al-Hilāl, 2006), 218-221.

18 *Ibid.*

and Greek, the majority of the federate Arabs were most probably monolingual, and Arabic was their language for the affairs of everyday life.<sup>19</sup>

During this period and in this geographical location, one could expect the appearance of the Scripture in Arabic. The Ḥarrān Greek Arabic inscription<sup>20</sup> from the Ghassānid rule dated in 568 A.D. not only shows that the Arabic script was well established to serve this purpose, but that the Ghassānids used their own native language for self expression (even, possibly, in written form, as it is hard to accept that the above inscription is the only inscription they had).<sup>21</sup>

All this circumstantial evidence suggests that in the sixth century the Ghassānids might have translated portions from the Bible for their worship.

The second area where one might have found an Arabic Gospel prior to the rise of Islam is in Mesopotamia, particularly in al-Ḥīra near the southern Euphrates. Christianity came to Ḥīra at an early date; this city became an Episcopal See as early as 410 A.D.<sup>22</sup> Its bishop was called Hosea, and it had a strong Christian (Nestorian) presence. It offered protection to the Christians against Sasānid Persia. The Christians of Ḥīra had played an important role in the development of the Arabic script<sup>23</sup>, especially in the fifth century.<sup>24</sup> According to Muslim tradition, Zayd b. Ḥamād, a Christian from Ḥīra, was among the first persons to write Arabic (circa 500 A.D.).<sup>25</sup> His son, 'Adī ibn Zayd al-'Tbādī, was a well-known Arab Christian poet.<sup>26</sup> Moreover, Christians of al-Ḥīra sent missionaries to various places, including the south of Arabia. They had a strong relationship with the Christians of Najrān.<sup>27</sup> They built many churches and convents in and around Ḥīra. The most

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19 Shadid, *BASIC*, 1,2, 841.

20 On this bilingual inscription see, *BASIC*, 1,1, 325-331

21 Shahīd even suggests the existence of an *Arab national church* during the episcopate of Theodore. On the Kanīsat al-A'rāb, (the church of the Arabs) in Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān in Syria, see Shadid, *BASIC*, 1,2, 841-842, and on the mission of Theodore in Arabia see, *ibid*, 850-860.

22 See A. S. Tritton, "Naṣārā", *EL*<sup>1</sup>, vol. 3, 848.

23 It is worth noting that the Gothic and Armenian versions of the Scriptures were closely tied in with the history of the written Gothic and Armenian languages. Moreover, the Cyrillic script was developed for the purpose of translating the Scriptures.

24 See Irfan Shahīd, "Al-Ḥīra", *EL*<sup>2</sup>, vol. 3, 462-463.

25 C Rabin, "'Arabiyya", 565.

26 *Ibid.*, as well as Shahīd, "Al-Ḥīra", 462, and Cheikho, *Kitāb shu'arā' an-Naṣrāniyah*, 439-474.

27 It is said that "Najrān was evangelised by a native who was converted in Ḥīra" (see Tritton, "Naṣārā," 848).



significant Christian inscription of pre-Islamic time is found in Dayr Hind in Ḥīra and its text shows, with little doubt, that the Christians of Ḥīra used Arabic in writing and in expressing their religious beliefs.<sup>28</sup> I have above compared the vocabulary of the inscription with the text of family *h* and the resemblance discovered is striking. (See 5.1.5.8 above). By the sixth century the church in Ḥīra was well organized and a text similar to the one found in family *h* might have been produced there.

The third group which might have conceivably produced an Arabic Gospel are the Christians of the Arabian Peninsula, especially those from Najrān. Najrān accepted Christianity in the fifth century and became the main centre for Arab-Christians in Arabia.<sup>29</sup> It had its first known bishop *circa* 500 A.D., and a missionary, "Simeon of Bêt Aršām," who was active during the first half of the sixth century.<sup>30</sup> In about 517 A.D., a number of Christians of Najrān, about two hundred men and a hundred women,<sup>31</sup> were killed by the Jewish king of Himyar Dhū Nuwās. Consequently, this place became a pilgrimage centre for the Arab Christians (and possibly also the Ethiopians).<sup>32</sup> It had a well-known bishop and poet, Quss ibn Sā'idah, who met the Prophet Muḥammad in Sūq 'Ukāz.<sup>33</sup>

No one denies the significance of this place in terms of its Christian presence in Arabia. The question is whether these Arab Christians were confined to the official and ecclesiastical language, mainly Syriac, or produced an Arabic Gospel for liturgical and missiological purposes. The study of the AGM seems to support the second position, and the Arabic language and script were certainly well developed enough to serve such a purpose.

These are the three main geographical areas where one could expect the existence of an Arabic Gospel in pre-Islamic times. The language of family *b* might fit better in places like Palestine and Syria and thus might have emerged from *Bilād al-Shām* with an Arab tribe such as the Ghassānids in the sixth century. Family *h* could possibly be the Nestorian translation made in Ḥīra for a missionary purpose, extended

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28 See Shahīd, "Arab Christianity Before the Rise of Islam", 441-442.

29 A.S. Tritton suggests that "Christianity had probably reached Najrān before 400", see Tritton, "Naṣārā", 848.

30 Griffith, "The Gospel in Arabic," 157.

31 Aṭ-Ṭabarī mentions the story of a Christian who escapes this massacre and comes to the King of Abyssinia with a burned Gospel. This account shows that there was a Gospel in south Arabia around this period. See Griffith, "The Gospel in Arabic," 158.

32 Shahīd, "Arab Christianity Before the Rise of Islam," 446.

33 See, Ch. Pellat, "Quss b. Sā'idah," *EP*, vol. 5, 528-529 and Cheikho, *Kitāb shu'arā' an-Naṣrāniah*, 211-218.

to south Arabia, especially among Arab tribes (in Najrān or elsewhere), which only knew Arabic.

Baumstark and 'Irfan Shāhīd would certainly share the conviction of the existence of the Arab Bible prior to Islam, however, Griffith might disagree at this point. In his article on *The Gospel In Arabic* Griffith sets the following major argument to refute the claim of an Arabic Gospel prior to Islam.

He points out that

the fact that the Arabic of these Gospel manuscripts, along with the Arabic of the many theological treatises *coming from Palestinian monasteries in the same period*, to which we alluded above [ninth century], *from the point of view of grammar, syntax, and even lexicography*, is what Joshua Blau designates as a form of Middle Arabic. It represents a popular pattern beginning in the eighth century. [...] *The evidence of the language itself thus precludes a pre-Islamic date for the origin of the Palestinian Arabic Gospel text.*<sup>34</sup> (The emphasis is mine).

In the light of this study, we could say that, although Codex Vatican, Ar. 13 comes from Mar Sābā (a monastery in south Palestine), its text, in the Gospels only, *was borrowed* by the monks of Mar Sābā for use among the Palestinian Christian Arabs. Its *grammar, syntax, and even lexicography* are not of the Middle Arabic of the seventh/eighth century but more likely of the Arabic of Ḥīra or Najrān in pre-Islamic times (see §§5.1.5.4 and 5.1.5.6.2). Thus *the evidence of the language itself permits us to suggest a pre-Islamic date for the origin of Vatican, Ar. 13 (in the Gospels only).*

Griffith's second major argument has to do with the *Vorlage* of the translation. He argues that Christianity in al-Ḥīra was well established and if a Gospel in Arabic is to be found, it would have been translated from Syriac and not Greek as is the case with the early Palestinian Arabic Gospels (here Griffith is referring to the Arabic version which has the sigla *a* in this study and which is translated from Greek). He states the following:

By that time [end of the sixth century] in al-Ḥīra written Arabic had achieved a sufficiently high degree of development to be capable to serve as a vehicle for the translation of the Gospels. Christian Arabs themselves probably used this written Arabic language at this early time. The problem is that if they ever thought of translating the Gospels into Arabic [...] they almost certainly would have translated them from Syriac.<sup>35</sup>

In the light of this work, we can safely argue that one of the earliest, if not *the* earliest, translation of the Gospel is made from Syriac and not

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34 Ibid., 156.

35 Ibid.

Greek. The Gospel text of Vatican, Ar. 13 is not only translated from Syriac but from the Peshitta Syriac which had preserved Old Syriac readings, and seems to have been written to a community whose knowledge of Syriac, Greek and the Qur'ān appears to have been absent.<sup>36</sup>

For the first time the question of the dating of the Arabic Gospel is presented, based on the study of the AGM themselves and not on historical, social and secondary data. The table below presents the families of the manuscripts with the date when they were possibly first translated and with which we conclude our chapter.

The capital letters G, S, C, and L stand for Greek, Syriac, Coptic and Latin respectively. The letter M indicates a mixture of *Vorlagen*. Ca stands for *circa* and the lower case c stands for century. For instance, "Ca 7c" means *circa* 7<sup>th</sup> century.

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36 Griffith has a third argument which is very different in nature, and is concerned with the rubrics. He refers to Baumstark who claims that the rubrics are indicators that the translation of certain manuscripts (see family *a*) pre-date Islam. Griffith argues with Graf that this is not necessarily the case. In the two previous notes (one and two above) Griffith is pointing to some evidence which rejects the hypothesis of a pre-Islamic Gospel, but here he is refuting Baumstark's evidence of such existence. In this specific issue, neither Baumstark nor Griffith give sufficient data in favor or against the existence of an Arabic Gospel in pre-Islamic times. There are other major issues to consider in this debate and these are stated above.



## 10. Conclusion

I shall not present a summary of each family and chapter as they are found in their respective places in this study. Here however, I shall present the contribution of this work and the next step in the study of the Arabic Gospel text.

### 10.1. The Contribution of This Study

This study is the first serious attempt to group the AGM into families. Eight test passages were extracted from almost all the manuscripts, and were used as the basis on which the grouping was established.

The abridged list of the AGM is the first of its kind, in which over two hundred manuscripts are cited and described. In addition, a bibliographical reference is given to each manuscript for further research.

The study of the relationship between the manuscripts is another major contribution. In particular, the relationship established between families  $g$  and  $h$  is crucial, as family  $h$  (the earliest text of the Arabic Gospel) is lacunose in most of Luke and John. The text of  $g$  can indirectly reflect to us the original text of  $h$ .

This study is the first work which deals with dating the AGM based on the manuscripts themselves through comparison and textual and linguistic analysis. Historical and sociological data play a secondary role, and their function is to confirm the dating which has been determined through the examination of the manuscripts. This study suggests that the Gospels could have been first translated into Arabic in either the sixth or early seventh century. If future scholars are motivated to study this claim further, they should give particular attention to Vatican, Ar. 13.

Finally, the major contribution for each family can be summarized as the following:

## 10.1.1. Family A

Some manuscripts of family *a* have been extensively studied by scholars in the past. This family was translated from Greek and used among the Melkite church in the Orient. This study reveals the following new data:

1. There are now at least twelve manuscripts which have been identified as belonging to this family;
2. The earliest dated manuscript has been shown to be Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 14 and 16 and was copied in 859 A.D. (previously it was thought that Sinai, Ar. 72 copied in 897 A.D. was the earliest surviving dated manuscript of this family);
3. It has been shown that by the early ninth century, this family was widely in circulation, although its text was considerably corrected against other *Vorlagen*, and its Arabic style needed revision and correction;
4. In general, this family follows the Greek Byzantine text, and the Gospel of Luke differs less than 30% from the Byzantine Majority Text. A number of readings follow the Caesarean group of manuscripts. Traces of the Syriac Diatessaron, possibly the *Vetus Syra*, and the *Peshitta* are present but only minimally. As suggested by Guidi, its archetype might go back to the seventh or eighth century.

## 10.1.2. Family B

Family *b* is undoubtedly one of the major contributions of this study, and I was fortunate to be the first to examine it. Its discovery will have great implication on the importance of the AGM for textual criticism.

No extant Arabic manuscript can claim more textual value than this version. On a textual basis, the archetype of this version could go back to the sixth century. The earliest surviving manuscript of this version could be dated in the second half of the eighth century.

The examination of the Gospel of Luke shows that this manuscript follows an archaic Greek manuscript which differs considerably from the Greek Byzantine text. The Western and Alexandrian readings are very many and will be presented in a separate monograph.

### 10.1.3. Family C

Family *c* was originally translated from Greek and by the late eighth or early ninth century had been corrected against the Syriac Peshitta. This Peshitta contamination should not be perceived *as a systematic revision of the Arabic text against the Peshitta at one point in time, but is rather a process of assimilation in the history of its Arabic text.* The Gospel of John seems to have circulated independently and shows no Syriac influence. The archetype of this manuscript goes back to the seventh or early eighth centuries.

### 10.1.4. Families D, E, and F

Families *d*, *e* and *f* were all translated from the Syriac Peshitta between the ninth and the eleventh centuries.

### 10.1.5. Families G and H

Families *g* and *h* were also translated from the Peshitta. Although one manuscript of family *g* survived (copied in 1885 A.D.), we were able to discover the existence of at least another four manuscripts of the same version which are today missing, but which go back to the tenth century. Moreover, I have shown that Ibn al-'Assāl cited this version extensively in his edition in the thirteenth century.

Another contribution of this study is the discovery that family *g* is an edition of family *h* and not a fresh translation. Family *h* is a loose and free translation and the scribe of family *g* edited the text of *h* and brought it closer (i.e. literally) to the Peshitta version.

Family *h* might turn out to be the earliest and the first translation of the Gospels into Arabic. It was undoubtedly borrowed by the monks of Mar Sābā after the Arab invasion when a need was felt for the Bible to be accessible in Arabic. It was translated from the Syriac Peshitta and preserved many pre-Peshitta readings. Unfortunately, the surviving text has been edited to a limited extent. The Arabic is incompatible with all the AGM of the eighth and ninth centuries. It might have been translated in al-Ḥīra and was in circulation in Najrān. Based on linguistic data and a comparison of this version with the others, this study claims that the archetype of family *h* might go back to the sixth or early seventh century.

## 10.1.6. Family I

Family *i* is another edited version. It was originally translated from the Peshitta and later corrected against the Harklean Syriac. Its original text could be similar to the text of family *e*. Fortunately, the text was not edited thoroughly and some Peshitta readings, as well as a conflation of readings, are still present in the text.

## 10.1.7. Family J

Family *j* is the second most widespread version of the AGM. In the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries it was the *Vulgate* of the East, but in the fourteenth century it was superseded by family *k*. This study shows that at least fifty-two manuscripts survived from family *j*. I was also able to divide these manuscripts into three subgroups (*j*<sup>A</sup>, *j*<sup>B</sup> and *j*<sup>C</sup>). Although scholars in the past mistakenly suggested that this version was translated in the eleventh or twelfth century, the earliest witness of this version seems to go back to the tenth century.

This family was influenced greatly by the Greek, but I demonstrated that it was originally translated from the Syriac language. The fragment *j*<sup>B40</sup> of the tenth century has a mixture of Greek and Syriac readings. This might suggest that the archetype of this version predates the tenth century.

## 10.1.8. Family K

Amongst all other Arabic versions, family *k*, is the most copied and widespread. More than one hundred and fifty manuscripts could belong to this family. Test passages from ninety-eight manuscripts are collated and studied in this work. Some manuscripts were grouped into provisional subgroups until further analysis is made in this direction. Family *k* is unlikely to have been translated from Coptic, as previously claimed by scholars. It might have been translated from Syriac and Greek, or from Syriac and later corrected against the Greek. Some manuscripts, especially the bilingual Coptic-Arabic ones were influenced by the Coptic Bohairic version. A number of manuscripts of this family seem to have been influenced by family *l*.



## 10.1.9. Family L

Family *l*, Ibn al-ʿAssāl's Version, was not as widespread as previously thought. Only fourteen manuscripts contain the same text as Ibn al-ʿAssāl's, and only three of those have a critical apparatus. Manuscript *l*<sup>a13</sup> is significant, not only because it is the earliest extant manuscript of this family, but also because it was copied directly from the autograph of Ibn al-ʿAssāl.

Another major contribution related to this version is that I was able to examine some of the versions which Ibn al-ʿAssāl used and were in circulation at that time. This study is unprecedented and it was possible for us to undertake it as the Arabic versions of the Gospel are now grouped and classified.

## 10.1.10. Families N and O

Family *n*, represented by a single manuscript, has a mixture of *Vorlagen* and is an extended edition of family *j*. Family *o* is an edition of an Arabic lectionary. Both families (*n* and *o*) have little, if any, textual value.

## 10.1.11. Families Q, R, S and T

Family *q* shows that by the tenth century (and possibly earlier) there was an attempt to make an eclectic edition of the Arabic versions. Family *q* contains a mixture of families (*b*, *c* and *d*). Family *r* might also contain a mixture of families. In Mark and Luke its text is similar to family *c* but has been linguistically improved and textually corrected against the Syriac Peshitta. In the case of Matthew and John, the text is either an independent translation or an offshoot of family *c* which has significantly been edited and should no longer be associated with it. Family *s* is a mixture of families *k* and *l*, and family *t* a mixture of families *a*, *j*<sup>A</sup> & <sup>B</sup> and *k*.

## 10.1.12. Families U, V, W and X

Families *u*, *v*, *w*, *x* are fragmentary manuscripts, and therefore little can be said about their *Vorlagen*. The surviving fragment of family *v* is undoubtedly translated from the Coptic Bohairic version, and family *x* translated from the Peshitta.

## 10.2. Future Avenues

I would like to suggest six major avenues which should follow this study:

1. A full study of family *b*: firstly and most importantly, this should include a textual study of this version, the starting point of which is the reconstruction of the Greek text. Secondly, a linguistic comparison of this family with other Arabic versions to discover whether or not this version has had a major influence on them.
2. Vatican, Ar. 13, which is the representative of family *h*, has not been considered by scholars in the past, however it should be studied *linguistically* in the light of other families. Its archaic nature can only be appreciated when it is compared with other AGM of the eighth and ninth centuries. Family *g* could play a crucial role in reconstructing the full text of Vatican, Ar. 13.
3. Now that the AGM are grouped and organized, it is worth comparing their texts with the Arabic Diatessaron, Lectionaries, Commentaries, as well as biblical citations in Arab Christian and Muslim writings. This study might have great implications in determining the date they were first translated and their place of circulation and influence in both Christian and Muslim writings.
4. The manuscripts included in this study are not the sole extant manuscripts of the Arabic Gospels. Libraries and monasteries still contain ample manuscripts which await examination and grouping. Any new AGM should either find its appropriate place within the various groups in this study or become a new family on its own.
5. The linguistic richness, accumulated throughout the centuries and contained in the AGM, should not be neglected. An Arabic lexicography with a Greek and Syriac equivalence<sup>1</sup> would be of enormous benefit, especially when we begin a new translation of the Arabic Gospels.
6. The study of the script plays a major role in dating Arabic manuscripts. Regrettably, a volume on Arabic Christian palaeography has not yet been produced, but there are a number of clearly dated individual Christian Arabic manuscripts which could help us de-

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1 This is one example: The Arabic versions give nine different renderings for the Greek word  $\omega\epsilon$  and Syriac  $\omega\epsilon$  in Mark 6:17. 1)  $\omega\epsilon$  (family *a*); 2)  $\omega\epsilon$  (family *c, r, k*); 3)  $\omega\epsilon$  ( $j^c, j^b, l$ ); 4)  $\omega\epsilon$  (family *n*); 5)  $\omega\epsilon$  (family *i*); 6)  $\omega\epsilon$  (family *e*); 7)  $\omega\epsilon$  (family *g, h*); 8)  $\omega\epsilon$  (families *d, o*); 9)  $\omega\epsilon$  (family  $j^a$ ).

velop a guideline for a general dating of Arabic Christian manuscripts.

Now that a substantial number of the AGM have been grouped and classified, the extent of the textual value of these manuscripts to biblical scholarship and their linguistic significance to Arabicists and Orientalists can be more fully revealed.

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1 The word(s) in brackets in the bibliogray refer(s) to the abbreviation used in ALAGM.

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### 11.3. Catalogue of Manuscripts by Families

#### *Family a*

- a*<sup>1</sup> Sinai, Ar. 74
- a*<sup>2</sup> Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 14 & 16
- a*<sup>3</sup> Vatican, Borg. Ar. 95
- a*<sup>4</sup> Sinai, Ar. 72
- a*<sup>5</sup> Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 7
- a*<sup>6</sup> Sinai, Ar. 71
- a*<sup>7</sup> Sinai, Ar. 54
- a*<sup>8</sup> Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Or. Oct. 1108
- a*<sup>9</sup> Sinai, Ar. 97
- a*<sup>10</sup> Sinai, Ar. 98
- a*<sup>11</sup> Leipzig, University Library, Cod. Tischend. XXXI (Or. 1059A)
- a*<sup>12</sup> Sinai, Harris 9 (Gregory 0137)
- a*<sup>13</sup> St. Petersburg, National Library, Gr. 281 (Gregory 0136)

#### *Family b*

- b*<sup>1</sup> Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 8, 28
- b*<sup>2</sup> Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 24
- b*<sup>3</sup> Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 44

#### *Family c*

- c*<sup>1</sup> Sinai, Ar. 75
- c*<sup>2</sup> Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 6 [5, 63]
- c*<sup>3</sup> Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 15
- c*<sup>4</sup> Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 64 [36]

*Family d*

*d*<sup>1</sup> Sinai, Ar. 70

*Family e*

*e*<sup>1</sup> Vatican, Vat. Syr. 269

*Family f*

*f*<sup>1</sup> Leiden, University Library, Cod. 561 Warn

*f*<sup>2</sup> Vatican, Vat. Ar. 17

*f*<sup>3</sup> Vatican, Vat. Ar. 18

*Family g*

*g*<sup>1</sup> Unknown location, copied between 850 and 950 A.D.

*g*<sup>2</sup> Unknown location, copied in 984 A.D.

*g*<sup>3</sup> Unknown location, copied in 1189 A.D.

*g*<sup>4</sup> Unknown location, copied in 1636 A.D.

*g*<sup>5</sup> Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale, Or. 430

*g*<sup>6</sup> Unknown location – used by Ibn al-‘Assāl

*Family h*

*h*<sup>1</sup> Vatican, Vat. Ar. 13

*Family i*

*i*<sup>1</sup> London, British Library, Or. 2291

*Family j*

*j*<sup>A1</sup> Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Gr. 539 (1)

*j*<sup>A2</sup> Sinai, Ar. 115

*j*<sup>A3</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Suppl. Grec. 911

*j*<sup>A4</sup> Sinai, Ar. 107

*j*<sup>A5</sup> Sinai, Ar. N.F. Paper 51

*j*<sup>A6</sup> Sinai, Ar. N.F. Paper 62

*j*<sup>A7</sup> Sinai, Ar. 146

*j*<sup>B1</sup> Sinai, Ar. 106

*j*<sup>B2</sup> Sinai, Ar. 69

*j*<sup>B3</sup> Vatican, Borg. Ar. 71

*j*<sup>B4</sup> Leiden, University Library, Cod. 225 Scaliger.

*j*<sup>B5</sup> Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, WE. 184

*j*<sup>B6</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library, Marsh 575

*j*<sup>B7</sup> Sinai, Ar. 103

*j*<sup>B8</sup> Sinai, Ar. 94

*j*<sup>B9</sup> Sinai, Ar. 84

*j*<sup>B10</sup> Sinai, Ar. 95

*j*<sup>B11</sup> Sinai, Ar. 90

*j*<sup>B12</sup> Sinai, Ar. 104

*j*<sup>B13</sup> Sinai, Ar. 89

*j*<sup>B14</sup> Sinai, Ar. 110



- j*<sup>B15</sup> Sinai, Ar. 82  
*j*<sup>B16</sup> Sinai, Ar. 91  
*j*<sup>B17</sup> Leiden, University Library, Cod. 1571  
*j*<sup>B18</sup> Jerusalem, Orthodox Patr., Ar. 72  
*j*<sup>B19</sup> Sinai, Ar. 80  
*j*<sup>B20</sup> Sinai, Ar. 92  
*j*<sup>B21</sup> Vatican, Vat. Ar. 467  
*j*<sup>B22</sup> Sinai, Ar. 77  
*j*<sup>B23</sup> Sinai, Ar. 78  
*j*<sup>B24</sup> Sinai, Ar. 79  
*j*<sup>B25</sup> Sinai, Ar. 81  
*j*<sup>B26</sup> Sinai, Ar. 83  
*j*<sup>B27</sup> Sinai, Ar. 86  
*j*<sup>B28</sup> Sinai, Ar. 87  
*j*<sup>B29</sup> Sinai, Ar. 88  
*j*<sup>B30</sup> Sinai, Ar. 93  
*j*<sup>B31</sup> Sinai, Ar. 99  
*j*<sup>B32</sup> Sinai, Ar. 100  
*j*<sup>B33</sup> Sinai, Ar. 105  
*j*<sup>B34(excl. Jn)</sup> Sinai, Ar. 108<sup>2</sup>  
*j*<sup>B35</sup> Sinai, Ar. 109  
*j*<sup>B36</sup> Sinai, Ar. 111  
*j*<sup>B37</sup> Sinai, Ar. 113  
*j*<sup>B38</sup> Sinai, Ar. 114  
*j*<sup>B39</sup> Birmingham, Mingana, Chr. Ar. Add. 222  
*j*<sup>B40</sup> Birmingham, Mingana, Chr. Ar. Add. 124  
*j*<sup>B41</sup> St. Petersburg, National Library, Codex Asiat. D226
- j*<sup>C1</sup> Sinai, Ar. 76  
*j*<sup>C2</sup> Jerusalem, Orthodox Patr., Ar. 103  
*j*<sup>C3</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodl. 299  
*j*<sup>C4(John)</sup> Sinai, Ar. 108  
*j*<sup>C5</sup> Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, E. 95

#### *Family k*

- k*<sup>1</sup> Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale, Or.??  
*k*<sup>2</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hunt. 17.  
*k*<sup>3</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Copt. 16  
*k*<sup>4</sup> Sinai, Ar. 101  
*k*<sup>5</sup> Vatican, Vat. Copt. 9  
*k*<sup>6</sup> London, British Library, Or. 1315  
*k*<sup>7</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Syr. 42  
*k*<sup>8</sup> Sinai, Ar. 112

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2 The text of the Gospel of John belongs to the subgroup *j*<sup>c</sup> (see §5.2.3.3 above).

- k*<sup>9</sup> Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 5. 33
- k*<sup>10</sup> London, British Library, Arundel 20
- k*<sup>11</sup> Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 5. 27
- k*<sup>12</sup> Leiden, University Library, Cod. 619 Warn
- k*<sup>13</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hunt. 366.
- k*<sup>14</sup> Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, Ms. 2023
- k*<sup>15</sup> Vatican, Vat. Copt. 8
- k*<sup>16</sup> London, British Library, Or. 426.
- k*<sup>17</sup> Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale, Or. 433
- k*<sup>18</sup> London, British Library, Or. 425
- k*<sup>19</sup> Jerusalem, Orthodox Patr., Ar. 220
- k*<sup>20</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library, Seld. 3202, A. 69.
- k*<sup>21</sup> London, British Library, Or. 1327
- k*<sup>22</sup> Vatican, Vat. Ar. 15
- k*<sup>23</sup> Sinai, Ar. 628
- k*<sup>24</sup> London, British Library, Add. 11856
- k*<sup>25</sup> Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ms. Or. 84
- k*<sup>26</sup> Vatican, Vat. Copt. 11
- k*<sup>27</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodl. 265
- k*<sup>28</sup> Vatican, Borg. Ar. 243
- k*<sup>29</sup> Vienna, National Library, Mxt. 490
- k*<sup>30</sup> Jerusalem, Orthodox Patr., Ar. 36
- k*<sup>31</sup> Sinai, Ar. 68
- k*<sup>32</sup> Vienna, National Library, A. F. 97 (545)
- k*<sup>33</sup> Vatican, Vat. Ar. 603
- k*<sup>34</sup> Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Df. 42
- k*<sup>35</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ar. 51
- k*<sup>36</sup> Jerusalem, Orthodox Patr., Ar. 213
- k*<sup>37</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodl. 447
- k*<sup>38</sup> Leiden, University Library, Cod. 255 Scaliger.
- k*<sup>39</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ar. 60
- k*<sup>40</sup> Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, Ms. 2309
- k*<sup>41</sup> Birmingham, Mingana, Chr. Ar. Add. 271
- k*<sup>42</sup> Vatican, Vat. Ar. 501
- k*<sup>43</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ar. 62
- k*<sup>44</sup> Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Or. 3 (12)
- k*<sup>45</sup> Vatican, Vat. Ar. 483
- k*<sup>46</sup> Vatican, Sbath 121
- k*<sup>47</sup> Vatican, Vat. Ar. 405
- k*<sup>48</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. Or. 191
- k*<sup>49</sup> Vatican, Vat. Ar. 557
- k*<sup>50</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ar. 144

- k*<sup>51</sup> Jerusalem, Orthodox Patr., Ar. 135
- k*<sup>52</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ar. 54
- k*<sup>53</sup> Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale, Or. 441
- k*<sup>54</sup> London, British Library, Or. 1316
- k*<sup>55</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ar. 61
- k*<sup>56</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. Orient. 115
- k*<sup>57</sup> Cambridge, University Library, Add. 3226
- k*<sup>58</sup> Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ms. CL. III, 66
- k*<sup>59</sup> Cambridge, University Library, Or. 643 (8)
- k*<sup>60</sup> Vatican, Vat. Ar. 589
- k*<sup>61</sup> Vatican, Vat. Ar. 559
- k*<sup>62</sup> Vatican, Sbath 27
- k*<sup>63</sup> Vatican, Sbath 64
- k*<sup>64</sup> Vatican, Sbath 651
- k*<sup>65</sup> Vatican, Vat. Ar. 609
- k*<sup>66</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ar. 56
- k*<sup>67</sup> Birmingham, Mingana, Chr. Ar. 10
- k*<sup>68</sup> Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, Ms. 2039
- k*<sup>69</sup> Birmingham, Mingana, Chr. Ar. 7.
- k*<sup>70</sup> Vatican, Vat. Ar. 11
- k*<sup>71</sup> Vatican, Vat. Ar. 12
- k*<sup>72</sup> Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale, Or. 435
- k*<sup>73</sup> Vatican, Vat. Ar. 611
- k*<sup>74</sup> Vatican, Vat. Ar. 26
- k*<sup>75</sup> Vatican, Vat. Ar. 10
- k*<sup>76</sup> Vatican, Borg. Ar. 226
- k*<sup>77</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ar. 53
- k*<sup>78</sup> Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale, Or. 434
- k*<sup>79</sup> Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale, Or. 436
- k*<sup>80</sup> Jerusalem, Orthodox Patr., Ar. 194
- k*<sup>81</sup> Jerusalem, Orthodox Patr., Ar. 207
- k*<sup>82</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ar. 4522
- k*<sup>83</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library, Marsh 167
- k*<sup>84</sup> Lucca, Biblioteca Statale, Ms. 803
- k*<sup>85</sup> Jerusalem, Orthodox Patr., Ar. 235
- k*<sup>86</sup> Vatican, Borg. Ar. 48
- k*<sup>87</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ar. 6280
- k*<sup>88</sup> London, British Library, Or. 1001
- k*<sup>89</sup> Cambridge, University Library, Add. 3216
- k*<sup>90</sup> Leiden, University Library, Cod. 218 Scaliger.
- k*<sup>91</sup> Cambridge, University Library, Add. 3508
- k*<sup>92</sup> London, British Library, Or. 1317

- k*<sup>93</sup> Leiden, University Library, Cod. 217 Scaliger.  
*k*<sup>94</sup> Amsterdam, University Library, III E 20  
*k*<sup>95</sup> Leiden, University Library, Cod. 214 Scaliger.  
*k*<sup>96</sup> Vatican, Borg. Ar. 203  
*k*<sup>97</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ar. 4900  
*k*<sup>98</sup> Sinai, Ar. 147  
*k*<sup>99</sup> Sinai, Ar. N.F. Paper 61  
*K*<sup>100</sup> Cairo, Copt. Mus., Bibl. 2  
*K*<sup>101</sup> Cairo, Copt. Mus., Bibl. 7  
*k*<sup>102</sup> Cairo, Copt. Mus., Bibl. 8  
*k*<sup>103</sup> Cairo, Copt. Mus., Bibl. 10A  
*k*<sup>104</sup> Cairo, Copt. Mus., Bibl. 10B  
*k*<sup>105</sup> Cairo, Copt. Mus., Bibl. 62  
*k*<sup>106</sup> Cairo, Copt. Mus., Bibl. 75  
*k*<sup>107</sup> Cairo, Copt. Mus., Bibl. 84  
*k*<sup>108</sup> Cairo, Copt. Mus., Bibl. 93  
*k*<sup>109</sup> Cairo, Copt. Mus., Bibl. 96  
*k*<sup>110</sup> Cairo, Copt. Mus., Bibl. 97  
*k*<sup>111</sup> Cairo, Copt. Mus., Bibl. 90  
*k*<sup>112</sup> Cairo, Copt. Mus., Bibl. 91  
*k*<sup>113</sup> Cairo, Copt. Mus., Bibl. 99  
*k*<sup>114</sup> Cairo, Copt. Mus., Bibl. 106  
*k*<sup>115</sup> Cairo, Copt. Mus., Bibl. 107  
*k*<sup>116</sup> Cairo, Copt. Mus., Bibl. 108  
*k*<sup>117</sup> Cairo, Copt. Patr., Bibl. 93  
*k*<sup>118</sup> Cairo, Copt. Patr., Bibl. 99  
*k*<sup>119</sup> Cairo, Copt. Patr., Bibl. 100  
*k*<sup>120</sup> Cairo, Copt. Patr., Bibl. 101  
*k*<sup>121</sup> Cairo, Copt. Patr., Bibl. 102  
*k*<sup>122</sup> Cairo, Copt. Patr., Bibl. 104  
*k*<sup>123</sup> Cairo, Copt. Patr., Bibl. 105  
*k*<sup>124</sup> Cairo, Copt. Patr., Bibl. 106  
*k*<sup>125</sup> Cairo, Copt. Patr., Bibl. 107  
*k*<sup>126</sup> Cairo, Copt. Patr., Bibl. 108  
*k*<sup>127</sup> Cairo, Copt. Patr., Bibl. 109  
*k*<sup>128</sup> Cairo, Copt. Patr., Bibl. 110  
*k*<sup>129</sup> Cairo, Copt. Patr., Bibl. 111  
*k*<sup>130</sup> Cairo, Copt. Patr., Bibl. 112  
*k*<sup>131</sup> Cairo, Copt. Patr., Bibl. 113  
*k*<sup>132</sup> Cairo, Copt. Patr., Bibl. 114  
*k*<sup>133</sup> Cairo, Copt. Patr., Bibl. 115  
*k*<sup>134</sup> Cairo, Copt. Patr., Bibl. 117

- k*<sup>135</sup> Cairo, Copt. Patr., Bibl. 122  
*k*<sup>136</sup> Cairo, Copt. Patr., Bibl. 130  
*k*<sup>137</sup> Cairo, Copt. Patr., Bibl. 131  
*k*<sup>138</sup> Cairo, Copt. Patr., Bibl. 132  
*k*<sup>139</sup> Cairo, Copt. Patr., Bibl. 133  
*k*<sup>140</sup> Cairo, Copt. Patr., Bibl. 137  
*k*<sup>141</sup> Cairo, Copt. Patr., Bibl. 196  
*k*<sup>142</sup> Beirut, Family of Buṭrus Tayyān  
*k*<sup>143</sup> Mardin, location unknown  
*k*<sup>144</sup> Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Copt. 191 and 396 (unknown location today)  
*k*<sup>145</sup> Washington, Samml. Adler Nr. 18  
*k*<sup>146</sup> Manchester, Manchester University, Ar. 1  
*k*<sup>147</sup> Dresden, Dresden University, Or. 9  
*k*<sup>148</sup> Göttingen, Göttingen University, Ar. 102  
*k*<sup>149</sup> Tübingen, Tübingen University, Ar. 202  
*k*<sup>150</sup> St. Petersburg, National Library, Or. 2  
*k*<sup>151</sup> Mardin, Ar. 85  
*k*<sup>152</sup> Mardin, Ar. 606  
*k*<sup>153</sup> Aleppo, Sbath 777  
*k*<sup>154</sup> Aleppo, Sbath 834  
*k*<sup>155</sup> Aleppo, Sbath 966  
*k*<sup>156</sup> Aleppo, Sbath, 967  
*k*<sup>157</sup> Aleppo, Sbath, 1013,2  
*k*<sup>158</sup> Aleppo, Sbath 1109  
*k*<sup>159</sup> Aleppo, Sbath, Fihris, 388  
*k*<sup>160</sup> Aleppo, Sbath, Fihris 391  
*k*<sup>161</sup> Lebanon, Sherfeh, Ar. 2/8  
*k*<sup>162</sup> Jerusalem, the Coptic Church of St. George, no shelf-mark  
*k*<sup>163</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Coisl. 239  
*k*<sup>164</sup> Vienna, National Library, Mxt. 514

### *Family l*

- l*<sup>a1</sup> London, British Library, Or. 3382  
*l*<sup>a3</sup> London, British Library, Or. 1326  
*l*<sup>a5</sup> Leiden, University Library, Cod. 223 Scaliger  
*l*<sup>a6</sup> Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, C 47 Inf.  
*l*<sup>a9</sup> Vatican, Sbath 776  
*l*<sup>a12</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library, Arch. Seld. A. 68  
*l*<sup>a13</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hunt. 118  
*l*<sup>b4</sup> Cambridge, University Library, Add. 1860  
*l*<sup>b11</sup> Vatican, Vat. Ar. 610  
*l*<sup>c2</sup> London, British Library, Add. 5995  
*l*<sup>c7</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Copt. 14

- l*<sup>c8</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Copt 14A  
*l*<sup>c10</sup> Vatican, Vat. Copt. 10  
*l*<sup>14</sup> Beirut, Library Ibrāhīm ibn Bishārah al-Ḥūrī  
*l*<sup>15</sup> Vatican, Sbath 1035

*Family m*

- m*<sup>1</sup> London, British Library, Add. 9061  
*m*<sup>2</sup> Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Cod. 4971  
*m*<sup>3</sup> Leipzig, University Library, Cod. Tischend. XXXI (Or. 1059B)  
*m*<sup>4</sup> The Archive of the Cathedral of León, Cod. 35  
*m*<sup>5</sup> Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Ar. 238  
*m*<sup>6</sup> Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Ar. 234  
*m*<sup>7</sup> Qarawiyyīne Library in Fes 730

*Family n*

- n*<sup>1</sup> Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Do. 162

*Family o*

- o*<sup>1</sup> Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale, Or. 432  
*o*<sup>2</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ar. 58

*Family p(Jn)*

- p*<sup>1(Jn)</sup> Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch [5], 6 and 63

*Family q*

- q*<sup>1</sup> Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 36

*Family r*

- r*<sup>1</sup> Leipzig, University Library, Cod. Tischend. XII & London, British Library, Add. 14467.

*Family s*

- s*<sup>A1</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ar. 57  
*s*<sup>B1</sup> Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ms. Or. 14

*Family t*

- t*<sup>1</sup> Sinai, Ar. 102

*Family u*

- u*<sup>1</sup> London, British Library, Or. 1242(4)

*Family v*

- v*<sup>1</sup> Cambridge, University Library, Add. 1905

*Family w*

- w*<sup>1</sup> Cambridge, University Library, Add. 1045

*Family x*

- x*<sup>1</sup> London, British Library, Add. 17224

## 12. Appendix One: Test Passages and Variants

### 12.1. Family A

Matthew 7:15-20

- 15 احذروا من الانبياء الكذابين<sup>1</sup> الذين ياتونكم<sup>2</sup> بلباس خرفان وهم من داخل ذياب خطفه<sup>3</sup>  
16 فاعرفوهم من ثمراتهم<sup>4</sup> هل تجمعوا<sup>5</sup> من الشوك عنب<sup>6</sup> او من الحسك<sup>7</sup> تين<sup>8</sup>  
17 هكذا<sup>9</sup> كل شجره صالحه تصنع<sup>10</sup> ثمره طيبه والشجره<sup>11</sup> الشريره تصنع ثمره<sup>12</sup> شريره  
18 ليس تستطيع شجره<sup>13</sup> صالحه تصنع<sup>14</sup> ثمار<sup>15</sup> سو ولا شجره سو تصنع<sup>16</sup> ثمره<sup>17</sup> صالحه،  
19 كل شجره لا تصنع ثمار<sup>18</sup> طيبه<sup>19</sup> فانها تقطع، وفي النار تلقا،  
20 من ثمارهم تعرفونهم<sup>20</sup>

Matthew 16:1-4

- 1 فتقدموا اليه الفريسيين والصدوقيين<sup>21</sup> يجربوه ويسلوه ان يريهم علامه<sup>22</sup> من السماء،  
2 اجاب فقال لهم، اذا كان بالعشي<sup>23</sup> تقولون صحوا لان السماء<sup>24</sup> محماره

- 
- 1 Manuscripts  $a^3$ ,  $a^4$  and  $a^8$  read: الكذيه (for the sake of simplicity I will not repeat the letter  $a$  in each footnote. This method will be used below unless it is stated otherwise).  
2 ياتونكم  
3 خطافه 9; خاطفه 3, 4, 5, 8, 10  
4 ثمارهم  
5 يجمعوا 3, 8  
6 تين  
7 العليق  
8 عنب  
9 هاكذا 9; هاكذي 8  
10 تطعم  
11 1 adds الشجره  
12 ثمر  
13 شجر  
14 تعمل  
15 ثمره  
16 تعمل  
17 ثمر  
18 ثمره 4, 8  
19 صالحه طيبه  
20 تعرفوهم  
21 الصدوقيين 9  
22 علامات 3

3 "وبالغداه اليوم شتا لان السما محمره<sup>25</sup>"<sup>26</sup> كمدته اما وجه السما فتحسنوا تقضوا واما علامات الزمان فليس تستطيعوا

4 ان الجيل "السو الفاسق"<sup>27</sup> يطلب علامه<sup>28</sup> وليس يعطا الا علامه<sup>29</sup> يونس النبي فتركهم<sup>30</sup> وذهب<sup>31</sup>

Mark 6:14-20

14 "وسمع هرودس الملك"<sup>32</sup> "لان اسمه"<sup>33</sup> كان قد ظهر، فقال ان يحنا المصبيغ قام<sup>34</sup> من الموت، فلذلك<sup>35</sup> القوات تعمل<sup>36</sup> به

15 واخرين<sup>37</sup> قالوا انه هو<sup>38</sup> الياس<sup>39</sup> واخرين قالوا انه "نبي كواحد من الانبياء"<sup>40</sup>

16 فلما<sup>41</sup> سمع هرودس قال يحنا الذي انا قطعت راسه هو قام من الموت<sup>42</sup>

17 لان<sup>43</sup> هرودس<sup>44</sup> هو<sup>45</sup> كان بعث<sup>46</sup> فاخذ<sup>47</sup> يحنا<sup>48</sup> واوثقه<sup>49</sup> في الحبس، منجل<sup>50</sup> هرودياس<sup>51</sup> مره<sup>52</sup> "فيلبس اخيه"<sup>53</sup><sup>54</sup> لانه تزوجها<sup>55</sup>

18 لان<sup>56</sup> "يحنا كان"<sup>57</sup> يقول لهرودس، انه<sup>58</sup> ليس<sup>59</sup> يحل لك ان تتخذ<sup>60</sup> مره<sup>61</sup> اخيك،

- 
- 23 العشى 4  
 24 الشمس 4  
 25 محمره 4, 8, 9  
 26 1 omits.  
 27 الفاسق سو 8  
 28 علامات 8  
 29 علامات 8  
 30 تركهم 3  
 31 ومضى 4  
 32 وان هرودس الملك سمع 6  
 33 بما 6  
 34 قد قام 6  
 35 وقال لذلك 6  
 36 تظهر 6  
 37 اخرين 2, 4, 6, 7, 9  
 38 هوا 6  
 39 يلياس 2, 4, 5, 10; ايلياس 6, 7, 9  
 40 مثل احد الانبياء 6  
 41 ان 6 adds  
 42 الموتى 6  
 43 لانه 6  
 44 6 omits.  
 45 قد 8; الذي هوا 6  
 46 6 omits.  
 47 اخذه 6  
 48 6 omits.  
 49 وشده 8  
 50 من اجل 4, 6, 8  
 51 هروديا 6; هروديه 1  
 52 مرت 6  
 53 اخاه 8; اخوه 4  
 54 اخيه فيلبس 6  
 55 كان تزوجها 6



19 وان هرودياس،<sup>63</sup> حقدت عليه<sup>64</sup> وكانت تريد قتله فلم تستطيع<sup>65</sup>،  
 20 لان هرودس كان بخاف يحنا، لانه<sup>66</sup> كان يعلم انه<sup>67</sup> رجل صديق قديس، وكان يحفظه<sup>68</sup> ويسمع منه  
 'ويقبل<sup>69</sup> كثير "وكان باستلذاذ"<sup>70</sup> يسمع منه،<sup>71</sup>

### Mark 13: 5-11

5 اجاب يسوع وبدا يقول لهم انظروا "ان<sup>72</sup> لا"<sup>73</sup> يطغىكم<sup>74</sup> احدا،  
 6 لان كثير<sup>75</sup> ياتون على اسمي قابلين اني انا هو<sup>76</sup> فيطغون كثير<sup>77</sup>  
 7 فاذا سمعتم بحروب واخبار حروب فلا ترهبوا<sup>78</sup>، لان ذلك ينبغي ان يكون ولاكن<sup>79</sup> ليس هو الانقضا،  
 8 تقوم امه على امه وملك على ملك، ويكون<sup>80</sup> زلازل في اماكن اماكن، ويكون جوع واسجاس<sup>81</sup> وهذا  
 كله ابتد<sup>82</sup> التمحض<sup>83</sup>  
 9 انظروا انتم لانفسكم انهم يسلموكم للشيوع<sup>84</sup> وفي المجامع تضربوا وتقفوا<sup>85</sup> "بين يدي<sup>86</sup> قواد<sup>87</sup> وملوك  
 منجلي<sup>88</sup> شهادة<sup>89</sup> لهم<sup>90</sup>

- 
- 56 و 6  
 57 كان يحنا 6  
 58 6 omits.  
 59 لا 4  
 60 6, 8 omit.  
 61 تاخذ 6  
 62 مرت 6  
 63 هروديا 6  
 64 [ذلك] 6 adds  
 65 تقدر 8; تستطيع 6  
 66 وذلك انه 6  
 67 بانه 6  
 68 يحفظ 9; يوصيه 6  
 69 ويعمل ويقبل 8  
 70 وباستلذاذ كان 4  
 71 ويقبل قوله باستلذاذ 6  
 72 8 omits.  
 73 الا 6  
 74 يطغىكم 9  
 75 كثيرين 4, 6, 8  
 76 هوا 6  
 77 كثيرين 4  
 78 [ورا هم] 4 adds  
 79 6 omits.; لكن 8, 3  
 80 فتكون 8  
 81 (singl. as in the Syriac Sinaiticus text). وسجس 6; واستجاس 4  
 82 ابتدا 9, 7; بدوا 6, 3  
 83 المخاض 6; التميخض 8, 3  
 84 (singl. as in the Syriac Sinaiticus text). الى الشيعة 6  
 85 وتقوموا 8  
 86 قدام 6  
 87 مسلطين 6  
 88 من اجل 6; ومن اجلي 8, 4, 3

10 وفي<sup>91</sup> جميع<sup>92</sup> الامم "اولا ينبغي"<sup>93</sup> يكرز<sup>94</sup> الانجيل  
 11 فاذا اتوا بكم ليسلموكم<sup>95</sup> فلا تبدوا تهتموا ما تتكلموا "وما تتلون"<sup>96</sup> ولاكن<sup>98</sup> الذي اعطيكم<sup>99</sup> في  
 تلك الساعه اياه تكلموا<sup>100</sup> لانكم ليس انتم المتكلمين ولاكن<sup>101</sup> روح القدس

Luke 8:9-15

9 فسالوه<sup>102</sup> تلاميذه قائلين<sup>103</sup> ما هذا المثل،  
 10 وانه قال لكم اعطي علم سراير ملك<sup>104</sup> الله فاما للبقية فبامثال<sup>105</sup> لكي يبصروا ولا يبصروا، ويسمعوا  
 ولا يسمعون، ولا يفهموا،  
 11 هذا هو المثل، ان الزرع<sup>106</sup> هو كلمه الله،  
 12 والذي<sup>107</sup> على الطريق، هم الذين يسمعون الكلمه فياتي الشيطان ويأخذ الكلمه من قلوبهم، لكي لا  
 يومنوا<sup>108</sup> فيخلصوا  
 13 واما الذي على الصخر، فهم الذين اذا<sup>109</sup> سمعوا يقبلوا<sup>110</sup> الكلمه بفرح وليس لهولاي<sup>111</sup> اصل<sup>112</sup>  
 الذين انما<sup>113</sup> يومنوا<sup>114</sup> الى زمن، وفي زمن<sup>115</sup> البلايا يبتعدوا<sup>116</sup>  
 14 فاما الذي سقط في الشوك، هم هولاي<sup>117</sup> الذين اذا سمعوا الكلمه، وهم في هموم، وغنا، ولذات  
 الدنيا، ذاهبين يختنقوا<sup>118</sup> ولا يثمروا<sup>119</sup> ثمرتهم

89 الشهاده 6

90 عليهم 6

91 في 6

92 كل 4

93 ينبغي اولاً 6

94 1 adds above the line in a different hand; 6 ينبغي ان

95 ليسلمونكم 4

96 تتلوا 4

97 وتقولون 6

98 لان 6; ولكن 3, 4, 8

99 يعطيكم 3

100 تنطقون 6

101 ولكن 3, 4, 6, 9

102 فسأيلوه 4

103 9 omits.

104 4 omits.

105 فامثال 5; فيمثل 4

106 الزراع 3

107 الذين 4; وقع 3; الذي 1 adds

108 يومنوا 1

109 4 omits.

110 قبلوا 4

111 لهاولي 4

112 ثبات 4

113 4, 10 omit.

114 يومنون 4

115 زمان 1

116 يبتعدوا 4

117 هاولي 4; هاولاي 3

15 فاما الذي في<sup>120</sup> الارض الصالحه، هم هولاي<sup>121</sup> الذين "يسمعون<sup>122</sup> الكلمه بقلب 'صالح طيب،<sup>123</sup>"<sup>124</sup> فيحفظوها ويثمروا بالصبر

### Luke 15:11-20

- 11 وانه قال، انسان كان له<sup>125</sup> ابنين اثنين<sup>126</sup>  
 12 فقال الشاب منهم للاب<sup>127</sup>، يابته<sup>128</sup> اعطني<sup>129</sup> ما يصير لي من قسم الغنا، فقسم لهم<sup>130</sup> العُمر<sup>131</sup>،  
 13 وبعد ايام قليله<sup>132</sup>، جمع كل شي الشاب<sup>133</sup> وسافر الى بلده<sup>134</sup> بعيدة، وهناك<sup>135</sup> بذر ماله عابس<sup>136</sup> شاطر،  
 14 فلما انفق<sup>137</sup> "كل ما"<sup>138</sup> كان له، صار جوع شديد في تلك البلده<sup>139</sup> وبدا ينتقص،  
 15 فذهب والتزق "بمديني واحد من"<sup>140</sup> تلك البلده<sup>141</sup> وارسله الى حقوله يرعا خنازير،  
 16 وكان يشتهي يملا<sup>142</sup> بطنه من الخروب الذي<sup>143</sup> كانت تاكله<sup>144</sup> الخنازير ولم يكون<sup>145</sup> احد يعطيه،  
 17 فاقبل على نفسه وقال<sup>146</sup>، كيف اجرا ابي يفضلون الخبز، وانا هاهنا اهلك جوعا،  
 18 اقوم وانصرف<sup>147</sup> الى ابي واقول له، يابته قد اخطيت في السما وقدامك،  
 19 ولست باهل ان ادعا لك ابنا، اصنعني<sup>148</sup> كواحد من اجرالك<sup>149</sup>

- 
- 118 2 فيختنقوا  
 119 4 تنموا 2  
 120 1 omits.  
 121 4 هاولى  
 122 4, 5, 10 يسمعوا  
 123 2, 4, 5, 10 طيب صالح  
 124 3 يسمعون بقلب صالح طيب الكلمه  
 125 1 omits.  
 126 4 omits.  
 127 4 لايه  
 128 4 omits.  
 129 3 اعطني  
 130 4 له  
 131 4 ما له  
 132 4 قلائل  
 133 2, 3 الابن الشاب  
 134 9 بلد  
 135 1 omits.  
 136 4 عايش 9; بيعش  
 137 9 ان انفق  
 138 3 كلما  
 139 9 البلاد 3; البلاد  
 140 4 الى احد اشراف  
 141 3; القرية 1  
 142 9 يمل  
 143 2, 3, 9 التي  
 144 1 تاكل  
 145 3, 4 يكن  
 146 4 يقول  
 147 3 اذهب

20 فقام وجا الى ابوه<sup>150</sup> فبين<sup>151</sup> ان هو بعيد، ابصره ابوه فتحنن عليه، فاحضر وسقط على عنقه وقبله  
John 6:30-35

30 فقالوا له اي علامه "تصنع انت"<sup>152</sup> حتى<sup>153</sup> نرا<sup>154</sup> ونومن ماذا تصنع،  
31 ان ابانا<sup>155</sup> قد اكلوا المن في البريه، كما هو مكتوب انه اعطاهم خبز من السما ياكلوا،  
32 فقال لهم يسوع<sup>156</sup> امين امين اقول لكم، انه ليس "موسى اعطاكم"<sup>157</sup> الخبز من السما ولاكن<sup>158</sup> ابي يعطيكم<sup>159</sup> خبز الحق من السما،  
33 لان خبز الله هو الذي ينزل<sup>160</sup> من السما ويعطي حياه للعالم،  
34 قالوا له، يا رب اعطينا<sup>161</sup> من<sup>162</sup> هذا الخبز في كل حين،  
35 فقال لهم يسوع انا هو خبز الحياه الذي ياتي الي لا بجوع، والذي يومن بي لا يعطش ابدا،

John 18:19-27

19 وان راس الكهنه سال يسوع عن تلاميذه وعن تعليمه،  
20 اجابه يسوع انا كلمت العالم علانيه، وانا في كل حين، في الجماعه والهيكل حيث تجتمع<sup>163</sup> "اليهود كلهم"<sup>164</sup> وفي خفيه شي لم اتكلم،  
21 لم تسالني<sup>165</sup> سل الذين سمعوا "اني شي"<sup>166</sup> كلمتهم، وهو لا<sup>167</sup> يعلموا ما قلت<sup>168</sup> انا  
22 فلما قال هذا، لطمه احدى<sup>169</sup> الخدام كان واقف هناك وقال له<sup>170</sup> هاكذا<sup>171</sup> تجيب راس الكهنه،  
23 وان<sup>172</sup> يسوع قال له، ان كنت "بيس ما"<sup>173</sup> تكلمت فاشهد على البيس<sup>174</sup> وان كنت نعمتا تكلمت فلماذا تضر بني،

- 
- اجعلني 4 148  
اجراك 3 149  
ابيه 4 150  
فيينا 3 151  
omits. 5 152  
حتا 3 153  
نرى 10 154  
اباينا 4 155  
يسوع 3 156  
اعطاكم موسى 4 157  
ولكن 3, 4, 5 158  
اعطاكم 4 159  
نزل 4, 10 160  
اعطنا 4 161  
omits. 4 162  
يجتمع 4 163  
كل اليهود 4 164  
تسلني 4 165  
اي شي 9; ايشي 4 166  
وهاولي 4 167  
كلمتهم 4 168  
احد 2, 9 169  
omit. 2, 4 170  
هكذا 4 171  
وان 1 adds 172  
بيسا 2, 4 173

- 24 فبعث به حناس مربوطا الى قيافا راس الكهنه،  
 25 وكان سمعان بطرس قايم يتسخن، فقالوا له، لعلك وانت من تلاميذه انت، فكفر ذلك وقال ليست انا،  
 26 فقال<sup>175</sup> واحد من عبيد راس الكهنه نسيب كان<sup>176</sup> للذي قطع بطرس اذنه، اليس انا رايتك في البستان معه  
 27 فكفر "بطرس ايضا"<sup>177</sup> وسوا صاح الديك

## 12.2. Family B

### 12.2.1. The Eight Test Passages

Matthew 7:15-20

- 15 احتفظوا من الانبيا الكذبه التي تاتيكم بلباس الخراف وهم من داخل ذياب خاطفه  
 16 ومن اثمارهم تعرفونهم لعل يقطف من الشوك عنب او من الحسك تينا  
 17 كذلك كل شجره طيبه اثمارا طيبه تخرج وكل شجره سو اثمار سو تخرج  
 18 وشجره طيبه لا تستطيع تخرج اثمار سو ولا شجره سو تخرج اثمار طيبه  
 19 وكل شجره لا تخرج اثمار طيبه تقطع وتلقا في النار  
 20 اذن من اثمارهم تعرفونهم

بالبيس 4 174

له 2, 4 add 175

176 4 omits.

ايضا بطرس 2 177

## Matthew 16:1-4

- 1 فتقدموا اليه الاحبار والسدوقيين<sup>1</sup> ليبلوه<sup>2</sup> فسالوه ليورثهم ايه من السما
- 2 اجاب فقال لهم اذا كان السما تقولون هو صحوا<sup>3</sup> قد احمارت السما
- 3 وغدوه تقولون اليوم هو شتا<sup>4</sup> قد احمارت السما متغيمه يا المرائين<sup>5</sup> وجه السما تعرفون تفحصون وايات هذا الزمان ليس تعرفون تفرزون
- 4 يا الجيل<sup>6</sup> السو ايه تلتمس وايه لا تعطا غير ايه يونان<sup>7</sup> ثم تركهم وانطلق

## Mark 6:14-20

- 14 وسمع هرودس لان اسمه صار علانيه فقال ان يحنا<sup>8</sup> قام من بين الموت منجل ذلك القوات [يعملن] فيه
- 15 اخرين قالوا انه ايليا اخرين قالوا بانه نبي مثل احد الانبيا
- 16 فسمع هرودس فقال ان يحنا الذي قطعت راسه هو الذي قام من بين الموت
- 17 وان هرودس هو الذي ارسل فامسك يحنا فربطه وطرحه في السجن منجل هروديا مره اخيه فليبيس
- 18 لان يوحنا<sup>9</sup> كان يقول لهرودس انه ليس يحل لك ان يكن مره اخيك لك مره
- 19 فكانت هروديا تتواعه وكانت تطلب ان تقتله فلم تقدر
- 20 لان هرودس كان يخشا يحنا لانه راه رجل صديق ومقدس وكان يحفظه كثير ويعمل ويبشاشه كان يطبعه ويسمع منه

## Mark 13: 5-11

- 5 عند ذلك بدا يسوع يقول لهم انظروا ان لا يطغىكم احد
- 6 فانهم سياتون كثيرون على اسمي فيقولون انا هو ولكثير يطعون
- 7 فاذا سمعتم قتال او سماع القتال فلا تخافون فانه لا بد من ان يكون ولكن ليس هو الانقضا
- 8 تقوم امه على امه وملك على ملك وتكون زلازل في اماكن وجوع وسجس هذا اول المخاض
- 9 انظروا انتم لانفسكم فانهم سايصلونكم لحماعاتهم وفي الجماعات تضربون وقدام الملوك والسلاطين تقدموا منجلي للشهاده عليهم
- 10 وقبل كل شي لا بد ان يشاع هذا الانجيل في جميع الامم
- 11 فاذا قربوكم واسلموكم فلا تهتموا ماذا تتعلموا وماذا تقولوا لكن الذي تعطون في تلك الساعه اياه تكلموا ليس انتم الذين تتكلمون بل روح القدس

## Luke 8:9-15

- 9 فسالوه تلاميذه ما هذا المثل
- 10 فقال لهم لكم اعطي ان تعرفون سراير ملكوت الله واما للباقيين فيامثال لكيما الذين يروا لا يبصرون والذي يسمعون لا يفهمون
- 11 ان هذا المثل هو هذا الزرع هو كلام الله
- 12 والذي وقع على حد الطريق هم الذين يسمعون فياتي الشيطان فياخذ الكلمه من قلوبهم لكيما لا يومنوا فيخلصوا

---

1 الصدوقيين

2 يجربوه

3 صحوه

4 شتى

5 مرائين

6 لجيل

7 Omits του προφητου with x B D L 579. 700 pc lat sa.

8 It is written without the dots and could be يجا.

9 The three final letters حنا are written on a new line.

- 13 والذي على الصفا هم الذين اذا سمعوا الكلمه يقبلونها بفرح وهولاي ليس لهم اصل الا انهم لزمان يامنوا وفي زمان التجارب يتباعدا  
 14 والذي وقع في الشوك هو الذين يسمعون الكلمه وفتنه الهموم والغنا وشهوات العالم ينطلقوا فيخنقوهم ولا يكملوا ثمراتهم  
 15 والذي في الارض الطيبه هم هاولاي الذين بقلب صلح وخير يسمعون الكلمه فيمسكونها ويقربون بصيرهم ثمرات طيبه

Luke 15:11-20

- 11 فقال لهم يسوع رجل كان له ابنين اثنين  
 12 فقال الشاب منهم لابوه يابته اعطني ما يصير لي من نصيبي فقسم لهم ماله  
 13 والى ايام قليل جمع كل شي ذاك الابن الشاب فانطلق الى بلاد بعيدة وهناك بدد كل شي ملك في معيشه شاطره  
 14 فلما ان انفق كل شي كان معه صار جوع شديد في تلك البلاد فبدا يعدم  
 15 ثم انه انطلق وانقطع الى احد اشراف مدن تلك البلاد فارسله الى ارضه ليرعا الخنازير  
 16 وكان يشتهي يشبع من الخروب الذي كانت تاكل الخنازير وليس احد كان يعطيه  
 17 فتفكر في نفسه وقال كم اجرا في بيت ابي يفضلون الخبز وانا ها هنا اهلك من الجوع  
 18 اقوم وانصرف الى ابي فاقول له يا بته قد اخطيت في السما وبين ايديك  
 19 ولست باهل ان اسما لك ابنا اجعلني كاحد اجراك  
 20 فقام وجا الى ابوه واذ هو بعيد نظر اليه ابوه فرق عليه وجرا فتعلق برقبته فقبله

John 6:30-35

- 30 فقالوا له اي ايه تصنع انت لنرا<sup>10</sup> فنومن<sup>11</sup> بك ماذا تعمل<sup>12</sup>  
 31 ان ابانا اكلوا المن في البريه كما هو مكتوب خبز من السما اعطاهم لياكلون  
 32 فقال لهم يسوع امين امين اقول لكم ليس موسى اعطاهم الخبز من السما لكن ابي اعطاهم خبز الحق من السما  
 33 ان خبز الله هو الذي نزل من السما ويعطي الحياه للعالم  
 34 فقالوا له يا رب اعطينا في كل حين هذا الخبز  
 35 فقال<sup>13</sup> لهم يسوع انا خبز الحياه ان الذي ياتي الي لا يجوع والذي يومن بي لا يعطش ابدا

John 18:19-25

- 19 حينئذ سال راس الكهنه ليسوع عن تعليمه وعن تلاميذه  
 20 فاجابه يسوع وقال له انا كلمت العالم علانيه وفي كل حين كنت اعلم في الجماعات وفي الهيكل حيث كانوا ياتون كل اليهود وشي سر لم اتكلم  
 21 ايشي تسلني سل اولايك الذين كانوا يسمعون الذي كلمتهم فهم يعرفون الذي كلمتهم به  
 22 فلما ان قال هذا كان واحد من الخدام قايم فلطم يسوع وقال له هكذا تجاوب لراس الكهنه  
 23 اجابه يسوع فقال له ان كنت ببسما تكلمت فاشهد على منجل السو وان كنت نعمًا تكلمت فلماذا تضربني  
 24 فارسله حنا الى قيافا راس الكهنه  
 25 وكان بطرس قايم يصطلي فقالوا له لعلك وانت من تلاميذه فكفر وقال لست

10 لننظر نحن 3

11 ونومن 3

12 تفعل 3

13 قال 3

26 فقال واحد من عبيد راس الكهنه كان يناسب ذلك الذي قطع بطرس اذنه فقال لبطرس اليس انا رايتك معه في البستان  
27 فكفر ايضا بطرس ومكانه صاح الديك

### 12.2.2. Additional texts

Matthew 14:8-16 (Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 8 and 24)

8 وانها علمت من امها فقالت اعطيني في قطعه راس يحنا المعمداني  
9 فحزن لذلك<sup>14</sup> الملك "فمنجل"<sup>15</sup> القسم والمتكئين امر ان تعطاه مسيلتها<sup>16</sup>  
10 "عند ذلك"<sup>17</sup> بعث<sup>18</sup> وقطع<sup>19</sup> راس يحنا في السجن  
11 وقرب راسه في [الفصحه]<sup>20</sup> واعطى الجاريه "ثم قربته الى امها  
12 وانطلقوا تلاميذه"<sup>21</sup> فاخذوا الجثه فقبروها ثم جاوا فاخبروا الرب<sup>22</sup> يسوع  
13 فلما ان سمع الرب<sup>23</sup> يسوع انطلق من هناك في سفينه الى مكان بري في خلوه فسمعوا الجماعه  
فلحقوه "بارجلهم من المدن"<sup>24</sup>  
14 فخرج الرب<sup>25</sup> يسوع ونظر الى جمع كثير فتراوف عليهم واشفا امراضهم  
15 فلما ان<sup>26</sup> كان المساتوا اليه تلاميذه وقالوا له ان المكان لبريه والساعه قد جازت فارسل<sup>27</sup> الجماعه  
لكيما يذهبوا<sup>28</sup> الى القرى<sup>29</sup> ليشترون لهم طعام  
16 فقال لهم ليس يحتاجون<sup>30</sup> الى ان ينصرفون<sup>31</sup> ولكن اعطوهم انتم لياكلون فقالوا له<sup>32</sup> ليس لنا غير  
خمس خبزات وحتوتين اثنتين

John 7:18-31 (Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 28 and 44)

18 "فان الذي يتكلم"<sup>33</sup> من ذات نفسه "فانه يريد لمجد"<sup>34</sup> لنفسه والذي يلتمس مجد الذي<sup>35</sup> ارسله فانه  
حق وليس فيه ظلم

- 
- 14 2 omits.
  - 15 فمن اجل 2
  - 16 2 omits.
  - 17 ثم 2
  - 18 ارسل 2
  - 19 فقطع 2
  - 20 قطعه 2
  - 21 2 omits.
  - 22 2 omits.
  - 23 2 omits.
  - 24 من المدن [رجال] 2
  - 25 2 omits.
  - 26 2 omits.
  - 27 ارسل 2
  - 28 ينطلقو 2
  - 29 القرى 2
  - 30 يحتاجوا 2
  - 31 ينصرفوا 2
  - 32 2 omits.
  - 33 لان الناطق 3



- 19 اليس موسى اعطاكم الناموس وليس "احد منكم" <sup>36</sup> يعمل بالناموس فلماذا تلتمسون <sup>37</sup> تقتلونني <sup>38</sup>
- 20 اجابوا الجماعة وقالوا <sup>39</sup> ان <sup>40</sup> فيك شيطان من ترا يلتمس ان <sup>41</sup> يقتلك
- 21 فاجاب <sup>42</sup> يسوع وقال لهم عمل واحد عملت وكلكم عجبتم
- 22 منجل <sup>43</sup> ذلك اعطاكم <sup>44</sup> موسى الختان <sup>45</sup> ليس <sup>46</sup> من قبل موسى <sup>47</sup> ولكن من <sup>48</sup> الابا وان الانسان يختن
- في <sup>49</sup> السبت [فان كان الانسان باخذه الختانه في السبت] <sup>50</sup>
- 23 "لكيما لا" <sup>51</sup> يحل <sup>52</sup> ناموس موسى "وانتم تحردون" <sup>53</sup> على <sup>54</sup> اني صنعت الانسان كله صحيح <sup>55</sup> في يوم السبت
- 24 لا تقضوا <sup>56</sup> بالوجوه ولكن "بقضا العدل" <sup>57</sup> فاقضوا
- 25 "فقال اناس من اورشليم" <sup>58</sup> اليس هذا هو الذي يطلبوه <sup>59</sup> ليقتلوه
- 26 هوذا يتكلم علانيه وليس يقولون له شي لعل يكونوا <sup>60</sup> الاراكنه قد عرفوا حق <sup>61</sup> ان هذا هو المسيح
- 27 ولكن هذا نحن نعرف من اين هو فاما <sup>62</sup> المسيح اذا جا ليس <sup>63</sup> "احد يعلم" <sup>64</sup> من اين هو

- 
- 34 3 المجد يريد
- 35 3 من
- 36 3 منكم واحد
- 37 3 تطلبون
- 38 3 قتلي
- 39 3 adds له
- 40 3 لعل
- 41 3 omits.
- 42 3 اجاب
- 43 3 لحال
- 44 3 امركم
- 45 3 بالختانه
- 46 3 وليس
- 47 3 adds ذلك
- 48 3 adds قبل
- 49 3 adds يوم
- 50 1 omits.
- 51 3 لكلا
- 52 3 ينكار
- 53 3 تنمرمرون
- 54 3 عليا انا
- 55 3 صحيحا
- 56 3 تقضو
- 57 3 بالحق
- 58 3 فجعل اناس من اورشليم يقولون
- 59 3 يطلبون
- 60 3 يكون
- 61 3 بالحقينه
- 62 3 واما
- 63 3 فليس
- 64 3 transposes.

28 فصاح يسوع في الهيكل "اذ هو"<sup>65</sup> يعلم وقال انكم لتعرفوني وتعرفون منين<sup>66</sup> انا ولم اتي<sup>67</sup> من قبل نفسي بل<sup>68</sup> حق<sup>69</sup> هو الذي ارسلني الذي انتم ليس<sup>70</sup> تعرفوه  
29 اما انا فاني اعرفه لاني من عنده<sup>71</sup> وهو بعثني  
30 ثم<sup>72</sup> انهم ارادوا ان يمسكوه فلم يضع احد ايده<sup>73</sup> عليه لان ساعته لم تكون بلغت  
31 وكثير (folio113v) من الجماعة امنوا به وقالوا<sup>74</sup> اذا جا المسيح هل<sup>75</sup> يصنع عجائب<sup>76</sup> اكثر "من هذا الذي انه صنع"<sup>77</sup>

### 12.2.3. The Collation of Two Passages in Matthew from MSS B<sup>1</sup> B<sup>2</sup> and D<sup>1</sup>

#### Matthew 7:15-20

15 احتفظوا من الانبياء الكذابه<sup>78</sup> التي<sup>79</sup> تاتيكم بلباس الخرفان<sup>80</sup> وهم من داخل ذياب ضارية<sup>81</sup>  
16 من<sup>82</sup> اثمارهم تعرفونهم هل<sup>83</sup> يلقط<sup>84</sup> من الشوك عنباً او من الحسك تيناً  
17 كذلك كل شجره طيبه اثمارا طيبه تخرج وكل شجره سو اثمارا سو تخرج  
18 "لا تستطيع شجره طيبه"<sup>85</sup> تخرج اثمارا<sup>86</sup> سو ولا شجره سو تخرج اثمارا طيبه  
19 كل<sup>87</sup> شجره لا تخرج اثمارا<sup>88</sup> طيبه تقطع وتلقا في النار  
20 اذن من اثمارهم تعرفونهم

#### Matthew 16:1-4

1 ودنوا<sup>89</sup> اليه الفريسيين<sup>90</sup> وصدوقين<sup>91</sup> ليجربوه<sup>92</sup> وسالوه<sup>93</sup> يوريههم<sup>94</sup> ايه من السما

- 
- 65 وهو 3  
66 من اين 3  
67 اجي 3  
68 لكن 3  
69 3 omits.  
70 لا 3  
71 جيت 3 adds  
72 و 3  
73 يده 3  
74 3 adds لعل  
75 3 omits.  
76 من العجايب 3  
77 مما صنع هذا 3  
78 الكذبه b<sup>1</sup>  
79 d<sup>1</sup> is illegible.  
80 الخراف b<sup>1</sup>  
81 خاطفه b<sup>1</sup>  
82 ومن b<sup>1</sup>  
83 لعل b<sup>1</sup>  
84 يقطف b<sup>1</sup>  
85 وشجره طيبه لا تستطيع b<sup>1</sup>  
86 اثمار b<sup>1</sup>  
87 وكل b<sup>1</sup>  
88 اثمار b<sup>1</sup>

- 2 "فاجابهم وقال" <sup>95</sup> اذا كان مسا <sup>96</sup> تقولوا <sup>97</sup> انه <sup>98</sup> صحوا <sup>99</sup> "لان السما قد احمارت" <sup>100</sup>
- 3 وبالغداة <sup>101</sup> تقولوا <sup>102</sup> اليوم <sup>103</sup> شتا "لان السما قد احمارت" <sup>104</sup> [واغبادت جدا] <sup>105</sup> يا مراين <sup>106</sup>
- تجارب <sup>107</sup> وجد <sup>108</sup> السما تعرفون <sup>109</sup> [واقواد ايات] <sup>110</sup> هذا الزمان لا تعرفون <sup>111</sup>
- 4 [هذه القبيله الزانيه] <sup>112</sup> ايه تطلب <sup>113</sup> وايه لا تعطوا <sup>114</sup> ايه يونان النبي <sup>115</sup> فتركهم <sup>116</sup> وذهب <sup>117</sup>

- 
- 89 b<sup>1</sup> فتقدموا
- 90 b<sup>1</sup> الاحبار
- 91 والسدوقيين b<sup>1</sup>
- 92 لينلوه b<sup>1</sup>
- 93 فسالوه b<sup>1</sup> b<sup>2</sup>
- 94 ليبريهم b<sup>1</sup> b<sup>2</sup>
- 95 اجاب فقال لهم b<sup>1</sup> b<sup>2</sup>
- 96 المسا b<sup>1</sup> b<sup>2</sup>
- 97 تقولون b<sup>1</sup> b<sup>2</sup>
- 98 هو b<sup>1</sup> b<sup>2</sup>
- 99 صحوه b<sup>2</sup>
- 100 قد احمارت السما b<sup>1</sup> b<sup>2</sup>
- 101 وغدوه b<sup>1</sup> b<sup>2</sup>
- 102 تقولون b<sup>1</sup> b<sup>2</sup>
- 103 هو b<sup>1</sup> b<sup>2</sup> add
- 104 قد احمارت السما b<sup>1</sup> b<sup>2</sup>
- 105 متغيمة b<sup>1</sup> b<sup>2</sup>
- 106 المرابين b<sup>1</sup>
- 107 b<sup>1</sup> b<sup>2</sup> omit.
- 108 وجه b<sup>1</sup> b<sup>2</sup>
- 109 تفحصون b<sup>1</sup> b<sup>2</sup>
- 110 وايات b<sup>1</sup> b<sup>2</sup>
- 111 تفرزون b<sup>1</sup> b<sup>2</sup> add
- 112 يا الجيل/لجيل السو b<sup>1</sup> b<sup>2</sup>
- 113 تلتمس b<sup>1</sup> b<sup>2</sup>
- 114 غير b<sup>1</sup> b<sup>2</sup>
- 115 b<sup>1</sup> b<sup>2</sup> omit.
- 116 ثم تركهم b<sup>1</sup> b<sup>2</sup>
- 117 وانطلق b<sup>1</sup> b<sup>2</sup>

## 12.3. Family C

## 12.3.1. The Eight Test Passages

## Matthew 7:15-20

15 احتفظوا من الانبياء الكذبة الذين ياتونكم بلباس الخراف<sup>1</sup> وهم من داخل ذياب خاطفه  
 16 من ثمرتهم تعرفوهم هل يُجتنى<sup>2</sup> من الشوك عنباً او من القرطب<sup>3</sup> تينا  
 17 كذلك كل شجره صالحه<sup>4</sup> نباتا<sup>5</sup> صالحا<sup>6</sup> تثبت والشجره<sup>7</sup> السو نباتا<sup>8</sup> رديا<sup>9</sup> تثبت  
 18 لا تستطيع شجره صالحه تثبت<sup>10</sup> نبات سو ولا شجره سو تثبت<sup>11</sup> نبات صالح<sup>12</sup>  
 19 فكل شجره لا تثبت<sup>13</sup> نباتا صالحا<sup>14</sup> تقطع وفي النار تلقى<sup>15</sup> من نباتهم<sup>16</sup> تعرفوهم.

## Matthew 16:1-4

1 فاتاه الفريسيين والزناده يجربوه<sup>17</sup> ويسلوه<sup>18</sup> ان يريهم ايه<sup>19</sup> من السما  
 2 فاجاب وقال لهم<sup>20</sup> اذا كان المسأ<sup>21</sup> قلتم هذا صحو واذا "احمارت السما"<sup>22</sup>  
 3 "وكان فيها سواد صباحا"<sup>23</sup> قلتم هو<sup>24</sup> يوم<sup>25</sup> شتا "ايها المرابين"<sup>26</sup> اما وجه السما<sup>27</sup> فتعلمون ان  
 تدبرون<sup>28</sup> فاما<sup>29</sup> آيات الزمان<sup>30</sup> فلا<sup>31</sup> تعلموا ان تدبروا<sup>32</sup>

- 
- 1 الغنم 2  
 2 يجتئنا 2  
 3 Syriac Peshitta reads مة. 2.  
 4 2 reads طيبه with the Peshitta 2. The collated base reads صالحه with the Greek αγαθόν.  
 5 نبات 2  
 6 2 reads طيب (with the Curetonian and the Harklean). The Peshitta has عفت and agrees with the collated base.  
 7 وكل شجره 2  
 8 فانها انبات 2  
 9 سو 2  
 10 تخرج 2  
 11 تخرج 2  
 12 صلح 2  
 13 تخرج 2  
 14 صلح 2  
 15 تلقا 2  
 16 انباتهم 2  
 17 فقالوا ليحربوه 2  
 18 فسالوه 2  
 19 2 reads آيات probably because of Syriac influence.  
 20 2 omits.  
 21 2 adds ورايتم السما محمره . The scribe of manuscript 1 seems to have mistakenly included the phrase ورايتم السما محمره with the second clause. The scribe of manuscript 2 corrected it by transposing the phrase.  
 22 2 omits.  
 23 كان صباحا وفيها حمرة وتكرر في السما 2

4 الجيل<sup>33</sup> السو الفاتك ايه بيتغي<sup>34</sup> وايه لا يعطا الا ايه يونان<sup>35</sup> النبي فتركهم ومضا<sup>36</sup>

Mark 6:14-20

- 14 فسمع هروُدس الملك بيسوع لان اسمه كان قد شاعى في الناس وعُرف<sup>37</sup> وكان<sup>38</sup> يقول ان يحنا المعمد انه قد قام من بين الاموات<sup>39</sup> فلذلك هذه الايات تعمل<sup>40</sup> "علي يديه"<sup>41</sup>
- 15 وآخرين<sup>42</sup> كانوا يقولون<sup>43</sup> انه ايلياس وآخرين كانوا يقولون<sup>44</sup> انه نبيا كاحد الانبيا
- 16 فلما ان<sup>45</sup> سمع هروُدس قال هذا يحنا الذي [جلدت<sup>46</sup>] عنقه هو<sup>47</sup> قام من بين الموت
- 17 لان هروُدس كان ارسل فاخذ يحنا [فحبسه<sup>48</sup>] في السجن من اجل هروُديا امراه اخوه<sup>49</sup> فيلبس<sup>50</sup> التي تزوج
- 18 "لان يحنا كان"<sup>51</sup> يقول لهروُدس ليس يحل لك ان تتزوج<sup>52</sup> امراه اخوك<sup>53</sup>
- 19 "وكانت هروُديا"<sup>54</sup> عليه [ضاغنه]<sup>55</sup> وكانت تريد قتله فلم تكن تستطيع
- 20 "وكان هروُدس"<sup>56</sup> يخاف يحنا لانه كان يعلم انه رجل بارا مقدسا وكان يتهيبه<sup>57</sup> كثيرا ويسمع منه جدا<sup>58</sup> وكان يشتهي ان<sup>59</sup> يسمع من قوله.

24 2 omits with the Greek. The collated base follows the Peshitta.

25 2 اليوم

26 2 omits with the Greek. The collated base follows the Peshitta.

27 2 adds والارض with no textual support.

28 2 تدبروا

29 2 واما

30 2 الزمن

31 2 omits.

32 2 تدبروا

33 2 possibly with the Greek γεννα.

34 2 تبتغي

35 2 يوناس

36 2 وذهب

37 2 omits.

38 2 فكان

39 2 الموت

40 2 يعمل

41 2 omits.

42 2 reads آخرين. The omission of the conjunction is supported by the Peshitta.

43 2 يقولوا

44 2 يقولوا

45 2 omits.

46 2 ضربت

47 2 قد

48 2 فسجنه

49 2 اخيه

50 2 فيلبس

51 2 reads وكان يوحنا (stylistic improvement).

52 2 تنكح

53 2 اخيك

54 2 واما هروُديا فكانت

55 2 عليه واجده

## Mark 13: 5-11

5 فبدا يسوع يقول لهم<sup>60</sup> احتفظوا الا يطبعكم<sup>61</sup> احد  
 6 فان كثير<sup>62</sup> ياتون علي اسمي ويقولون "اني انا"<sup>63</sup> المسيح وكثير<sup>64</sup> يضلون  
 7 فاذا انتم سمعتم بالقتال وسمع<sup>65</sup> الرجوف فلا تخافوا فان ذلك كابنا<sup>66</sup> ولكن "لما يكون"<sup>67</sup> الانقضا  
 8 فانها<sup>68</sup> ستقوم امه على امه وملكا<sup>69</sup> على ملك وترجف الارض في مكان مكان ويكون جوع واستجاس  
 وهذا<sup>70</sup> كله اول المخاض  
 9 ولكن احفظوا انتم انفسكم فانهم سيسلموكم الي الدانه والى جماعاتهم<sup>71</sup> وتضربون وتقومون بين يدي  
 الملوك<sup>72</sup> وذوي السلطان علي<sup>73</sup> شهادة<sup>74</sup> عليهم  
 10 وفي كل الامم "سيكون بشرى الانجيل"<sup>75</sup>  
 11 فاذا<sup>76</sup> اخذوكم ليسلموكم فلا يهكم<sup>77</sup> ماذا تتكلمون<sup>78</sup> ولا تعدون<sup>79</sup> لذلك كلاما ولكن ما أُعطيتم "من  
 الله"<sup>80</sup> في تلك الساعه ذلك<sup>81</sup> فتكلموا "فانكم لستم"<sup>82</sup> انتم "الذين تتكلمون"<sup>83</sup> ولكن روح القدس.

## Luke 8:9-15

9 فساله تلاميذه وقالوا<sup>84</sup> ما هذا المتل

- 
- 56 2 واما هرونس فكان  
 57 2 يتقيه  
 58 2 adds ويفعل with the majority Greek and Syriac MSS. The collated base agrees (probably coincidentally) with the Greek Ms Δ and one Bohairic manuscript.  
 59 2 omits.  
 60 2 omits.  
 61 2 يخذعكم  
 62 2 كثير  
 63 2 انا نحن  
 64 2 وكثيرين  
 65 2 وسماع  
 66 2 كايين  
 67 2 ليس هو  
 68 2 فانه  
 69 2 وملك  
 70 2 فهذا  
 71 2 جماعاتهم  
 72 2 الدانه والملوك. The Greek reads ηγεμονων και βασιλεων and the Peshitta transposes: ملكه  
 73 2 عني  
 74 2 لشهادة  
 75 2 سينادا بشرتي سماع الانجيل  
 76 2 adds هم  
 77 2 تهتموا  
 78 2 تتكلموا  
 79 2 تعدوا  
 80 2 omits.  
 81 2 omits.  
 82 2 فلستم  
 83 2 المتكلمين  
 84 2 adds له. The expression وقالوا is omitted in the Peshitta.

- 10 فقال لهم لكم اعطي ان تعلموا سراير ملكوت<sup>85</sup> الله فاما اولايك<sup>86</sup> فبالامثال يقال لهم لكيما<sup>87</sup> يرون فلا يبصرون ويسمعون فلا يفهمون
- 11 فاما هذا المثل فان<sup>88</sup> الزراع<sup>89</sup> هو كلمه الله
- 12 واما الذي زرع على ظهر الطريق فهم<sup>90</sup> الذين يسمعون الكلمه فياتي<sup>91</sup> الشيطان فياخذ الكلمه من قلوبهم "لكيما لا"<sup>92</sup> يؤمنون<sup>93</sup> فيحيون<sup>94</sup>
- 13 واما<sup>95</sup> الذين زرعوا على الصفا فانهم الذين اذا سمعوا الكلمه قبلوها<sup>96</sup> بفرح وليس لها فيهم اصل ولكن ايمانهم حيناً قليلاً وفي زمن البلاء يكفرون بها
- 14 واما الذي سقط بين الشوك فانهم الذين يسمعون<sup>97</sup> الكلمه فينالهم الغنا وشهوّه<sup>98</sup> الدنيا تخنقها<sup>99</sup> فلا<sup>100</sup> ينبتون<sup>101</sup> انباتا<sup>102</sup>
- 15 فاما<sup>103</sup> الذي زرع في ارض طيبه فهم<sup>104</sup> الذين بقلب<sup>105</sup> صالح طيب يسمعون الكلمه فيمسكوها وينبتون<sup>106</sup> انبات بصير ورجا

## Luke 15:11-20

- 11 ثم قال<sup>107</sup> ايضا رجل كان له ابنين
- 12 فقال له ابنه الاصغر يا ابتاه<sup>108</sup> اعطني<sup>109</sup> [حصتي<sup>110</sup>] "الذي ينوبني"<sup>111</sup> من بيتك فقسم لهما ماله

---

85 2 ملكوه

86 2 reads الآخرين with the Greek (λοιποις). The collated base follows the Peshitta (ܠܡܨܝܚܝܢ).

87 2 لكي

88 2 اما

89 2 الزارع

90 2 adds اوليك

91 2 ثم ياتي

92 2 ليلا

93 2 يؤمنوا

94 2 فيحيوا

95 2 adds اوليك

96 2 يقبلوها

97 2 اذا سمعوا

98 2 reads وشهوات. This is another variant which shows that the collated base follows the Peshitta.

99 2 يخنق بها

100 2 ولا

101 2 ينبتوا

102 2 نباتا

103 2 واما

104 2 adds اوليك

105 2 adds نقي

106 2 وينبتوا

107 2 adds لهم يسوع

108 2 ابه

109 2 اعطيني

110 2 omits.

111 2 الذي يصير لي

- 13 فلما ان<sup>112</sup> كان بعد ايام قلائل جمع<sup>113</sup> ابنه الاصغر كل شي بلغه<sup>114</sup> فذهب مسافر<sup>115</sup> الى ارض بعيد  
ففرق ماله هناك<sup>116</sup> بعيش شاطر<sup>117</sup>
- 14 فلما ان<sup>118</sup> اهلك<sup>119</sup> كل شي له<sup>120</sup> وافناه اصاب تلك البلد<sup>121</sup> جوعا<sup>122</sup> شديدا<sup>123</sup> فجعل "ينتقص  
ويندم"<sup>124</sup>
- 15 فذهب فلحق "باحد [ينك]"<sup>125</sup> تلك البلد<sup>126</sup> فارسله الى قراه ليرعا خنازيره<sup>127</sup>
- 16 وكان يشتهي ان<sup>128</sup> يملأ بطنه من الخروب الذي كانت تاكل الخنازير منه<sup>129</sup> فلم يكن<sup>130</sup> احد<sup>131</sup>  
يعطيه
- 17 فلما ان راجع نفسه قال كم اجير في بيت ابي الان يفضل له الطعام وانا ها هنا قد اهلكني الجوع
- 18 اقوم فاذهب<sup>132</sup> الى ابي فاقل<sup>133</sup> له با ابتاه<sup>134</sup> قد اخطات<sup>135</sup> في السما وبين يديك
- 19 ولست اهل<sup>136</sup> ان ادعا لك ابنا اجعلني<sup>137</sup> كاحد<sup>138</sup> اجر اك
- 20 فقام فاتى<sup>139</sup> الى ابيه "فبين ما هم"<sup>140</sup> بعيد منه راه ابوه فرحمه فسعا اليه فاعتقه وقبله
- John 6:30-35
- 30 قالوا له اي ايه تفعل<sup>141</sup> انت<sup>142</sup> حتى<sup>143</sup> ننظر ونومن بك بما تعمل

112 2 omits.

113 2 قبض

114 2 بلغ له

115 2 omits.

116 2 adds واكله

117 2 مغوي

118 2 omits.

119 2 هلك

120 2 omits as in Greek.

121 2 reads الارض with the Greek χώραν.

122 2 جوع

123 2 شديد

124 2 يندم وينتقص

125 2 برجل من

126 2 من اهل تلك البلاد [...]

127 2 خنازير

128 2 omits.

129 2 omits.

130 2 adds يجد

131 2 من

132 2 اذهب

133 2 واقول

134 2 يابه

135 2 اخطيت

136 2 من الان باهل

137 2 فاجعلني

138 2 كواحد من

139 2 واتا

140 2 فيينا هو

141 3 تعمل



- 31 ابانا اكلوا المن في البريه كما هو مكتوب خبز<sup>144</sup> من السما اعطاهم ياكلوا<sup>145</sup>  
 32 قال لهم يسوع امين امين اقول لكم ليس موسى اعطاكم الخبز من السما<sup>146</sup>  
 33 ان خبز الله هو النازل من السما ويعطي الحياه<sup>147</sup> للعالم  
 34 فقالوا له يا رب اعطنا هذا الخبز ابدا  
 35 فقال لهم يسوع انا هو خبز الحياه الذي<sup>148</sup> ياتي الي لا يجوع والذي<sup>149</sup> يومن بي لا يعطش ابدا<sup>150</sup>  
 John 18:19-27  
 19 فسال راس الكهنه ليسوع "من اجل"<sup>151</sup> تلاميذه ومن اجل تعليمه  
 20 فاجاب يسوع فقال انا علانيه كلمت الجموع<sup>152</sup> ولم ازل اعلم في الجماعه وفي الهيكل "حيث كانت  
 اليهود كلهم ياتون"<sup>153</sup> ولم اتكلم<sup>154</sup> شي في خفي<sup>155</sup>  
 21 فاي شي تسالني<sup>156</sup> سال الذين سمعوا اي شي كلمتهم فهوذا<sup>157</sup> هم يعرفوا ما قلت  
 22 فلما قال لهم هذا اذا واحد من الخدم<sup>158</sup> الوقوف قد لكم يسوع وقال هكذا<sup>159</sup> تجيب راس الكهنه  
 23 فاجاب يسوع وقال ان كنت ببس ما قلت فاشهد "على الردا"<sup>160</sup> وان كنت نعمتا تكلمت "لاي شي"<sup>161</sup>  
 تضربني  
 24 فارسله حنا مربوطا الى "قيافا راس الكهنه"<sup>162</sup>  
 25 وكان سمعان الصفا واقفا يصطلي فقالوا له لعل وانت من تلاميذه فجحد<sup>163</sup>  
 26 وقال ليس انا فقال واحد من عبيد راس الكهنه قريب للذي كان صفا<sup>164</sup> قطع اذنه اليس انا رايتك في  
 اليبستان معه  
 27 فجحد "ايضا الصفا"<sup>165</sup> وحنيذ<sup>166</sup> صاح الديك.

---

142 3 omits.

143 3 حتى

144 3 خبز ا

145 3 اكلوا

146 Both 1 and 3 omit السما بل ابي يعطيكم خبز الحق من السما

147 3 حياه

148 3 فمن

149 3 ومن

150 3 omits.

151 3 منجل

152 3 الجمع

153 3 بين كل الجماعه

154 3 اقل

155 3 خفا

156 3 تسالني

157 3 هذا

158 3 خدام

159 3 بهذا

160 3 عليه

161 3 فلم

162 راس الكهنه قيافا 3

163 3 reads اجاب with no textual support.

164 3 الصفا

165 3 الصفا ايضا

166 3 وعند ذلك

### 12.3.2. The Collation of Luke 23:12-23 from Mss C<sup>1</sup>(collated base), C<sup>2</sup> and C<sup>4</sup>

#### Luke 23:12-23

- 12 [كان في ذلك اليوم] حله<sup>167</sup> صلحا<sup>168</sup> بين بلاطس وهرودس لانهما كانا<sup>169</sup> متعادين<sup>170</sup> قبل ذلك  
 13 فدعا بلاطس روس<sup>171</sup> الكهنه "واراكنه الامه"<sup>172</sup> والجمع<sup>173</sup>  
 14 وقال لهم جيتموني بهذا الرجل تزعمون<sup>174</sup> انه يولب الامه فاذا انا قد فحصت عنه بين ايديكم فلم اجد  
 على هذا الرجل "ادنى عليه"<sup>175</sup> مما تقدفوه<sup>176</sup> وتفترون<sup>177</sup> عليه  
 15 ولا هرودس وجد "عليه ذنبا"<sup>178</sup> اذ ارسلتم اليه فلا اراه عمل شيا يحق<sup>179</sup> عليه<sup>180</sup> الموت  
 16 فاننا ممتحنه<sup>181</sup> ومرسله  
 17 وكان<sup>182</sup> لهم "عاده عليه"<sup>183</sup> ان يطلق<sup>184</sup> لهم كل عيد اسيرا<sup>185</sup> واحدا<sup>186</sup>  
 18 فصاح<sup>187</sup> الجمع<sup>188</sup> وقالوا خذ هذا واطلق لنا بربا  
 19 ذلك الذي كان محبوسا في السجن<sup>189</sup> لقتال كان في المدينه فقتل  
 20 فناداهم ايضا<sup>190</sup> بلاطس الثانيه وهو "يسره ان يسرح ليسوع"<sup>191, 192</sup>  
 21 "فجعلوا هم<sup>193, 194</sup> يصيحون<sup>195</sup> ويقولون<sup>196</sup> اصلبه اصلبه

---

167 2 omits.

168 2 صلح

169 4 is lacunose.

170 2 متعاديان

171 2 روسا

172 4 الكتبه

173 الجمع 4; وجميع الناس 2

174 4 ونذكرتم

175 4 حجه 2; عله 2

176 2 تقرفون به 2

177 2 تفترون

178 2, 4 ذنبا عليه

179 4 يجب

180 2 adds and is written above the line. فيه

181 2 [ماحنه] 4; ومديه 2

182 2 وكنت

183 2 عليه عاده

184 4 يخلي

185 2 اسير

186 4 واحدا

187 2 فصرخ

188 الجمع 4; جميع الناس 2

189 4 adds في جريمه

190 2 omits.

191 امامهم يسوع 2

192 كان يريد يخلي يسوع 4

193 2 omits.

194 4 وهم كانوا

22 فقال لهم<sup>197</sup> بلاطس المراه الثالثه واي<sup>198</sup> عمل سو عمل هذا اما انا فلم<sup>199</sup> اجد عليه ذنبا<sup>200</sup> يحق<sup>201</sup> عليه<sup>202</sup> الموت فانا ممتحنه<sup>203</sup> ومرسله  
23 فاقبلوا عليه<sup>204</sup> باصوات عاليه يسلون ان يصلبه حتى علت<sup>205</sup> [اصواتهم واصوات روس الكهنه]<sup>206</sup>

Luke 24:44-53.

44 [وقال<sup>207</sup> لهم هذا الكلام الذي كنت<sup>208</sup> كلمتكم اذ كنت معكم انه حقيق ان يتم كل شي مكتوب "من اجلي"<sup>209</sup> في سفر موسى والانبيا]<sup>210</sup> والزبور  
45 حينئذ [فتح لهم عقولهم ليفهموا ما]<sup>211</sup> في الكتب  
46 وقال [لهم ان كذلك هو<sup>212</sup> مكتوب]<sup>213</sup> وكذلك كان [صابر ان [يلقا] المسيح ويقوم]<sup>214</sup> من بين الاموات<sup>215</sup> في<sup>216</sup> اليوم الثالث  
47 ويكرز<sup>217</sup> على اسمه توبه ومغفره الخطايا في كل الامم "تبدون بذلك"<sup>218</sup> من اورشليم  
48 وانتم شهداء كل<sup>219</sup> هذا  
49 وانا فاني مرسل اليكم وعد ابي فاما انتم فامكنوا في مدينه اورشليم حتى<sup>220</sup> تلبسوا قوه من العلو  
50 ثم اخرجهم<sup>221</sup> حتى<sup>222</sup> بيت عنيا فرفع يديه فيركهم<sup>223</sup>

- 
- 195 يصبحوا 2  
196 ويقولوا 2  
197 2 omits.  
198 اي 2  
199 فاني لم 4  
200 ذنب 4, 2  
201 يجب 4  
202 فيه 2 adds  
203 مودبه 2  
204 يصبحوا 4  
205 4 adds كثرت  
206 4 is lacunose.  
207 فقال 2  
208 جيت 4  
209 منجلي 2  
210 4 is lacunose.  
211 4 is lacunose.  
212 2 omits.  
213 4 is lacunose.  
214 4 is lacunose.  
215 الموتى 2  
216 2 omits.  
217 ويكون 4  
218 ابدا 2  
219 على 4  
220 حتا 4  
221 انه اخرجهم 4  
222 الى 4  
223 فياركهم 4

- 51 "فبين ما"<sup>224</sup> هو بيركهيم اذ "تنحاه منهم"<sup>225</sup> فصعد<sup>226</sup> الى السما  
 52 فسجدوا<sup>227</sup> له وانصرفوا الى اورشليم<sup>228</sup> بفرح كثير  
 53 فكانوا في الهيكل كل حين يسبحون ويباركون الله<sup>229</sup> امين

## 12.4. Family D

Matthew 7:15-20 (fol. 9v)

- 15 احتفظوا من الانبيا الكذابه [...] تاتيكم بلباس الخرفان وهم من داخل ذياب ضارية  
 16 من اثمارهم تعرفونهم هل يلقط من الشوك عنباً او من الحسك تينا  
 17 كذلك كل شجرة طيبه اثمارا طيبه تخرج وكل شجرة سو اثمارا سو تخرج  
 18 لا تستطيع شجرة طيبه تخرج اثمارا سو ولا شجرة سو تخرج اثمارا طيبه  
 19 كل شجرة لا تخرج اثمارا طيبه تقطع وتلقا في النار اذن من اثمارهم تعرفونهم.

Matthew 16:1-4 (fol. 20r)

- 1 ودنوا اليه الفريسين وصدوقين ليجربوه وسالوه يوريهيم ايه من السما  
 2 فاجابهم وقال اذا كان مسا تقولوا انه صحوا لان السما قد احمارت  
 3 وبالغده تقولوا اليوم شتا لان السما قد احمارت [واغبادت جدا]  
 4 يا [مراين تجارب] وجد السما تعرفون [واقواد ايات] هذا الزمان لا تعرفون  
 5 [هذه القبيله الزانيه] ايه تطلب وايه لا تعطى الا ايه يونان النبي فتركهم وذهب

Mark 6:14-20 (fol. 42v-43r)

omitted 14

omitted 15

- 16 وحين سمع هرادس الملك قال يحنا الذي ضربت عنقه هو الذي قام من الموت  
 17 لان هرادس هو الذي كان ارسل فامسك يحنا والقاء في السجن منجل هراديه امره فيليبوس اخيه  
 التي تزوج  
 18 لان يحنا كان بنها هرادس ويقول له انه ما يحل لك ان تتزوج امره اخيك  
 19 وكانت هراديه تبغيه وتطلب قتله وتلتمس قتله ولم تكون تقدر على ذلك  
 20 لان هرادس كان يتقي يحنا [...] انه كان يعلم انه رجل صديق قديس وكان بحفظه و [انتبه كثيره]  
 كان بسمع منه ويصنعها ويقبل منه بطيب نفس

Mark 13: 5-11 (fol. 51v)

- 5 فبدا يسوع يقول لهم انظروا الا يضلكم احدا  
 6 لانه كثيروا باتوا على اسمي ويقولون انا هو وكثيرين يضلون  
 7 فاذا سمعتم اخبار القتال والحروب فلا تخشوا قد قدر على ذلك ان يكون ولكن لم يبلغ بعد التمام  
 8 تقوم امه على امه وملك على ملك ويكون الزلازل في مكان مكان ويكون جوع وشغب وذلك بدوا  
 لطلق

224 فيينا 2

225 غاب عنهم 4: تنحاه عنهم 2

226 وطلع 4

227 وهم سجدوا 2

228 اورشليم 4

229 لاليد 4 adds

9 انظروا انتم الى انفسكم يسلمونكم الى القضاء ويجلدونكم في كنايسهم وتقومون [بين يداي] السلاطين والملوك منجل شهادتهم

10 واول ذلك قد قُدر ان تركز [بشراي] في جميع الامم

11 فاذا قدموكم ليسلمونكم فلا تهتموا ولا تسبقوا تهيبوا لكم كلاما تقولوه ولكن ما تعطوا به تلك الساعه به تكلموا لانكم ليس الدين تتكلمون ولكن روح القدس

Luke 8:9-15 (fol. 66v)

9 وسالوه تلاميذه ما هذا المثل

10 فقال لهم لكم اعطيت معرفه سر ملك الله فاما لسائر الناس بالامثال تُقال

11 اما الزرع فهو كلمه الله

12 والذي زرع على قارعه الطريق فهم الذين اذا سمعوا الكلمه ياتي العدو ويأخذ الكلمه من قلوبهم ليلا يومنوا ويعيشوا

13 والذي على الصفاه فهم الذين اذا سمعوا الكلمه يقبلونها بفرح وليس لهم اساس ولكن امانتهم الى قليل لانهم في حين الشده يشكون

14 والذي وقع بين الشوك فهم الذين اذا سمعوا الكلمه وفيهم الغنا وشهوات الدنيا يختنقون ولا يعطون الاثمار

15 والذي وقع في ارض جيده فهم الذين بالقلب [...] الطيب، يسمعون الكلمه ويمسكونها، ويعطون الاثمار بالصبر والرجا.

Luke 15:11-20 (fol. 76v)

11 فقال ايضا لهم يسوع قد كان لرجل واحد ابنين

12 فقال له ابنه الصغير يابتاه اعطيني [حصتي] الذي يصيبني من [بيتك] وقسم بينهما ماله

13 وبعد ايام قليل جمع ابنه الصغير كلما اصابه فانطلق الى بلاد بعيد وفرق ثمر ماله في حياه [طياره]

14 وحين فني كل شي له صار جوعا كبيرا في ذلك البلاد وبدا يفتقر

15 فانطلق ولصق باحد من اهل مدينه ذلك البلاد فارسله ذلك الى القرية ليرعا خنازير

16 وقد كان يشتهي يملا بطنه من الخروب التي كانت تاكل الخنازير ولم يكن احد يعطيه

17 وحيث رجع الى نفسه قال ما اكثر الان في بيت ابي اجرا يفضلون الخبز وانا هاهنا اهلك جوعا

18 انهض وانطلق الى بيت ابي واقول له يابتاه اخطات في السما وبين يديك

19 ومن الان لست اهل ان ادعا ابنك صيرني مثل بعض اجراك

20 فقام وجا الى ابيه وبينما هو بعيد نظر الى ابوه ورحمه فجرا اليه واعتنقه وقبله

John 6:30-35 (fol. 94v)

30 قالوا له ايت ايه تعمل [حتى] نبصر ونومن بك ما تصنع

31 اباوننا المن اكلوا في البريه كما كتب انه اعطاهم من السما لياكلوا

32 قال لهم يسوع امين امين اقول لكم انه ليس موسي اعطاكم خُبز من السما ولكن ابي يعطيكم خبز الحق من السما

33 وخبز الله فهو الذي نزل من السما ويعطي الحياه للعالم

34 قالوا له يا رب في كل حين فاعطينا هذا الخبز

35 قال لهم يسوع انا خبز الحياه من [ياتيني] لا يجوع ومن يومن بي لا يعطش ابدًا

John 18:19-27 (fol. 108r-108v)

19 وسال راس الكهنه يسوع عن تلاميذه وعن تعليمه

20 فقال يسوع انا علانيه تكلمت مع الامه وفي كل حين علمت في الكنيسه وفي الهيكل حيث كانت

جميع اليهود مجتمعين ولم لتكلم شيئاً خفياً

21 لايش تسلني سال الذين سمعوا بما كلمتهم هاولي يعرفون كل ما قلت

- 22 وحين قال ذلك لطم احد الشراط الوقوف يسوع على خده وقال له هكذا تردّ الجواب على راس الكهنه  
 23 فاجاب يسوع وقال له ان كنت تكلمت بسو فاشهد على السو وان كان [...] لايش ضربتني  
 24 وارسل حنان يسوع الى قيافا مقموط  
 25 وسمعان الحجر كان قايمًا يتسخن فقالوا له لعلك انت احد تلاميذه فكفر وقال لم اكن  
 26 وقال له احد عبيد راس الكهنه نسيب الذي كان سميان قطع اذنه اليس انا رايتك معه في البستان  
 27 وايضا كفر سميان وفي تلك الساعه صاح الديك

## 12.5. Family E

### Matthew 7:15-19 (fol. 32v)

- 15 احذروا من الانبياء الكذابين انهم ياتون ايكفم في لبس الغنم فمن داخل ادياب خاطفه  
 16 فمن اثمار هم تعرفوهم فهل تجمعوا من الشوك عنبا ام من القرطب تيناً  
 17 كذلك كل شجرة صالحه ثمار حسن تصنع واما الشجاره الشريره ثمر شرير يصنع  
 18 ليس تستطيع شجرة صالحه تصنع ثمر سو ولا شجرة شريره تصنع ثمر صالح  
 19 كل شجرة لا تصنع ثمر صالح طيب تقطع وتلقا في النار  
 20 الان من اثمار هم تعرفونهم

### Matthew 16:1-4 (fol. 60r-60v)

- 1 وتقدموا الفريسين والزنادقه يجرّوه وسالوه ايه من السما ليريههم  
 2 ثم انه انه اجابهم قايلًا اذا كان المسما تقولون انه صحو ومحماره هي السما  
 3 وفي الغد تقولون اليوم يكون مطر محماره هي السما ومخموده ايها المرابين وجه السما تحسنوا  
 تكشفوا واما علامات هذا الزمان ما تعرفوا تقدرون  
 4 ايها القبيله السو الفاجره ايه تطلب وايه لا يعطا لها الا ايه يونان النبي وتركهم وذهب

### Mark 6:14-20 (fol. 124r-124v)

- 14 فسمع هيرودس الملك عن يسوع لان كان تحقق اسمه وكان يقول يوحنا المعمدان هو قام من بين الموت لاجل هذا القوات تعمل به  
 15 واخرين كانوا يقولون انه هو الياس واخرين نبي هو كواحد من الانبياء  
 16 ولما سمع هيرودس قال يوحنا الذي انا قطعت راسه هو قام من بين الاموات  
 17 ثم ان هيرودس ارسل قبض ليوحنا وسجنه بين الاسرا لاجل هيروديا امره فيلبس اخيه التي تروح  
 18 فقال يوحنا لهيرودس ليس تحل لك تاخذ امره اخيك  
 19 وكانت هيروديا تتوا عده وكانت تطلب قتله وليس كانت تستطيع  
 20 وكان هيرودس بخاف من يوحنا لانه كان يعلم انه رجل صديق وقديس وكان يحرسه وكثير كان يسمع منه ويصنع وبتلذذ كان يسمع له وكان يوم...

### Mark 13:5-11 (fol. 148r-148v)

- 5 ثم ان يسوع بدى يقول لهم انظروا ليلا احد يطغيمكم  
 6 كثيرين ياتون باسمي ويقولون انا هو ولكنهم يظغون  
 7 فاذا سمعتم القتلات واخبار الحروب لا تخافون لانه عتيد يصير لكن ليس هو الانقضا  
 8 ستقوم امه على امه ومملكه على مملكه ويكون جفل في مكان مكان ويكون جوع واختباطات فهذه هي اول الفتن  
 9 انظروا انتم لانفسكم سيسلموكم للقضاء وفي مجامعهم يعذبوكم قدام الملوك والولاة تقامون لاجلي  
 شهادة لهم  
 10 اولاً ينبغي ان تتنذروا بشاري بجميع الامم

11 فاذا قدموكم ليسلموكم فلا تسبقوا تهتموا ماذا تنطقون ولا تفكرون لكن شيا يُعطى لكم في تلك الساعه  
فهو انطقوا فليس انتم المتكلمون بل روح القدس

Luke 8:10-15 (fol. 186r-186v)

9 فسالوه تلاميذه  
10 ثم قال لهم فلکم هو معطى ملكوه الله لاوليك الباقي بالقصايد يقيّل لانهم يبصرون ولم ينظرون  
ويسمعون ولم يفهمون  
11 فهذا هو المثال فالزرع هو كلمه الله  
12 فاما الذي على حد الطريق فهم الذين يسمعون الكلمه ويحيى العدو ياخذ الكلمه من قلوبهم ليلا يومنون  
ويحيون  
13 وهولاي الذين على الصخر فهو لاي هو اذا سمعوا بفرح يقبلون الكلمه واصل ليس لهم بل ذلك  
الوقت هي امانتهم وفي وقت التجاريب يشكون  
14 والذي سقط بين الشوك هولاي هم الذين يسمعون الكلمه وفي الاهتمام والم[تنتنا] ويشهوات العالم  
يختنقون وثمر لم يعطون  
15 والذين في الارض الصالحه فهو لاي هو الذين بقلب صافى مصالح يسمعون الكلمه ويحفظون  
ويعطون ثمر بصير

Luke 15:11-20 (fol. 214r-215r)

11 فقال لهم يسوع رجلا احد كان له ابنان  
12 فقال له ابنه الاصغار يا اب اعطيني القسم الذي يحصل لي من بيتك فقسم بينهم ماله  
13 ومن بعد قليل ايام جمع ابنه الصغير كل شي حصل له ومضى الى بلد بعيد وهناك انفق ماله عايشا  
كالطيور  
14 فلما انفق كل شي كان له صار جوع عظيم في تلك البلده وبدى يعوزه  
15 فذهب والتزق لواحد من اهل المدينه التي في ذلك البلد وانه ارسله الى الحقل يرعا خنازير  
16 وكان يشتهي يملأ بطنه من هولاء الخرنوب الذي كانت تاكله الخنازير ولم كان احد يواصله بشي  
17 فلما فاق على نفسه قال فكم الان اجرا في بيت ابي بفضل لهم خبز وانا هاهنا اهلك بالجوع  
18 فاقوم واذهب الى ابي واقول له يا ابتاه اخطيت في السما وقدمك  
19 وليس الان انا مستحق ان ادعا ابنيك اجعلني كواحد من اجراك  
20 فقام وجا الى ابيه وعندما هو بعيد نظره ابيه وتحنن عليه وذهب خر على عنقه وقلبه

John 6:30-35 (fol. 266r)

30 قالوا له ماذا ايه تصنع انت لننظر ونومن بك ماذا تصنع  
31 ابوانا اكلوا المن في البريه كما هو مكتوب ان خبز من السما اعطاهم لياكلوا  
32 فقال لهم يسوع الحق الحق اقول لكم ان موسى لم كان يعطيكم الخبز من السما لكن ابي كان يعطيكم  
خبز من السما الحق من السما  
33 فخبز الله فهو الذي نزل من السما واعطا الحياه للعالم  
34 فقالوا له يا سيدنا في كل حين اعطينا هذا الخبز  
35 قال لهم يسوع فانا هو خبز الحياه من ياتي الى لم يجوع ومن يومن بي لم يعطاش الى الابد لكن قلت  
لكم لان نظرتوني ولم تؤمنوني

John 18:19-27 (fol. 306v-307r)

19 وان راس الكهنه سايل ليسوع عن تلاميذه وعن تعليمه  
20 فقال له له يسوع فانا عيان ببيان تكلمت مع هذا الشعب وبكل حين علمت في المجمع وفي الهيكل  
حيث كل اليهود يجتمعون و[لكني] بلمخفي ما تكلمت  
21 ماذا انت تسالني سايل لهولايك الذين سمعوا ماذا تكلمت معهم فما هم يعرفون كل شي قلت

22 فلما قال هذا واحد من الخدام الوقوف ضرب<sup>1</sup> ليسوع على وجهه وقال له هاكذا انت ترد جواب لريس الكهنة

23 اجاب يسوع وقال له فان تكلمت ببس اشهد على البببس وان هو نعماً لماذا تضربني

24 فاما حانان ارسل ليسوع وهو مربوط الى قيافا ريس الكهنة

25 وان سمعان الصفا فكان واقف يدفا فقالوا له لعل ابضا انت من تلاميذه ثم انه كفر وقال لببس انا

26 فقال له واحد من عبيد ريس الكهنة نسيب الذي كان سمعان قد قطع اذنه فما انا ابصرتك معه في البستان

27 فايضا كفر سمعان وفي تلك الساعة صاح الديك

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1 The expression لحم is written above the line.



## 12.6. Family F

## Matthew 7:15-20 (fol. 9r)

- 15 احذروا الانبياء<sup>1</sup> الكذبة<sup>2</sup> الذين يوافقون كغتم في لين وهم كالذباب الضار به فيما يبطنون  
 16 وستعرفونهم من ثمار ما به يأتون افتراهم يقتطفون من العوسج عنباً او يجتثون من القنادالين  
 17 ما من شجرة طيبة تثمر خبيثاً ولا ذات خبث يكون ثمرها في الطيبين<sup>3</sup>  
 19 وما لم يثمر خيراً جزاؤه ان يُجز ويلقي في نار السعير  
 20 ومن اثار الواردين تعرفون منهم ما تتكرون

## Matthew 16:1-4 (fol. 21v-22r)

- 1 وشاورته الفقيه المختصه والصادقيه مختبره قالت ارنا ايه ملسماء<sup>4</sup>  
 2 قال اولستم الذين اذا انسدل عليهم الامساء قالوا نصبح<sup>5</sup> من<sup>6</sup> اصحاء فقد احمرت الافاق  
 3 واذا انجلي لهم اصباح قالوا يومنا هذا شات فقد كان ناصع سمايه باكفهر ان متماديا يا ايها المنافقون  
 انتم العارفون باعلام السماء فما لكم لا تعلمون اشراط هذا من الزمان  
 4 وان الامه السوء التي جاهرت بفسوقها تريد ان تجدي ايه وما ان لها الا الآيه التي كانت للنبي يونس  
 وبابن المعننين وكان لهم متحاميا.

## Mark 6:14-20 (fol. 50v-51r)

- 14 واتصل نباء عيسي بهيرود وقد عرف منهم الاسم فقال لقد بعث يحيي من رعم الموتى فاياته لا تخفي  
 15 وقال قوم من الناس انه الياس وقال سواهم<sup>7</sup> بل هو نبي او مرسل من المرسلين  
 16 وسمع هيرود الذي قيل<sup>8</sup> فاعاد الحديث قال الا ان يحيي الذي كنت لراسه حاز اقام من الاموات  
 17 ذلك بانه كان عليه ذا قبض والقاءه في السجن من اجل هردي ظله<sup>9</sup> اخيه وكان بها باينا  
 18 فقال له يحيي ما زوج اخيك حالا<sup>10</sup>  
 19 فكانت مناصبته العداوه تروم له قتلاً وما ان تجد اليه السبيل  
 20 وكان من يحيي فرقا اذ علمه طهرا وصديقاً فصار له حافظاً يصغي اليه ويعمل<sup>11</sup> كثيراً وطاب<sup>12</sup>  
 وحلي له سماعاً

## Mark 13: 5-11 (fol. 63r-v)

- 5 قال احذروا ان يستفزكم من احد في ضلالات  
 6 فلقد يرد المضلون علي اسمي قايلين انا [لنجن] فيغرون الاكثرون  
 7 فاذا ما كانت اللزبهات وجوانب ابنا العومرات فلا تحزنوا الابدان تاتيكم ما هوات وليس بختام  
 المعقبات

1 المتنين 2

2 العاضهين 2

3 Verse 18 is missing.

4 من السماء 2

5 تصبح 2

6 عن 2

7 لا adds 2

8 قيل 2

9 طله 2

10 الحلا 2

11 فيعمل 2

12 لو طاب 2

8 فكان قد نهبت امه لقتال اخري ومملكه لمملكه في شتات وتكون الزلزلات واللزبات والرجات المنكرات وتلكم اولي مخاض الواضعات  
9 فكونوا في انفسكم متحفظين فقد تسلون للديانين وفي مجامعهم تجلدون وهم مقيمومكم بين ايدي الملوك وقدام السلاطين من اجلي فلتكونوا عليهم شاهدين  
10 وذلك بعد اعلان هداي في العالمين  
11 فاما ما كنتم مُسلمين ولا تكونوا معدين ما انتم قايلون ولا تجروا مفكرين لكن كونوا بالتقبيض في ساعتكم خاطبين فما<sup>13</sup> انتم تنطقون لكن روح القدس الامين

Luke 8:10-15 (fol. 84v-85r)

9 وهو من حواريته في سؤال<sup>14</sup> قالوا ما هذا المثل عن بيان  
10 قال لقد اعطيتم ان تعلموا سر ملكوت الرحمن فاما الآخرون فانما تضرب لهم الامثال حتى اذا ما ابصروا كانوا<sup>15</sup> كالذين ما لهم من ابصار وذا ما<sup>16</sup> سمعوا فما رجعوا الى افهام  
11 وهذا تاويل المثل في الانام فالزرع كلام الله  
12 فما<sup>17</sup> كان<sup>18</sup> علي قارعة [الجلد<sup>19</sup>] والذين<sup>20</sup> اذا استمعوا كلمه جاء عدوهم فنزعها من سويديا قلوبهم كيلا يومنوا فيتظاهروا بالبقاء  
13 وما كان على المعرا فالذين<sup>21</sup> اذا ما سمعوا كلما ثقفوه بالبهجه والسرا وما له من ثواء وامنوا في الوقت وهم متى جرت<sup>22</sup> البلوى على شك<sup>23</sup> الاباء<sup>24</sup>  
14 وما وقع في سلا فشاكلة الذين اذا استمعوا<sup>25</sup> الكلمه كانوا في الكلف والثراء وشهوت الدنيا علي خنق<sup>26</sup> واردا وما هم من ثمر في رجاء<sup>27</sup>  
15 والذي كان في الطيب من البطحاء فهم الذين لهم قلوب نقيت<sup>28</sup> من<sup>29</sup> الصلحاء فهم بها يسمعون ويحفظون وثمارهم بما صيروا في اناء

Luke 15:11-20 (fol. 101v-102r)

11 وقال<sup>30</sup> عيسي لقد كان لرجل ولدان من العقب  
12 فقال له الاصغر منهما يا ابتا انصبي ما خصني من بيتك ففعل وقسمه بينهما وانصب

- 
- 13 فليس 2  
14 المثل 2 adds  
15 وكانوا 3  
16 2, 3 omit.  
17 وما 3, 2  
18 منه 3 adds  
19 [المجاد] 3; [المجاز] 2  
20 فللذين 3; فالذين 2  
21 فللذين 3  
22 [عرت] 3; [عرت] 2; [عرت] It could be  
23 شك 3  
24 واباء 3  
25 سمعوا 3, 2  
26 حنق 3  
27 رجاء 3; رجاء 2  
28 نقيت 3  
29 في 3  
30 لهم 3, 2 add

- 13 وعن قليل ما جمع الاصغر مقتناه وضرب به الي بلد شط وما اكتب وصار مبذره في سرف اذ يعيش عيش الريب
- 14 فانفذ وانصب<sup>31</sup> واتي عليه اللزب بموضعه الذي طنّب فاقل وما اثرّب
- 15 ولجا الي بعض بني المدينه في البلد فجعله في القريه راعيا لخنازير<sup>32</sup>
- 16 فسغب<sup>33</sup> وتاق الي شبعه من خروب اكالها لسد القيت<sup>34</sup> فما كان يجد انسانا<sup>35</sup>
- 17 فخاب وخرب<sup>36</sup> وعاد الي نفسه وانقلب قال كم في اجرا ابي من قوم يفضل لهم الخبز وانا من جوع في عطب
- 18 [فلنك] رجعي<sup>37</sup> نحوه من نكب واقول له يا ابنا اني خطيت من لدنك وبالسما
- 19 وما انا باهل ان ادعي لك ولدا فاجعلني كاحد اجرايك
- 20 واصطحب وجاء الي ابيه فلما ان راه وهو على بعد منه رحمه واعتقه<sup>38</sup> وقبل ورحب
- John 6:30-35 (fol. 128r-v)
- 30 قالوا ما تصنع من ايه فنرى ونكون بك من المؤمنين ما انت من الفاعلين
- 31 لقد كان اباونا في البر لمن الكلين<sup>39</sup> كما قد كتب ان الخبز من السماء اعطاهم لاكل
- 32 قال لهم عيسى اني أقول لكم حقا حقا ان ما كان موسى معطيكم الخبز من السماء غير ان ابي كان الواهب لكم مطعم القسط من السماء
- 33 "وطعام الله"<sup>40</sup> فهو النازل من السماء ومعطي الدنيا الحياة
- 34 قالوا ايا<sup>41</sup> سيدى<sup>42</sup> اعطنا ذا الخبز في كل حين
- 35 قال لهم عيسى "اني لخبز الحياة من ياتني ليس من الساغبين ومن كان بي من المؤمنين فليس الي الابد من الظاميين"<sup>43</sup>
- John 18: 19-27 (fol. 149r)
- 19 فاما اكابر الكاهنين فكان مسالا عيسى عن حواريتّه وتبصريه
- 20 قال له عيسى اما انا فاني كنت مكلما الامة جهارا وفي كل وقت مبصرا في الجمع وفي الهيكل حيث كان اليهود يجتمعون وما ان قلت شيئا سرا
- 21 فعلام انت مسالي كن ذا مسله "لها لهولاء"<sup>44</sup> الذين سمعوا ما كنت محاورهم اولا قد تعلمون<sup>45</sup> جميع ما قلت
- 
- 31 نصب 3; انصب 2
- 32 الخنازير 2
- 33 سغب 3
- 34 القتب 3
- 35 يحسب 2, 3 add
- 36 وحرب 2, 3
- 37 رجفني 3
- 38 واعتق 2
- 39 الكلين 2
- 40 omits. 2
- 41 اي 2
- 42 سيدنا 2
- 43 2 reads اني لخبز الحياة من and in the margin, the phrase لا يُماء بعضكم بعضا فما منكم احد يستطيع was added by a different hand. ياتني ليس من الساغبين ومن كان بي من المؤمنين فليس الي الابد من الظاميين
- 44 لهولاء 2
- 45 يعلمون 2

- 22 ولما افصح بهذه كان من الاعوان واحداً قايماً فلهز عيسى في عارضه اذ يقول اهكذا تجعل اجابة اكابر الكاهنين  
 23 قال له عيسى ان<sup>46</sup> كنت متكلماً بالسببية فكُن شاهد بالسوي او كان حسناً فعلام كنت لي من الضاربين  
 24 فأما الحان فإنه ارسل بعيسي في الاسار الى القايف كابر الكاهنين  
 25 وقد وقف الصفا شمعون فهو في المصطلين قالوا اترك الواحد من الذين كانوا له صاحبين فجدد اذ يقول اني لم اكن  
 26 قال له "فد قل"<sup>47</sup> من اعبد ذي الكبرة في الكاهنين قريب الذي<sup>48</sup> بت مسامعته شمعون او لم اشهدك معه في الحديق  
 27 فاعاد شمعون ما كان من الجحود وفي تلك الساعة ما صدح الصدوح

## 12.7. Family G: Codex Beirut, B.O., Or. 430

### 12.7.1. The Test Passages

#### Matthew 7:15-20 (fol. 11r)

- 15 احذروا من الانبيا الكذبة الذين ياتونكم بلباس الحملان وهم في الباطن دياب خاطفه  
 16 ومن ثمارهم تعرفونهم هل يجتنى من الشوك عنب او من العوسج تين  
 17 هكذا كل شجرة صالحة تثمر ثمرا جيدا والشجرة الفاسقة تثمر ثمرة رديا  
 18 لا تستطيع شجرة صالحة ان تثمر ثمرا ردينا ولا شجرة فاسقة ان تثمر ثمرا جيدا  
 19 كل شجرة لا تثمر ثمرا جيدا تقطع وتلقي في النار  
 20 فمن ثمارهم تعرفونهم

#### Matthew 16:1-4 (fol. 27r-v)

- 1 فدنا الاحبار والزنادقة يجربونه ويسالنه ايه من السما ليريهم اياها  
 2 فاما هو فاجاب وقال لهم اذ كان المسائلتم انه صحو لان السما احمرت  
 3 وبالغداة تقولون اليوم شاتي لان السما محمرت بعبوس يا ايها المرأون اوجه السما تحسنون ان تختبروه فايات هذا الزمان لا تحسنون ان تميزوه  
 4 القبله الخبيثه الفاجره تبتغي ايه ولن تعطى ايه الا ايه يونس النبي ثم تركم ومضى

#### Mark 6:14-20 (fol. 63r-v)

- 14 وسمع هيرودس الملك بخبر يشوع لان اسمه قد عرف عنده فقال ان يوحنا الصابغ قام من بين الاموات من اجل هذا تجرى على يده الجرايح  
 15 وكان اخرون يقولون انه ايليا واخرون انه نبي كواحد من الانبيا  
 16 فلما سمع هيرودس قال يوحنا الذي انا قطعت راسه وهو قام من بين الاموات  
 17 وذلك ان هيرودس كان ارسل فاخذ يوحنا وقذفه في السجن بسبب هروديا امرأه فيلبس اخيه التي اتخذها  
 18 لان يوحنا كان يقول لهيرودس انه ليس يحل لك ان تاخذ امرأه اخيك  
 19 وان هيروديا كانت تتواعده وكانت تريد قتله ولم تكن تقدر

46 2 omits.

47 2 فد

48 2 الذ

20 لان هيرودس كان يهاب موت يوحنا لمعرفته بانه رجل بار طاهر فكان يستبقه ويطيعه في امور كثيره وبالطيب كان يقبل منه

Mark 13: 5-11 (fol. 76v-77r)

5 فاما ايشوع فيدا يقول لهم انظروا لعل انسانا ان يخذكم  
6 لان كثيرا باتون باسمي ويقولون اني انا هو فيضلون ناسا كثيرا  
7 واذا سمعتم بالحروب وخبر الرجوف فلا تخافوا لانه مزعم ان يكون ولاكن ليست الاخره  
8 وبعد ذلك يثب امه على امه ومملكه على مملكه وتكون زلازل في موضع موضع ويكون مجاعات  
وهيوج هذه اوايل المخاض  
9 فابصروا انتم انفسكم فانه سوف يسلمونكم الى القضاء وتجلدون في محافلهم وتقفون امام الملوك  
والحكام من اجلي لشهادتهم  
10 غير ان بشرى مزمعه ان يبشر بها في جميع الشعوب  
11 فاذا ما قدموك لبسلكم فلا تتقدموا فتهتموا بماذا تتكلون ولا تفكروا بل الشي الذي يوهب لكم في  
تلك الساعه بذاك تكلموا لانكم انتم لستم الذين تتكلمون بل روح القدس

Luke 8:9-15 (fol. 101v-102r)

9 ثم ساله تلاميذه ان ما هذا المثل  
10 فاما هو فقال لهم لكم وهب العلم بسر ملكوت الله فاما اوليك الباقون فانما يقال بالامثال كيما اذ يرون  
لا يرون واذا يسمعون لا يسمعون ويفهمون  
11 وهذا المثل الزرع هو كلمه الله  
12 فاما اوليك الذي على الطريق فهم اوليك الذين يسمعون الكلمه فياتي العدو فيبزع الكلمه من قلوبهم  
كيلا يومنوا  
13 فاما اوليك الذين على الصفا فهم هولا الذين اذا سمعوا بالفرح يقبلون الكلمه وليس لها اصل بل انما  
ايمانهم زمينا وفي وقت البلا يفتنون  
14 واما ذلك الذي وقع بين الشوك فهو هولا الذين يسمعون الكلمه ومالههم والغنى يشهوات الغنى الدنيا  
يختنقون ولا يوتون ثمرا  
15 فاما ذلك الذي في الارض الجيده فهم هولا الذي بقلب [سهل] صالح يسمعون الكلمه فيمسكونها  
ويوتون الثمار بالصبر

Luke 15:11-20 (fol. 120v-121r)

11 ثم قل لهم ايشوع ايضا انه كان لرجل ابنان  
12 فقال له ابنه الاصغر يا ابيه اعطني الحصه التي تصيبني من بيتك فقسم بينهما ماله  
13 ومن بعد ايام قلائل جمع ابنه الاصغر كلشي كان له وذهب الى بلده بعيدة فيذر هناك ماله اذ يعيش  
مفرطا  
14 فلما افنى كلشي اصابه حدث مجاعه عظيمه وبدا العوز  
15 وانطلق فصحب واحد من اهل مدينه تلك البلاد وذاك ارسله الى القرية ليرعى الخنازير  
16 فكان يشتهي ان يملأ بطنه من ذلك الخرنوب الذي كانت الخنازير تاكله ولم يكن احد يعطيه  
17 فلما رجع الى نفسه قال كم من الاجره الان في بيت ابي يفضل عنهم الخبز وانا ها هنا اموت جوعا  
18 لاقومن واذهبين الى ابي ولاقولن له يا ابيته قد اخطات في السما وامامك  
19 ولست اهلا ان اسمي ابنك اجعلني مثل واحد من اجرايك  
20 ثم نهض واقبل نحو ابيه فبينما هو بعيد راه ابوه فرحمه [فعدا] فوقع على وجهه وقبله

John 6:30-35 (fol. 152v)

30 قالوا له ايت ايه تربنا لنراها ونومن بك ماذا تصنع  
31 اما اباونا اكلا المن في البريه كما هو مكتوب انه اعطاهم خبزا من السما للطعام

- 32 قال لهم ايشوع الحق الحق اقول لكم انه ليس موسى اعطاكم المن من السما ولكن ابي الذي يعطيكم خبز الحق من السما
- 33 لان خبز الله انما هو ذلك الذي نزل من السما ويهب الحياه للعالم كله
- 34 قالوا له يا سيدنا اعطنا اعطنا في كل حين من هذا الخبز
- 35 قال لهم ايشوع انا خبز الحياه من يقبل الي لا يجوع ومن يؤمن بي لا يظمى ابدا
- John 18:19-27 (fol. 176v-177r)
- 19 فاما عظيم الكهنه فسابل ايشوع عن تلاميذه وعن تعليمه
- 20 فقال له ايشوع انا انما كلمت الشعب علانيه وعلمت في كل حين في المحفل وفي الهيكل حيث يجتمع جميع اليهود ولم اتكلم بشي خفيا
- 21 ما بالك تسابلني سابل اوليك الذين سمعون ما كلمتهم به فما هم هولاء يعرفون كلشي قلت
- 22 فلما قال هذا عمد واحد من الاشراف كان واقفا فلطم ايشوع على خده وقال له هكذا ترد الجواب على عظيم الكهنه
- 23 اجاب ايشوع وقال له ان كنت ببس ما تكلمت به فاشهد على السو وان كنت تكلمت حسنا فلم لطمتني
- 24 فاما حانان فوجه بابشوع موثقا الى قيافا عظيم الكهنه
- 25 وشمعون الصفا كان قاوما يصطلي فقالوا له لعلك انت ايضا واحد من تلاميذه فكفر هو وقال لست به
- 26 قال له واحد من عبيد عظيم الكهنه نسيب ذاك الذي كان شمعون قطع اذنه اليس انا رايتك معه في البستان
- 27 فكفر شمعون ايضا وفي تلك الساعه صاح الديك

#### 12.7.2. The Pericope of the Women Caught in Adultry (John 7:53-8:11)

The first line contains Ms g<sup>5</sup> (Beirut, B.O., Or. 430 on folio 157) and the second line contains the text of Ms k<sup>1</sup> (Sinai, Ar. 101 on folios 351v-353r).

53 فمضى كل واحد الى موضعه
فمضى كل واحد الى موضعه
1 واما ايشوع فانطلق الى جبل الزيتون
ومضى يسوع وانطلق الى جبل الزيتون
2 وباكرا ادلج الى الهيكل وجا اليه جمع الشعب وجلس يعلمهم
وباكرا ايضا ادلج الى الهيكل وجا اليه جمع الشعب وجلس يعلمهم
3 فقدم اليه الكتبه والمعتزله امراه وجدت في زنا ووقوفها في الوسط
فقدموا اليه الكتبه والفرسيين امراه وجدت في زنى ووقوفها في الوسط
4 وقال يا معلم هذه الامراه قد وجدناها في زنا
وقالوا يا معلم هذه الامراه قد وجدناها في زنا

5	وفي ناموس موسى يوصى ان ترجم فماذا تقول انت
	في سنه موسى يوصى ان ترجم هذه انت ما تقول
6	فقالوا هذا ليجدوا عليه فاما السيد ايشوع فاطرق وكتب باصبعه على الارض
	قالوا هذا ليجربوه ليجدوا عليه فاما السيد يسوع فاطرق وكتب باصبعه على الارض
7	فلما استيطوا سواله رفع راسه وقال لهم من منكم بغير خطيه فليرجعها اولا بحجر
	فلما استيفطوا سواله رفع راسه وقال لهم من منكم بغير خطيه فليرجعها اولا بحجر
8	ثم اطرق وكتب على الارض
	ثم اطرق وكتب على الارض
9	فلما سمعوا هذا التعبير منه متفهمي التكييت بدوا يخرجون واحد واحد الى ان خرج الشيوخ
	جميعهم وبقي ايشوع وحده والامراه في الوسط فقط
	فلما سمعوا هذا منه بدوا يخرجون واحد واحد الى ان خرج الشيوخ
	جميعهم وبقي يسوع وحده والامراه في الوسط فقط
10	فرفع ايشوع راسه وقال لها يا امراه اين هولاي الذين ادانوك
	فرفع ايشوع راسه وقال لها يا امراه اين هولاي الذين ادانوك
11	فقلت ما ارى احد يا رب فقال لها السيد ايشوع ولا انا ادينك اذهبي من الان لا تعودي الى الخطيه
	فقلت ما ارى احد يا رب فقال لها السيد يسوع ولا انا ادينك اذهبي ومن الان لا تعودي الى الخطيه

## 12.8. Family H: Vatican, Ar. 13

Since the manuscript is lacunose, only four out of eight test passages were transcribed.

Matthew 7:15-20 (fol. 8v-9r)

- 15 احذروا الانبيا الكذبه الذين ياتونكم بلباس<sup>1</sup> الحملان وهم في ضميرهم ونفوسهم ذياب مختلسه خطفه
- 16 فمن ثمارهم تعرفوهم<sup>2</sup> هل يجتني من الشوك عنب او من الغيل تين
- 17 كذلك كل شجره صالحه تثمر ثماراً حسنئ والشجره الخبيثه تثمر ثماراً ردياً
- 18 لا تستطيع الشجره الصالحه على ان تثمر ثماراً خبيثه ولا الشجره الخبيثه تثمر ثماراً صالحه
- 19 فكل شجره لا تثمر ثماراً صالحه فالتقطع وتطرح في النار
- 20 ومن ثمارهم فاعرفوهم

1 Added in the margin.

2 اعرفوهم In the margin.

## Matthew 16:1-4 (fol. 26r-v)

- 1 فدنا منه الفريسانيون والزنادقه يجربونه ويمتحنونه وجعلوا يسألونه ايه من السما يظهرها لهم
- 2 اجاب هو عند ذلك فقال لهم انه اذا كان عند الاصل يقولون انه ليوم متبلج صاحي لان السما اشتد احمرارها
- 3 واذا [جسر/حبس] الصبح يقولون انه ليوم صرد شتوى لان السما قد اشتد ضبابها وكدرت يابها الخافون المرايون الاخذون بالوجه تحسنوا ان تفحصوا اديم السما فكيف لا تحسنوا ان تميزوا اعاجيب هذا الزمان
- 4 القيله الخبيث الفاجر يطلب ايه وجريحه وليس يعطا ايه الا ايه يونان النبي فتركهم عند ذلك وانطلق

## Mark 6:14-20 (fol. 83r-v)

- 14 فبلغ هيرودس خبر ايسوع لانه قد عرف اسمه من قبل فقال عنه ذلك ان يوحنا الصابغ انبعث من بين الاموات ولذلك يظهر هذه الجرايح على يديه
- 15 قال اخرون كلا بل هو الياسين النبي وقال اخرون من اهل المرا والتكذيب انه نبي من احد الانبياء
- 16 فلما سمع ذلك هيرودس قال ان يوحنا الذي قطعت راسه هو الذي انبعث من بين الاموات
- 17 لان هيرودس قد كان فيما مضى ارسل الى يوحنا فاحذه فقده في الحبس من اجل دخوله على هيروديا امراه فيلفوس اخيه
- 18 لان يوحنا كان يقول لهيرودس انه لا يحل لك ان تزوج امراه اخيك
- 19 وكانت هيروديا تهدده في هذا السبب وكانت تريد قتله ولم تكن تقدر على ذلك
- 20 لان هيرودس كان يتقي يوحنا ويهابه لانه كان عالما انه رجل بار نقي طاهر وكان يحفظه ويكرمه ويسمع منه \*مما يامره ويعمل بها وكان يقبل منه\*<sup>3</sup> اشيا كثيره ويقصد الى قوله وينتهي الى امره

## Mark 13: 5-11 (fol. 69v)

- 5 فبدا ايسوع عند ذلك يقول لهم احذروا الا يضلكم ويغويكم احد
- 6 لانه ياتي كثير باسمي ويقول كل امري منهم اني انا المسيح فيضلون بعد بذلك كثيرا من الناس
- 7 فاذا ما سمعتم القتن والاخبار السوء والشقاق والحروب فلا تخافوا لان هذا مزعم ان يكون قبل المنتها
- 8 وسيبث شعب على شعب [.....] المملكة مملكه اخرى وتكون الزلزله والرجه في موضع موضع ويكون جوع وهيج وشغب وقتن انما هذا اول الخلاص وابتدا البلاء
- 9 فاحذروا انتم حينئذ على انفسكم لانهم يسلمونكم الى القضاء [وتعذبون] في مجامعهم وتقفون بين يدي الملوك والحكام منجلي للشهاده عليهم
- 10 ولكن بشارتي مزعمه ان يبشر بها جميع الشعوب اولا
- 11 فاذا دفعو بكم ليسلموكم فلا تبدوا [فتعبدوا] وتهتموا بماذا تنطقون وتكلمون ولكن تكلموا بما تلقنتم ساعتيذ ولستم انتم المتكلمين بل روح القدس تنطق على السننكم

## 12.9. Family I

Since the manuscript is lacunose, only five out of eight test passages were transcribed.

## Mark 6:14-20 (fol. 30r-v)

- 14 وسمع الملك هيرودس بالمخلص: اذ كان قد ظهر وعرف اسمه: فقال ان يوحنا الصابغ: من بين الاموات قد قام: فمن اجل هذا الجرايح والقوات ينفع به:

3 Added in the margin. Omitted due to homoeoteuton.



- 15 واخرون كانوا يقولون ان اليا هو: واخرون يقولون ان نبي هو: او واحد من الانبياء:  
 16 فلما سمع هيرودس قال: ان يوحنا الذي انا قطعت راسه هذا هو: هو قام من بين الاموات  
 17 لان هيرودس كان قد انفذ وقبض على يوحنا: وربطه في بيت الاسارا: لاجل ايروذا زوجة فيلپوس  
 اخيه: التي لها تزوج:  
 18 لان قال يوحنا لهيرودس: لا يحل لك ان تكون لك اراه زوجة اخيك:  
 19 وكانت ايروذا متراعه له وغضبانة عليه: وتريد ان تقتله: ولم تقدر علي ذلك  
 20 لان هيرودس كان يخاف من يوحنا: لانه كان يعلم بانه رجلا صديق طاهر: وكان يحفظ وصاياه:  
 وايضا يسمع منه كثيرا: ويفعل طاعته: وبلذه كان يسمع منه:

Mark 13: 5-11 (fol. 50r-v)

- 5 ثم اجابهم وبدا يقول انظروا ليلا انسان يضلكم:  
 6 فكثيرون ياتون باسي ثم يقولون اني انا هو: ولكنثيرون يضلون  
 7 فاذا ما سمعتم بالقتال: واخبار الاهوال: فلا تخافوا: فانه ينبغي ان هولاي يكونون لكن ليس بعد  
 الانقضا:  
 8 انه يقوم شعب علي شعب: ومملكه علي مملكه: ويكون رجفان في كل الاماكن: ويكون جوع  
 واضطراب: وهذا راس الحبال يكون:  
 9 فانظروا انتم في نفوسكم: انه يسلمونكم الى المجامع: وفي جماعاتهم يجلدونكم: وامام الولاة والملوك  
 تقومون من اجلي لشهادتهم:  
 10 وفي جميع الشعوب ينبغي اولاً ان ينادى ببشاره الانجيل:  
 11 فاذا ما جابوكم ليسلونكم: فلا تتقدمون تفكرون بماذا تتكلمون ولا تدرسوا بل ذلك الذي تمنحون في  
 تلك الساعه بهذا تكلموا: فليستم انتم الذين تتكلمون لكن روح القدس:

Luke 8:9-15 (fol. 54r-v)

- 9 فسالوه تلاميذه ثم قالوا: ماذا يكون ترى هذا المثل:  
 10 فالمخلص ايضا قال لهم: ان لكم قد اعطى معرفه اسرار ملكوت الله: فاما لاوليك الباقون بالامثال  
 يقال لهم: حتى انهم ينظرون وما يبصرون واذا سمعوا لا يسمعون: ولا يفهمون  
 11 وهذا هو المثل: الزرع هو كلام الله  
 12 والذي على جاده الطريق فالويلك الذين يسمعون الكلمه: وبعد ذلك يجي النمام فيتناول تلك الكلمه من  
 قلوبهم حتى لا يؤمنون فينجون:  
 13 والذي على الصفا: الذين متى ما سمعوا الكلمه: الذين لا اصل يكون لهم: لكن لوقت زمان ايمانه:  
 وفي اوان البلوى يشكون:  
 14 وذلك الذي بين الشوك وقع: هولاي هم: الذين اذا سمعوا الكلمه: فمن الافكار ومن الغنى ومن  
 شهوات ولذات هذا العالم يمضون ويختنقون وثمر ما يعطون  
 15 والذي في الارض الجيده: هولاي هو: الذين يكونون بقلب جيد نقي: اذا سمعوا الكلمه يتمسكون بها  
 ويعطون ثمر بالصبور

Luke 15:11-20 (fol. 98v-99r)

- 11 فقال لهم المخلص ان انسان واحدا كان له ابنان:  
 12 فقال ذلك الابن الاصغر فيهم لابي: يا ابي اهب لي سهمي الذي يصح لي من خاص مالك فاقسم لهم  
 مقتناه:  
 13 ومن بعد ايام ليس كثيره: ثم جمع كل شي كان يخصه ذلك الابن الاصغر: وسافر الى بلد بعيد:  
 وهناك بذر قناياه: في عيش هنيئاً:  
 14 فلما افنا كل شيا كان له: حدث جوعا صعبت في ذلك الصقع: وهو بدا يتصعلك:  
 15 ومضى وتبع لواحد من ابنا مدينه ذلك البلد: فارسله ذلك الرجل الى قريته ليرعا خنازير:  
 16 وكان شديد الشهوه ليملي بطنه من ذلك الخرنوب الذي كان تاكله الخنازير: وما كان انسان يعطيه:

- 17 ولما عاد الى ذاته قال: كم اجبرا في بيت ابي يفضل منه الخبز: وانا من الجوع هاهنا اهلك:  
 18 اقوم امضي الى عند ابي واقول له: يا ابتاه: اخطات في السما وقدامك:  
 19 ولا ايضا استحق ان ادعا ابنك اجعلني مثل واحد من اجرايك  
 20 وقام اتى الى عند ابيه: ولما كان في البعد بعيدا: ابصره ابوه فرحمه: واسرع فوقع على عنقه: وقبله:  
 John 6:30-35 (fol. 133r-v)  
 30 ايضا قالوا له: ماذا الان او اي ايه تصنع: لكي ننظر ونومن بك ماذا تفعل  
 31 ابائونا اكلوا المن في البريه كما هو مكتوب ان خبزا من السما وهب لهم لياكلوا:  
 32 لان قال لهم هو المخلص: الحق الحق اقول لكم: ان ليس موسى اعطاكم الخبز من السما: الا ابي  
 وهب لكم الخبز من السما ذلك الحقيقي:  
 33 لانه خبز الله هو: الذي نزل من السما: ويعطي الحياه للعالم:  
 34 ايضا قالوا له: يا سيدنا في كل وقت اعطينا هذا الخبز:  
 35 الان قال لهم هو المخلص انا انا هو ذلك خبز الحياه: والذي ياتي الي ما يجوع: والذي يومن بي ما يعطش البته:

## 12.10. Family J

### 12.10.1. Subgroup J<sup>A</sup>

#### 12.10.1.1. The Eight Test Passages

Matthew 7:15-20 (fol. 16r)

- 15 فاحذروا الانبيا الافاكين<sup>1</sup> فايجينكم<sup>2</sup> "في ملابس"<sup>3</sup> الحملان<sup>4</sup> وهم من والـج<sup>5</sup> ذياب خطفه  
 16 من ثمرهم<sup>6</sup> تعرفونهم هل يجتنون<sup>7</sup> من الشوك عنباً او من الحسك تينا  
 17 كذلك<sup>8</sup> كل شجره صالحه تعمل ثمارا طيبه والشجره المره "ثمارا خبيثه تصنع"<sup>9</sup>  
 18 لن يمكن الشجره الصالحه ان تعمل ثمارا سوء ولا الشجره الوخيمه<sup>10</sup> ان تصنع ثمرات طيبه  
 19 كل شجره لا تجتنى<sup>11</sup> ثمره<sup>12</sup> محموده<sup>13</sup> تجذ<sup>14</sup> وفي النار تزج<sup>15</sup>  
 20 فمن ثمارهم اذا<sup>16</sup> تعرفونهم

- 
- 1 الكذابون 4  
 2 فاتجينكم 6; الذين باتونكم 4; ريجينكم 2  
 3 بلباس 4  
 4 خرفان 4  
 5 داخل 4, 2  
 6 ثمرتهم 4  
 7 يجتنون 4; يجتنون 2  
 8 فكذلك 4, 2  
 9 تصنع ثمارا خبيثه 6, 4, 2  
 10 الوخيمه 2  
 11 تجني 6; تصنع 4; تثمر 2  
 12 ثمارا 5, 4, 2  
 13 محمودا 6; صالحا 4, 2  
 14 تقطع 4  
 15 تلقى 4

## Matthew 16:1-4 (fol. 40r-v)

- 1 فاقترب<sup>17</sup> الاحبار<sup>18</sup> والزنادقة اذ يروزونه<sup>19</sup> فسالوه ان يطلعهم على ايه من السماء  
2 فقال<sup>20</sup> لهم مجيبا<sup>21</sup> اذا<sup>22</sup> يكون السماء تقلولون انه<sup>23</sup> صحو لان السما محمره  
3 وبالغداه اليوم شتاء<sup>24</sup> لان<sup>25</sup> السما مُتَغيمه<sup>26</sup> اما وجه السماء فقد تحسنون ان تميزوا وعلامات  
الاقوات<sup>27</sup> ما<sup>28</sup> تفهمون<sup>29</sup>  
4 "القبيله الخبيثه الفاجره تبتغى<sup>30</sup> ايه<sup>31</sup> فلن<sup>32</sup> تعطى<sup>33</sup> ايه الا ايه يونس<sup>34</sup> النبي ثم تركهم وذهب

## Mark 6:14-20 (fol. 91v-92r)

- 14 فبلغ هيرودس الملك لان اسمه صار ظاهرا فقال ان يوحنا "الذي يعمد"<sup>35</sup> قد اقيم من بين الموتى  
ولذلك القوي تجترح<sup>36</sup> به  
15 اخرون قالوا ان<sup>37</sup> ايلياس<sup>38</sup> هو<sup>39</sup> "اخرون قالوا"<sup>40</sup> ان نبيا هو و<sup>41</sup> كواحد من الانبيا  
16 وسمع هيرودس فقال ان يوحنا الذي حسمت<sup>42</sup> انا راسه هذا هو هو<sup>43</sup> انبعث من بين<sup>44</sup> الاموات  
17 لان هروندس هو<sup>45</sup> كان وجهه وقبض<sup>46</sup> على يوحنا وسله<sup>47</sup> في الحبس من اجل هروندياس امراه فيليس  
اخيه لانه تزوجها

- 
- 16 4 omits.  
17 ففقدوا اليه 4  
18 الفريسيين 2  
19 يجربوه 4  
20 وقال 2  
21 2 omits.  
22 اذ 4  
23 4 omits.  
24 يوم مطر 4, 2  
25 اذا كانت 4, 2  
26 على احمرار بعبوس كمده 4; على احمرار بعبوس 6, 2  
27 4 and above it there is a cross drawn in a different color.  
28 اما 4, 2  
29 تستطيعون 6, 4, 2  
30 ورد عليهم الجواب ايضا القبيله الخبيثه [.....] تبتغى 6; الجيل السو الفاجر يبتغى 4; الجيل الخبيث الفاجر يبتغى 2  
31 محنه 5  
32 ولن 4, 2  
33 يعطى 4, 2  
34 يونان 2  
35 المصنع 4  
36 تصنع 4  
37 4 adds هو  
38 ايليا 4, 2  
39 4 omits.  
40 2 (as in the Arabic Diatessaron, cf. Marmardji, *Diatessaron de Tatien*, 170).  
41 2; 4 omits.  
42 قطعت 2; In the margin, the expression قطعت is added by the same hand;  
43 4 omits.  
44 2, 4 omit.  
45 4 omits.

18 وكان يوحنا قد قال له رودس انه ليس<sup>48</sup> بحل لك ان تتخذ امراه اخبك  
 19 فاما هروذياس "فاحتفظها"<sup>49</sup> ذلك<sup>50</sup> عليه وارادت ان تقتله فلم تستطع<sup>51</sup>  
 20 لان هروذس كان يخاف<sup>52</sup> يوحنا اذ علمه [امرا<sup>53</sup>] عدلا قديسا "ثم وضع عليه [الرصد]"<sup>54</sup> واذ كان  
 يسمع ما "يقول ويصنع"<sup>55</sup> كثير<sup>56</sup> وبستلذا<sup>57</sup> كان يسمع

Mark 13:5-11(fol. 115v-116r)

5 فاجابهم يسوع وافتتح ان يقول لهم انظروا الا يضلنكم احد  
 6 فان كثيرين سيأتون على اسمي قائلين اني انا المسيح<sup>58</sup> فيظغون كثيرين  
 7 فاذا سمعتم<sup>59</sup> بحروب واخبار<sup>60</sup> حروب<sup>61</sup> فلا ترهبوا<sup>62</sup> فان ذلك<sup>63</sup> قد ينبغي لها ان يكون<sup>64</sup> ولكن  
 "الانقضا ليس اذ ذاك"<sup>65</sup>  
 8 لانه ستثور<sup>66</sup> امه على امه ومملكه "على مملكه"<sup>67</sup> وستكون زلازل في<sup>68</sup> "كل موضع"<sup>69</sup> وستكون<sup>70</sup>  
 مجاعات وهبوج هذه فاتحه المخاض  
 9 فانظروا انتم انفسكم سيسلمونكم الى المجامع وتضربون في المحافل وتقامون بحضره الولاه والملوك  
 "من اجل"<sup>71</sup> "الشهاده لهم"<sup>72</sup> وينبغي ان ينادى<sup>73</sup>  
 10 "بالانجيل في كل الامم اولا"<sup>74</sup>

46 فقبض 2

47 وشده 2, 4

48 لا 4

49 فاغاطها 4; is written in the margin by the same hand;

50 فحققت 2

51 تستطيع 2, 4

52 خاف 4

53 رجلا 2

54 4 omits.

55 فعله 2, 4

56 خيرا 4

57 باستلذاذ 4; فباستماع 2

58 The Greek (parallel to the Arabic) does not have المسيح. This shows that the Arabic version is not a fresh translation but copied from an earlier exemplar; 2, 4, 5 ana

59 ما سمعتم 2, 4, 5

60 وانبا 4, 5; وسماع 2

61 خوف 5; رجوف 4

62 ترهين 5; تدهشن 2, 4

63 تلك 2, 4

64 تكون 4, 5

65 ليس اذ ذاك الانقضا 4, 5

66 ستقوم 4

67 4 omits.

68 4 omits.

69 مواضع 2, 4, 5

70 وسوف تكون 2, 4, 5

71 منجلي 4

72 للشهاده 4; للشهاده بهم 2, 5

73 يكرز 4

11 فاذا اقادوكم مسلمين<sup>75</sup> فلا تهتمون<sup>76</sup> قبل بماذا تتكلمون ولا تهذون<sup>77</sup> ولكن مهمل<sup>78</sup> تلفتونه في تلك الساعه اياه تقولون<sup>79</sup> فليس<sup>80</sup> انتم<sup>81</sup> الذين تتكلمون بل الروح القدس

Luke 8:9-15 (fol. 152r-v)

9 استبحته<sup>82</sup> تلاميذه قابلين ان ما عسى ان يكون هذا المثل  
10 فقال لكم اعطى<sup>83</sup> ان تعلموا سراير ملكوت الله والباقيين<sup>84</sup> بالامثال [اكلم<sup>85</sup>] لكي اذ يروا<sup>86</sup> لا<sup>87</sup> يبصروا واذا يسمعو<sup>88</sup> لا<sup>89</sup> يفهموا  
11 وهذا هو المثل [الزرارع<sup>90</sup>] هو كلام الله  
12 واما<sup>91</sup> الذي<sup>92</sup> على حط الطريق هو<sup>93</sup> السامعون الكلمه<sup>94</sup> ثم ياتي المحال فيجتنب من قلوبهم القول ليلا يومنوا فينجوا<sup>95</sup>  
13 واما ذو<sup>96</sup> الصفا فهم الذين اذا سمعوا يقبلون القول بفرح فهاولا<sup>97</sup> لا اصل لهم وانما يومنون الى زمن<sup>98</sup> وفي زمان الامتحان ينحازون  
14 واما ما وقع بين الشوك هم<sup>99</sup> الذين يسمعون وينطلقون فيختنقون من الهموم وايسار<sup>100</sup> ولذات الدنيا فلا تكمل<sup>101</sup> اثمارهم  
15 فاما<sup>102</sup> ما وقع في الارض الثريه<sup>103</sup> فهم هولاء<sup>104</sup> الذين "يسمعون"<sup>105</sup> بقلوب طاهره<sup>106</sup> صالحه<sup>107</sup> ويتمسكون به<sup>108</sup> "ويثمرون بالصبر"<sup>109</sup><sup>110</sup>

74 1 reads only. في كل ال

75 ليسلمونكم 4

76 تهتمن 5, 4, 2

77 2, 5 تهذون 4

78 5 adds ان

79 2, 4, 5 قولوا

80 2, 4, 5 فلسستم

81 5 adds انتم

82 4 فساله

83 2 adds هذا

84 وللباقيين 4

85 2, 4 omit.

86 يرون 4; يبصرون 2

87 ولا 4

88 2, 4 يسمعون

89 ولا 4

90 2, 4 الزرع

91 فاما 2

92 الذين 4, 2

93 فهم 4, 2

94 2, 4 omit.

95 فيخلصوا 2

96 ذو 4, 2

97 فهولاء 4

98 زمين 4, 2

99 فهم هولاء 4, 2

100 والايسار 4, 2

101 يكمل 4, 2

Luke 15:11-20 (fol. 179v-180r)

- 11 ثم قال<sup>111</sup> انسان<sup>112</sup> كان له ابنان<sup>113</sup>  
 12 فقال اصغرهما للاب يا به<sup>114</sup> اعطني<sup>115</sup> الذي يصيبني<sup>116</sup> من الميراث فقسم<sup>117</sup> بينهما ماله  
 13 ومن بعد ايام غير كثيره جمع كل شي الابن الاحدث وسافر الى كوره بعيدة فهناك بدد ماله اذ عاش  
 مفرطاً<sup>118</sup>  
 14 فلما انفد كل شي حدث جوع شديد في تلك الكوره وبدا هو ان يعوز<sup>119</sup>  
 15 فمضى<sup>120</sup> والتصق<sup>121</sup> بواحد من اهل تلك الكوره فبعثه "الى حقوله"<sup>122</sup> ليرعى<sup>123</sup> خنازير  
 16 فكان<sup>124</sup> يود<sup>125</sup> ان يملا بطنه من الخرنوب<sup>126</sup> التي<sup>127</sup> كانت الخنازير تاكله فلم<sup>128</sup> يكن احد يعطيه  
 17 "ثم [خطر] بنفسه"<sup>129</sup> اذ<sup>130</sup> قال كم يفضل اجراء<sup>131</sup> ابي من الخبز وانا "ها هنا اهلك"<sup>132</sup> جوعاً  
 18 لا قوم من وانطلقن الى ابي ولا قولن له ايها الاب قد اخطأت في السماء وامامك  
 19 فلست باهل<sup>133</sup> ايضاً<sup>134</sup> ان ادعى<sup>135</sup> ابنك اجعلني كاحد<sup>136</sup> اجرايك

102 ما 3; واما 2

103 الثرية 2

104 هو لاء 2, 4

105 2 adds المقال

106 2 جيدة

107 بقلوب طاهره صالحه يسمعون الكلمه 3

108 3 omits.

109 3 adds الكثير

110 وبالصبر يثمرون 2

111 ان 2, 4 add

112 3 adds ما

113 3 adds اثنان

114 3 ياتاه

115 2 adds الجز 4; اعطيني 3; الجزء 2

116 يخصني 4, 2

117 وانه قسم 3

118 شاطرا 3

119 يحتاج 3

120 فمضاً 3

121 واتصل 4

122 4 omits.

123 ليرعا 3

124 وكان 3

125 يشتهي 3; يتمنى 4, 2

126 الخروب 2

127 الذي 2

128 ولم 3

129 فاقبل على نفسه 3

130 ان 4; و 3

131 اجرا 4; لاجرا 3

132 اهلك 3; فاهلك 4, 2

133 كفوا 4; انا باهل 3; مستحقاً 2

134 3 omits.

- 20 فنهض واقبل الى ابيه واذا كان بالبعد<sup>137</sup> عنه<sup>138</sup> راه ابوه فتحنن واحضر ووقع على عنقه وجعل يقبله  
John 6:30-35 (fol. 223v-224r)
- 30 فقالوا له "فايت ابيه"<sup>139</sup> تصنع انت لنرى<sup>140</sup> ونومن بك<sup>141</sup> ماذا تعمل<sup>142</sup>
- 31 اباؤنا<sup>143</sup> اكلوا<sup>144</sup> المن في البريه "على ما"<sup>145</sup> هو مكتوب اعطاهم<sup>146</sup> خبزاً من السماء لان ياكلوا
- 32 فقال<sup>147</sup> لهم ايسوع امين امين اقول لكم ليس موسى اعطاكم الخبز من السماء ولكن<sup>148</sup> يوتيكم<sup>149</sup>  
الخبز<sup>150</sup> الحقيقي<sup>151</sup> من السما
- 33 لان<sup>152</sup> خبز الله هو<sup>153</sup> إلى<sup>154</sup> ينزل<sup>155</sup> من السما ويمنح<sup>156</sup> العالم الحياه
- 34 فقالوا له يا سيدنا<sup>157</sup> اينتنا<sup>158</sup> "كل حين هذا الخبز"<sup>159</sup>
- 35 فقال لهم ايسوع انا انا<sup>160</sup> خبز الحياه من<sup>161</sup> ياتي<sup>162</sup> الي<sup>163</sup> "لا يجوع"<sup>164</sup> ومن يومن<sup>165</sup> بي لا<sup>166</sup>  
يظمأ<sup>167</sup> ابداً

- 
- 135 ادعا 3  
136 كواحد من 4  
137 بعيدا 2, 4  
138 منه 4  
139 اي علامه 4  
140 حتى نرى 4  
141 4 omits.  
142 تصنع 4  
143 اما اباؤنا 4  
144 قد اكلوا 2  
145 كما 4  
146 انه انزل عليه 4  
147 قال 4  
148 ابي 2, 4  
149 يعطيكم 2, 4  
150 خبز 4  
151 الحق 4  
152 وانما 4  
153 ذلك 4  
154 الذي 2, 4  
155 نزل 4  
156 ويعطي 4  
157 رب 2  
158 اعطينا 2, 4  
159 هذا الخبز كل حين 4  
160 1 adds this expression above the line; 4 omits.  
161 ومن 4  
162 يات 4  
163 4 omits.  
164 لم يجع 4  
165 امن 4  
166 لم 4  
167 يعطش 2, 4

John 18:19-27 (fol. 257r-v)

- 19 فجعل رئيس الكهنة يسأل يسوع<sup>168</sup> عن تلاميذه و عن تعليمه  
 20 فاجابه<sup>169</sup> ايسوع<sup>170</sup> انا " علانيه كلمت العالم"<sup>171</sup> انا في الحفل كنت اعلم كل حين"<sup>172</sup> وفي الهيكل  
 حيث "كانت"<sup>174</sup> اليهود يجتمعون"<sup>175</sup> ولم اكن<sup>176</sup> اتكلم بشي سرا  
 21 عما<sup>177</sup> تسألني<sup>178</sup> سل الذين سمعوا " ماذا خاطبتهم"<sup>179</sup><sup>180</sup> [ها هو اولاً]<sup>181</sup> يعلمون"<sup>182</sup> التي كنت اقولها  
 انا"<sup>183</sup>  
 22 فلما قال هذا "لطم لايسوع واحد من الخدام الواقفين"<sup>184</sup> قابلاً اهكذا تجيب رئيس<sup>185</sup> الكهنة  
 23 اجاب<sup>186</sup> ايسوع<sup>187</sup> ان كنت تكلمت بسوء فاشهد " على السو"<sup>188</sup> وان كان<sup>189</sup> بخير فلم تضربني  
 24 "فارسله حناس"<sup>190</sup><sup>191</sup> موثقا الى قيافا رئيس الكهنة  
 25 وكان سمعان<sup>192</sup> الصفا قابما يصطلى فقالوا له لعلك<sup>193</sup> من<sup>194</sup> تلاميذه انت<sup>195</sup> فانكر<sup>196</sup> وقال لست<sup>197</sup>  
 انا  
 26 قال "واحد من"<sup>198</sup> عبيد<sup>199</sup> راس<sup>200</sup> الكهنة كان نسيباً<sup>201</sup> للذي قطع بطرس اذنه الست انا رايتك "في  
 البستان معه"<sup>202</sup>

- 
- يسوع 4 168  
 فقال له 4 169  
 يسوع 4 170  
 [---] الشعب علانيه 4 ;انما كنت اكلم العالم علانيه 2 171  
 وعلمت في كل حين 4 172  
 و 4 173  
 كافه 2 174  
 حيث يجتمع اليهود باسرها 4 175  
 4 omits. 176  
 فما بالك 4 ;لما 2 177  
 تسألني 2 178  
 به 2 adds 179  
 كلامي 4 180  
 لانهم 4 ;ها هو لا 2 181  
 عارفون 4 182  
 بكلمة تكلمت 4 183  
 وثب احد الشرطه فلطم خد [.....] 4 184  
 عظيم 4 185  
 اجابه 4, 2 186  
 يسوع 4 187  
 علي به 4 188  
 كانت 4 189  
 حنان 2 190  
 فاما حنان فارسل ايسوع 4 191  
 سمعون 4, 2 192  
 انت احد 4 ;ولعلك 2 193  
 4 omits. 194  
 4 omits. 195  
 فجدد 4 ;ذاك 2 adds 196  
 كلا ما 4 197



27 فجحد بطرس<sup>203</sup> ايضا "و على المكان"<sup>204</sup> صاح الديك

12.10.1.2. Matthew 28:1-14 (J<sup>A1</sup> versus J<sup>A7</sup>)

- 1 وفي عشيه<sup>205</sup> الاسبث الذي يكون صباح<sup>206</sup> احد الاسبث جالت ماريه<sup>207</sup> المجدليه وماريه<sup>208</sup> الاخرى لينظران<sup>209</sup> القبر
- 2 واذا زلله عظيمه قد كانت لان ملك الرب هبط من السما ودنا فدرج الحجر عن "باب القبر"<sup>210</sup> وجلس عليه
- 3 وكان منظره كالبرق ولباسه ناصعا مثل الثلج
- 4 فارعد الحفظه [فزعا] منه وصاروا بمنزله الاموات
- 5 فاجاب الملك وقال للمرأتين لا تخافا انتما لاني قد علمت انكما انما تلتمسان ايسوع المصلوب<sup>211</sup>
- 6 ليس هو هاهنا لانه قد قام على ما كان قال تعاليا فعابنا الموضع حيث جعل السيد<sup>212</sup>
- 7 واذهبنا بسرعه فقولوا لاربابه<sup>213</sup> انه قد انشر<sup>214</sup> من الموتى وها هوذا يسبقكم الى الجليل هنالك ترونه ها انا ذا قد قلت لكم
- 8 [فشخمتا] بمبادره عن المقبره على خيفه وفرحه كثيره واغدتا حتى تبدر الحواريين فاذا كانتا مجدتين [.....]<sup>215</sup> تلاميذه
- 9 استقبلهما ايسوع قايلا ليزل كابتكما فتقدمتا وامسكتا رجليه وسجدتا له عند ذلك
- 10 قال لهما ايسوع لا تفزعا اسرعا ان تنذرا اخوتي ليذهبا الى الجليل فثم يشاهدوني
- 11 فبينما هما منطلقتان اقبل قوم من الاشراف الى المدينه واخبروا روسا الكهنه كل التي كانت
- 12 فاتفقوا مع المشيوخ واتمروا فاعطوا اصحاب الشرط دراهم كثيره
- 13 قايلين قولوا ان تلاميذه وافوا في الليل فسر قوه ونحن نيام
- 14 وان سُمع<sup>216</sup> هذا بحضره الوالي ارضيناه

198 4 احد

199 4 غلمه

200 2 عظيم

201 4 وكان قريب

202 4 معه في البستان

203 4 شمعون

204 4 وفي ذلك الوقت

205 7 عشي

206 7 اصباحه

207 7 ماريه

208 7 ماريه

209 7 لينظر

210 7 الباب

211 7 الناصري

212 7 omits.

213 7 reads similarly but adds تلاميذه above the word.

214 7 reads similarly but adds قام above the word.

215 7 لتنبيا

216 7 جرى

12.10.1.3. A table reflecting on the variants within J<sup>A</sup>

The table below gives a few examples showing how the collated base was stylistically and linguistically improved. The empty cells represent either a lacunae in the manuscript or an un-collated passage. The sign “=” means that the reading is identical to the collated base.

Verse	j <sup>A1</sup>	j <sup>A2</sup>	j <sup>A3</sup>	j <sup>A4</sup>	j <sup>A5</sup>	j <sup>A6</sup>
Mt 7:15	الافاكين	=		الكذابون		=
	والج	داخل		داخل		=
Mt 7:17	ثمارا خبيثه تصنع	تصنع ثمارا خبيثه		تصنع ثمارا خبيثه		تصنع ثمارا خبيثه
Mt 7:19	محموده	صالح		صالح		محمودا
	تجذ	=		تقطع		=
Mt 16:1	يروزونه	=		يجبروه		=
Mt 16:4	القبيله	الجيل		الجيل		=
Mk 6:14	تجترح	=		تصنع		=
Mk 6:16	حسنت	=		قطعت		=
Mk 6:17	سله	شده		شده		=
Mk 13:7	مسمعتم	ما سمعتم		ما سمعتم	ما سمعتم	
	واخبار	وسماع		وانبا	وانبا	
	حروب	=		رجوف	خوف	
	ترهبوا	تدهشن		تدهشن	ترهبن	
	الانقضا ليس اذ ذاك	=		ليس اذ ذاك الانقضا	ليس اذ ذاك الانقضا	

Mk 13:8	ستثور	=		ستقوم	=	
	كل موضع	مواضع		مواضع	مواضع	
Mk 13:9	ينادي	يكرز		=	=	
Mk 13:11	مسلمين	=		ليسلمونكم	=	
	تهتمون	تهتمن		تهتمن	تهتمن	
	تهذون	تهذن		ما تتلون	تهذن	
Lk 8:9	فاستبحته	=		فساله		
Lk 8:14	وايسار	والايسار		والايسار		
Lk 15:11	ابنان	=	ابنان	=		
	يايه	=	يا ابتاه	=		
Lk 15:12	اعطني	اعطني	اعطيني	اعطني	الجز	
	يصيبني	=	يخصني	يخصني		
	فقسم	=	فانه قسم	=		
Lk 15:13	مفرطا	=	شاطرا	=		
Lk 15:14	يعوز	=	يحتاج	=		
Lk 15:15	فمضي	=	فمضا	=		
	ليرعى	=	ليرعا	=		
Lk 15:17	ثم خطر بنفسه	=	فاقبل على نفسه	=		
	ها هنا اهلك	فاهلك	اهلك	فاهلك		

Lk 15:19	باهل	مستحقا	انا باهل	كفوا		
	ايضا	=	omit	=		
	ادعى	=	ادعا	=		
Lk 15:20	بالبعد	بعيدا	بالبعد	بعيدا		
John 6:32	يوتيكم	يعطيكم		يعطيكم		
John 6:33	ويمنح	=		ويعطي		
Jn 6:34	سيدنا	رب		=		
	ايتنا	اعطينا		اعطينا		
John 6:35	يومن	=		امن		
	يظما	يعطش		يعطش		
Jn 18:19	ايسوع	=		يسوع		
Jn 18:21	عما	لما		فما بالك		
Jn18:24	حناس	حنان		حنان		
Jn 18:4	سمعان	سمعون		سمعون		

12.10.1.4. A Table with the Variant of J<sup>A1</sup> versus J<sup>A7</sup>

Verse	Manuscript J <sup>A1</sup>	Manuscript J <sup>A7</sup>
Mt 28: 1	عشيّه	عشي
	صباح	اصباحه
	ماريه	ماريا
	لينظران	لينظرا
Mt 28: 2	باب القبر	الباب
Mt 28: 5	المصلوب	الناصري
Mt 28: 6	السيد	omit

Mt 28: 7	لا ربايه	تلاميذه and above the line لا ربايه
	انشر	قام and above the line انشر
Mt 28: 14	سمع	جرى

12.10.2. Subgroup J<sup>B</sup>

## 12.10.2.1. The Eight Test Passages and the Critical Appartus

## Matthew 7:15-20 (fol. 11v-12r)

- 15 احتفظوا<sup>217</sup> من الانبياء الكذبة<sup>218</sup> الذين ياتونكم<sup>219</sup> بلباس الخراف<sup>220</sup> وهم من داخل ذياب خاطفه<sup>221</sup>
- 16 من ثمراتهم<sup>222</sup> اعرفوهم<sup>223</sup> هل يلقط من الشوك عنباً او من الدردار تيناً
- 17 كذلك<sup>224</sup> كل شجره صالحه تصنع "ثمره طيبه"<sup>225</sup> والشجره<sup>226</sup> السو<sup>227</sup> "تصنع ثمر سو"<sup>228</sup> سو<sup>229</sup>
- 18 "ليس تستطيع"<sup>230</sup> شجره صالحه<sup>231</sup> تنمر<sup>232</sup> ثمر<sup>233</sup> سو<sup>234</sup> ولا شجره سو<sup>235</sup> تنمر<sup>236</sup> "ثمر صالح"<sup>237، 238</sup>
- 19 فكل شجره لا تنمر<sup>239</sup> ثمر صالح<sup>240</sup> تقطع "وفى النار تلقا"<sup>241، 242</sup>
- 20 من ثمارهم<sup>243</sup> تعرفوهم<sup>244</sup>.

157 19 احتفظوا 36 وقال الرب احتفظوا

158 3, 4, 6, 32, 37 الكذابين

159 1, 7, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 22, 34 ياتونكم

160 36 الغنم

161 5 الخراف 17 adds; خطفه 5

162 23, 24, 27, 29, 30 ثمارهم 36; ثمارهم 30

163 17, 36 تعرفوهم

164 36 هكذا

165 19 ثمرنا حسنا 36; ثمرنا طيبا

166 19 وكل شجره

167 19 الرديه 36; ردیه 19

168 13, 14, 15 ثمره

169 19 خبيثا 36; ردیا 19

170 36 لن تقدر

171 28 omits.

172 28 ان تصنع 36; انثمر 28

173 6 ثمره

174 19, 36 ردیا

175 36 شريره

176 36 تصنع

177 19 ثمرنا جيذا 36; ثمره صالحه 19

178 34 omits.

179 36 تصنع

180 36 حسنا

181 13, 15, 16, 18, 25, 30, 31, 34 تلقى 17; تلقى 13

182 36 وتلقا في النار

## Matthew 16:1-4 (fol. 29v-30r)

- 1 فاقترب<sup>245</sup> "الزنادقه والفريسيين<sup>247, 246</sup> اذ<sup>248</sup> يروزونه<sup>249</sup> فسالوه<sup>250</sup> "ان يريهم ايه من السما<sup>251</sup>"  
 2 "فقال لهم<sup>251</sup> اذ يكون<sup>252</sup> السما تقولون<sup>253</sup> انه<sup>254</sup> صحو لان السما محمره<sup>255</sup>  
 3 "وبالغدا<sup>256</sup> اليوم يوم مطر<sup>257</sup> اذا<sup>258</sup> كانت<sup>259</sup> السما محمره<sup>260, 261</sup> بعبوس<sup>262</sup> اما وجه السما فقد<sup>263</sup>  
 "تحسنون<sup>264</sup> ان<sup>265</sup> تميزوا<sup>266</sup> وعلامات<sup>267</sup> الاوقات اما<sup>268</sup> تستطيعون<sup>269</sup>  
 4 "ورد<sup>270</sup> عليهم الجواب،<sup>271</sup> ايضا<sup>271</sup> "الجيل الخبيث<sup>272</sup> الفاجر<sup>273</sup> يبتغي<sup>274, 275</sup> ايه<sup>276</sup> "ولن يعطي<sup>277</sup>  
 ايه<sup>278</sup> الا ايه "يوانان النبي<sup>279</sup> ثم<sup>280</sup> تركهم وذهب.

- 243 1, 7, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 18, 19, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 34, 35, 36, 37 اثمارهم  
 244 8, 9, 12, 19, 21, 23, 27, 28, 29, 32, 35, 37, 38 اعرفهم  
 245 3, 4, 6, 17, 20 add اليه 8; adds the line above; 19 فاقتربت 21 فاقتربتوا  
 246 5, 6, 8, 9, 19, 21, 22, 33 بالفريسيين 13, 14, 15, 18 add الى يسوع 20 والفريسيون  
 247 3, 4, 17 الاحبار والزنادقه 36 والفريسيين والزنادقه  
 248 17, 36 omit.  
 249 3 يروزونه 7 يروزوا به 5, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 20, 21 يروزونه 3 يروزونه  
 36 يختبرونه  
 250 36 ايه من السما واضحه لهم  
 251 36 فاجابهم مخاطبا  
 252 صار 36 يكون 19  
 253 تقولوا 36 يقولون 33  
 254 36 omits.  
 255 3, 4, 7, 9, 10, 22, 36 محماره  
 256 وفي الغد 36 وبالغدا 15  
 257 شتا 36  
 258 لان 36 اذ 26  
 259 36 omits.  
 260 3, 4, 36 محماره  
 261 4, 19 omit.  
 262 1 adds يا مرايين in the margin; 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 21, 22, 26, 33, 36 add  
 36 يا مرايين  
 263 1, 7, 10, 12, 14, 19 قد 36 omits.  
 264 36 فتعرفوا  
 265 21 omits.  
 266 2, 26 تميزو 7, 9, 21 تميزون  
 267 واما علامات 36  
 268 فلن 36  
 269 تفهما 36 وتستطيعوا 17, 19  
 270 الجواب عليهم 20  
 271 1 omits but there is a short empty space between the words. It seems as if a few  
 words (possible الجواب عليهم ورد) were written then erased; 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 26,  
 33, 36 omit.  
 272 الشرير 36  
 273 الفاسق 36; الفاجر 19  
 274 36 omits.  
 275 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 16, 21, 22 القبيله الخبيثه الفاجره تبتغي 4, 6, 17, 20 القبيله الفاجره الخبيثه تبتغي

## Mark 6:14-20 (fol. 65r-v)

14 فبلغ<sup>281</sup> هيرودس<sup>282</sup> الملك خبر يسوع<sup>283</sup> لان اسمه صار ظاهرا فقال ان يوحنا<sup>284</sup> المعمدان قد قام من الموتى<sup>285</sup> فلذلك القوي تجترح<sup>286</sup> به  
 15 اخرون<sup>287</sup> قالوا<sup>288</sup> ايليا<sup>289</sup> هو<sup>290</sup> اخرون<sup>291</sup> قالوا<sup>292،293</sup> نبيا<sup>294</sup> هو<sup>295</sup> كواحد من الانبيا  
 16 "وسمع هيرودس<sup>296</sup> فقال<sup>297</sup> ان يوحنا<sup>298</sup> المعمدان<sup>299</sup> الذي قطعت انا<sup>300</sup> راسه هو قد<sup>301</sup> قام<sup>302</sup> من الموتى<sup>303</sup>  
 17 لان هيرودس<sup>304</sup> كان<sup>305</sup> قد<sup>306</sup> وجه فقيض على<sup>307</sup> يوحنا<sup>308</sup> فشده<sup>309</sup> في الحبس "من اجل"<sup>310</sup>  
 هيرودنيا<sup>311</sup> امراه<sup>312</sup> اخيه فيلبس<sup>313</sup> لانه تزوجها

- 
- 276 36 adds يطلب  
 277 2, 5, 7, 8, 9, 12, 16, 19, 22 تعطى 3, 4, 6, 10, 17, 20, 21  
 278 36 وايه لن يعطا  
 279 النبي يونان 5  
 280 36 و  
 281 5 بلغ  
 282 هيرودس 17; هيرودس 1  
 283 2, 5, 18, 20, 21, 36 يسوع  
 284 9, 11, 21, 23, 24, 27, 28, 29, 38 يحنا  
 285 11, 16, 17, 23, 24, 26, 29, 31 الموتى 19; الموتى 19  
 286 3, 4, 6 تجرح 17  
 287 9, 12, 16, 21, 23, 27, 28, 29, 38 اخرين  
 288 9, 10, 27, 28, 38 add انه  
 289 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 37 ارميا 21; ايليا 21  
 290 2, 5, 23, 29 omit.  
 291 9, 12, 13, 14, 15, 19, 21, 23, 27, 28, 29 اخرين  
 292 32 وقال اخرون 36; وقال اخرون 36  
 293 17 omits.  
 294 8 omits.  
 295 20 omits.  
 296 2, 5 هيرودس 17; هيرودس 17  
 297 فقال هيرودس 37  
 298 6, 12 يحنا  
 299 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 17, 32 omit.  
 300 2, 3, 4, 5, 17, 26, 37 omit.  
 301 30, 31, 34 وقد  
 302 19 اقام  
 303 12, 16, 23, 25, 26, 27, 29, 33 الموتى 17, 19; الموتى 17, 19  
 304 هيرودس 17; هيرودس 17  
 305 3, 32 omit; 8, 9, 10, 12, 16, 21, 23, 24, 25, 27, 29, 36 قد كان  
 306 10, 12, 21, 23, 24, 25, 27, 29, 36 omit.  
 307 6 omits.  
 308 19 adds المعمدان 27, 29, 34 يحنا  
 309 6 وقيد 36; وقيد 36  
 310 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 10, 11, 16, 22, 23, 27, 28, 29, 37, 38 لمنجل 36  
 311 هارونيا 32; هارونيا 2

18 وكان يوحنا<sup>314</sup> قد<sup>315</sup> قال لهيرونس<sup>316</sup> ليس يحل لك ان تتخذ امراه<sup>317</sup> اخيك  
 19 فكانت هروديا<sup>318</sup> تتواضع<sup>319</sup> وارادت<sup>320</sup> قتله فلم تستطع<sup>321</sup>  
 20 لان هيرونس<sup>322</sup> كان يخاف<sup>323</sup> يوحنا<sup>324</sup> لانه كان يعلم<sup>325</sup> انه رجل بار<sup>326</sup> قدس<sup>327</sup> وكان يسمع<sup>328</sup> منه ويعمل بقوله.

Mark 13: 5-11 (fol. 78v-79r)

5 فاجابهم<sup>329</sup> انظروا<sup>330</sup> لا<sup>331</sup> يظنكم<sup>332</sup> احد  
 6 فان كثيرين<sup>333</sup> سيأتون "على اسمي"<sup>334</sup> قائلين انا هو<sup>335</sup> فيطغون كثيرين  
 7 فاذا ما<sup>336</sup> سمعتم بحروب واخبار رجفات<sup>337</sup> فلا تخافوا<sup>338</sup> فان ذلك ينبغى<sup>339</sup> ان يكون ولكن "ليس هو  
 التمام اذ<sup>340</sup> ذلك<sup>341</sup> 342  
 8 لانه ستنور<sup>343</sup> امه على امه ومملكه<sup>344</sup> على مملكه<sup>345</sup> وسيكون<sup>346</sup> زلازل في مواضع وسوف تكون<sup>347</sup>  
 مجاعات وهياج هذه فاتحه المخاض

- 
- 312 امرات 9  
 313 فليس 9  
 314 يحنا 27  
 315 20 omits.  
 316 لهيرونس 17  
 317 امرات 9  
 318 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, M, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 36; 4 omits; 32 هارونيا  
 319 2, 5 تتواضعه  
 320 2, 5, 17 وتريد 19; ورادت  
 321 2, 20 تستطع 4, 6, 17 تقدر  
 322 هيرونس 17; هرونس 1  
 323 يخف 5  
 324 6, 16, 23, 27, 29 يحنا  
 325 1 adds this reading above the line; يعرف 19  
 326 19; صديق 34 omits.  
 327 وقدس 19  
 328 8, 9, 10, 12, 16, 21, 23, 24, 27, 29 add بلذه 28; بلذه 36 adds بشوق  
 329 19 adds وقال  
 330 نظروا 19  
 331 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 35 لا  
 332 2, 3, 4, 16, 20; يظنكم 6; يطغيمكم 8, 9, 12, 35; يظلمكم 10, 17, 21  
 333 كثيرون 7  
 334 باسمي 17  
 335 3 added المسيح then crossed it out.  
 336 17, 19 omit.  
 337 اراجيف 17  
 338 تخافو 19  
 339 19 omits.  
 340 19 omits.  
 341 1, 7 ذاك  
 342 21 اذ ذاك ليس هو التمام  
 343 ستقوم 19  
 344 ملوك 19



- 9 فانظروا<sup>348</sup> انتم انفسكم<sup>349</sup> سيسلموكم<sup>350</sup> الى "المجامع والمحافل"<sup>351,352</sup> وتقامون بحضره "الولاه والملوك"<sup>353</sup> "من اجل"<sup>354</sup> الشهاده<sup>355</sup> لهم<sup>356,357,358</sup>
- 10 وينبغي ان ينادى<sup>359</sup> بالانجيل<sup>360</sup> في كل الامم او لا
- 11 فاذا قادوكم<sup>361</sup> ليسلموكم<sup>362</sup> لا تهتموا<sup>363</sup> قبل<sup>364</sup> بماذا تتكلمون ولا تدرسوا<sup>366</sup> ولكن مهما تلقنوه<sup>367</sup> في<sup>368</sup> تلك الساعه اياه قولوا<sup>369</sup> فليس انتم الذين<sup>370</sup> تتكلمون بل<sup>371</sup> الروح القدس.
- Luke 8:9-15 (fol. 104r-v)
- 9 فساله تلاميذه قائلين ما هو<sup>372</sup> هذا المثل
- 10 فقال لكم اعطى<sup>373</sup> ان تعرفوا سر<sup>374</sup> ملكوه<sup>375</sup> الله وباقى<sup>376</sup> الناس بامثال يخاطبون حتى اذا ابصروا لا يبصرون<sup>377</sup> واذا<sup>378</sup> سمعوا لا يفهموا<sup>379</sup>

- 
- 345 ملوك 19
- 346 تكون 19; ستكون 2, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 16, 17, 22, 35
- 347 يكون 1, 21, 22
- 348 انظروا 7
- 349 لانفسكم 2, 5, 8, 9, 19, 20, 35
- 350 سيسلمونكم 2, 3, 8, 9, 10, 12, 16, 19, 35
- 351 وفي المحافل تضربون 8, 9, 10, 12, 16, 22
- 352 المحافل وفي المجامع تضربون 35
- 353 الملوك والولاه 11, 13, 14, 15, 18, 19
- 354 اجلي 8, 10, 22, 35
- 355 منجل 3, 7, 12, 16
- 356 للشهاده 8, 10, 12, 16
- 357 عليهم 35
- 358 من اجل اسمي ولاجل الشهاده عليهم 19
- 359 ينادوا 17; ينادا 16, 19, 35
- 360 بالبيشاره 20
- 361 قدموكم 19
- 362 ليسالونكم 19; ليسلمونكم 8, 10, 12, 16, 22
- 363 فلا 21, 35
- 364 تهتمون 8
- 365 من قبل 35; يثيا 19 adds
- 366 تدرسوا 35
- 367 تلقنوه 6, 4; تلقنوه منه 2
- 368 omit. 2, 4, 6
- 369 قولوا 19
- 370 omits. 35
- 371 لكن 19
- 372 omits. 17
- 373 اعط 24, 27
- 374 سراير 37
- 375 ملك 37, 36; ملكوت 35, 31, 29, 24, 11, 5, 2
- 376 وباقى 31
- 377 ينظرون 35; ينظروا 20
- 378 ذا 8, 7, 3, 2, 1
- 379 يسمعون 19; يفهمون 38, 31, 29, 28, 27, 25, 23, 22, 21, 20, 16, 10, 9, 8, 7, 1

- 11 هذا هو معنى<sup>380</sup> المثل الزرع هو كلام الله  
 12 والذي على قارعه الطريق هم الذين يسمعون. ثم يحي المحال فينزع<sup>381</sup> القول من قلوبهم ليلا يصدقوا فيخلصوا<sup>382</sup>  
 13 والذي<sup>383</sup> على الصخره<sup>384</sup> فهم<sup>385</sup> الذين اذا<sup>386</sup> سمعوا الكلام<sup>387</sup> قبلوه<sup>388</sup> بفرح وليس لهم<sup>389</sup> اصل<sup>390</sup> فيؤمنون في وقت<sup>391</sup> وفي حين التجربه يكفرون  
 14 والذي وقع فيما<sup>392</sup> بين الشوك فهم الذين يسمعون القول ولتصرفهم<sup>393</sup> في هموم "العالم وغناه ولذاته"<sup>394</sup> يختنقون ولا تتم<sup>395</sup> اثمارهم  
 15 والذي وقع في الارض الجيده<sup>396</sup> هم<sup>397</sup> الذين يسمعون الكلام بقلب<sup>398</sup> "صالح جيد"<sup>399</sup> ويضبطونه<sup>401</sup> ويثمرون بصير.<sup>402</sup>

### Luke 15:11-20 (122v-123r)

- 11 كانسان<sup>403</sup> كان<sup>404</sup> له ابنين<sup>405</sup>  
 12 فقال الشاب منهما<sup>406</sup> لايه "يا ابي"<sup>407</sup> اعطيني<sup>408</sup> القسم الذي يخصني من نعمتك<sup>409</sup> فقسم "ما له فيما<sup>410</sup> بينهما"<sup>411</sup>

380 24, 28, 29, 31, 33, 35, 36 معنا

381 1, 7-14, 16, 18-22, 24, 25, 26, 28-36, 38 فينزع

382 19 فيخلصون

383 1, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 21, 22, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 34, 35, 36, 37 الذين

384 32 الصخر

385 19 هم

386 37 adds ما

387 7 الكلمه 36; لكلام الله

388 36 قبلوها

389 4, 20 له 36 لها

390 2 اصلا 4 adds في قلوبهم

391 8, 9, 10, 12, 16, 21, 22, 23, 24, 28, 29, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38 add قليل

392 6 omits.

393 3, 37 ومن تصرفهم; ويتصرفهم

394 2, 3, 5 الدنيا وغناها ولذاتها

395 5 يتم

396 19, 28 الصالحه

397 11, 18 فهم

398 28 omits.

399 28 omits.

400 19 نقي

401 28 ويمسكه

402 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 21 add 19; من له اذنان يسمع فليسمع This reading is found in 229(c) 265 349 903 954 1195 Sj (1 ms.).

403 3, 5, 6, 7 وكان انسان 21; ثم قال لتلاميذه انسان 20; وكان انسان 19; انسان 7, 6, 3

404 19, 21 omit.

405 2, 5, 8, 9, 10, 12, 15, 20, 21, 22 ابنيين 3; ابنان

406 8, 10, 16 منهم

407 2, 5 يابي

408 3, 4, 6, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21 اعطني

409 19 مالك

- 13 وبعد ايام ليست<sup>412</sup> كثيره جمع الابن الاصغر "كل ما"<sup>413</sup> له وسافر الى "بلد بعيد"<sup>414</sup> وبدد هناك ماله<sup>415</sup> عايشا<sup>416</sup> على جهه<sup>417</sup> التقريط
- 14 فلما انفق "كل ما"<sup>418</sup> كان معه<sup>419</sup> حدثت مجاعه شديده<sup>420</sup> في "ذلك البلد"<sup>421</sup> واشتمله الاعواز والعدم<sup>422</sup>
- 15 وذهب ولاصق<sup>423</sup> واحد من اهل "تلك البلده"<sup>424</sup> فانفذه الى حقوله يرعى<sup>425</sup> خنازير
- 16 وكان يشتهي بملأ<sup>426</sup> جوفه من الخرنب<sup>427</sup> الذي<sup>428</sup> كانت<sup>429</sup> الخنازير تاكله فلم يعطيه<sup>430</sup> احد مناه<sup>431</sup>
- 17 ثم اقبل الى ذاته وقال كم من<sup>432</sup> اجرا<sup>433</sup> فى بيت ابي بفضل الخبز عنهم وانا اهلك جوعاً
- 18 لاقمن<sup>434</sup> ولامضين<sup>435</sup> الى ابي فاقول له يا ابي قد اخطأت<sup>436</sup> فى السما وبين يديك<sup>437</sup>
- 19 ولست اهلا<sup>438</sup> ان ادعا<sup>439</sup> لك ابناً اجعلني<sup>440</sup> كواحد من اجرايك
- 20 وقام<sup>441</sup> فجا الى عند ابوه<sup>442</sup> واذا حصل مجيه غير<sup>443</sup> بعيد منه راه ابوه فحنن<sup>444</sup> عليه "وبادر فانكب عليه"<sup>445</sup> وقبله

410 11, 15, 18 omit.

411 بينهم 20; بينهما ما له 19

412 اتت 2, 5

413 كلما 8, 9, 10, 12, 16, 21

414 بلده بعيدة 19

415 جميعه 19 adds

416 عايشا 19 has wrongly

417 جة 19 has wrongly

418 كلما 3, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 16, 17, 20, 21

419 له 19

420 عظيمه 19

421 فى تلك البلده 19

422 العنمه 19

423 ولاسق 8

424 ذلك البلد 2, 3, 5, 7, 12

425 ليرعى 19; يراعى 21, 20, 16, 17, 10, 9, 8

426 يما 19 has wrongly

427 الخروب 8, 9, 10, 12, 15, 16, 17, 19, 21

428 التي 19

429 كان 8, 10, 12, 16, 22

430 يعطه 2, 5

431 منها 2, 5

432 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20 omit.

433 اجري 20

434 لاقومن 21

435 واضين 21; ولامضي 19; ولامضين 15, 14, 13; ولامضيين 10; ولامضين 9

436 اخطيت 19

437 ايديك 19

438 انا باهل 19

439 ادعى 19, 15, 14, 13, 11

440 فاجعلني 19

441 ثم انه قام 19

## John 6:30-35 (fol. 155v-156r)

30 فقالوا<sup>446</sup> له فابيت<sup>447</sup> ايه تصنع انت<sup>448</sup> لنرى<sup>449</sup> ونومن بك ماذا تعمل  
 31 اباوننا اكلوا المن في البريه على ما هو مكتوب اعطاهم خبزاً من السما لياكلوا<sup>450</sup>  
 32 قال لهم ايسوع<sup>451</sup> الحق<sup>452</sup> اقول لكم ليس موسى<sup>453</sup> اعطاكم الخبز من السما "ولكن ابي يعطيكم<sup>454</sup>  
 الخبز الحقيقي من السما"<sup>455</sup>  
 33 لان خبز الله هو الذي نزل من السما ويمنح<sup>456</sup> العالم<sup>457</sup> الحياه  
 34 فقالوا له يا سيدنا اعطنا<sup>458</sup> هذا الخبز في كل حين  
 35 قال<sup>459</sup> لهم<sup>460</sup> انا انا<sup>461</sup> خبز الحياه "من يات"<sup>462</sup> الي<sup>463</sup> لا يجع<sup>464</sup> ومن يومن بي لن<sup>465</sup> يعطش<sup>466</sup> ابدا

## John 18:19-27 (fol. 185r-v)

19 واما ريس<sup>467</sup> الكهنه فسال<sup>468</sup> يسوع<sup>469</sup> عن تلاميذه وعن تعليمه  
 20 فاجابه<sup>470</sup> "انا علانيه كلمت العالم"<sup>471</sup> انا في كل حين كنت اعلم في المجمع<sup>472</sup> وفي الهيكل حيث  
 "يلتأم<sup>473</sup> اليهود"<sup>474</sup> دايماً وما تكلمت شياً في السر

---

442 2, 5, 7, 20 ابيه

443 1 adds this reading above the line; 2, 4, 5, 17 omit.

444 فاتحنن 19

445 20 omits.

446 قالوا 28

447 1, 11, 15, 18, 20, 25, 26, 30, 33 فاية 19, 24, 29, 35, 36

448 4, 17 omit.

449 لنرا 31, 35, 36

450 فاكلوا 17

451 2, 5 omit; 4, 17, 18, 20, 21, 24, 33, 35, 36 يسوع

452 1, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 21, 22, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 36 add  
 امين امين 17, 20 ; لحق

453 19 النبي and above the line, in a different hand, the expression موسى is written.

454 2, 3, 5, 7, 20, 37 يوتيكم 4, 6, 8, 9, 10, 12, 16, 21, 22, 23, 24, 27, 28, 29, 36 لكم 32, 35 يوتيكم

455 17 omits.

456 ومنح 36

457 5, 9, 11, 13, 14, 15, 18 للعالم

458 1, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 21, 24, 27, 30, 32, 33, 37 اعطينا

459 23, 24, 25, 28, 32, 33, 35, 37 وقال

460 1 adds ايسوع above the line; 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 19, 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 3,  
 36 add ايسوع 20, 21, 31 add يسوع

461 3 omits; 6, 17, 19 هو.

462 ياتي 9

463 من ياكل منه 19

464 2, 5, 8, 9, 17, 19, 21, 28 يجوع

465 لم 17; لا 20, 6

466 الى الايد 19

467 ريبس 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 15, 16, 17, 19, 21

468 سال 19

469 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 19, 38 ايسوع

470 8, 10, 12, 16, 22, 38 add ايسوع

- 21 لم تسلني<sup>475</sup> سال<sup>476</sup> الذين سمعوا<sup>477</sup> ماذا خاطبتهم فهاهولا<sup>478</sup> يعرفون<sup>479</sup> ما قلته انا  
 22 وعندما قال هذا<sup>480</sup> كان واحداً من الخدام حاضر<sup>481</sup> فلطم يسوع<sup>482</sup> قايلاً بهذا<sup>483</sup> الجواب تجاوب<sup>484</sup>  
 ريس<sup>485</sup> الكهنة  
 23 اجابه<sup>486</sup> يسوع<sup>487</sup> ان<sup>488</sup> كنت تكلمت "منكراً فاشهد علي<sup>489</sup> بالمنكر<sup>490</sup> وان كنت تكلمت صواباً فلم  
 تضربني"<sup>491</sup>  
 24 فارسله حنا<sup>492</sup> مربوطاً الي ريس<sup>493</sup> الكهنة قيافا<sup>494</sup>  
 25 وكان سمعان بطرس واقفاً يتسخن فقالوا له لعلك انت<sup>495</sup> من تلاميذه فجحد وقال لست انا  
 26 فقال واحد من عبيد ريس<sup>496</sup> الكهنة وكان قرابه الذي قطع بطرس اذنه اما رايتك انا<sup>497</sup> في البستان  
 معه  
 27 فانكر بطرس ايضاً وفي الحين صاح الديك

### 12.10.2.2. Two Additional Test Passages

(a) Sinai, Ar. 106 (<sup>B1</sup>) and Birmingham, Mingana, Chr. Ar. Add. 222  
 (<sup>B39</sup>)

Matthew 9:19-35 (fol. 16r-v)

- 
- 471 انا كلمت الشعب علانيه 19  
 472 الجمع 9, 10, 14, 15  
 473 تلتام 17, 38  
 474 اليهود يلتاقون 19  
 475 تسالني 4, 6, 12, 17, 19, 21, 38  
 476 اسأل 21; اسال 11, 13, 14, 15, 17, 19  
 477 سمعون 16  
 478 فها هولاي 12, 16, 19, 21; فها هاولي 7; فهاولا 2, 5  
 479 يعرفوا 17  
 480 هذه الاقوال 19  
 481 قائم 8, 9, 10, 12, 16, 21, 22, 38  
 482 ايسوع 7, 9, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 19, 22, 38  
 483 ابهذا 19  
 484 به adds 19  
 485 ربيس 2, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 13, 15, 16, 17, 19, 21  
 486 اجاب 8, 9, 10, 16  
 487 ايسوع 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16; وقال له 6; وقال 4, 17 add  
 488 فان 8, 9, 12, 21  
 489 على 2  
 490 المنكر 2  
 491 ان كنت تكلمت صواباً فلم تضربني وان كنت تكلمت منكراً فاشهد علي بالمنكر 19  
 492 حنان 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 19, 21, 22, 38  
 493 ربيس 2, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 13, 15, 16, 17, 19, 21  
 494 قايافا 5  
 495 وانت 9, 10, 16, 22, 38  
 496 ربيس 2, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 13, 15, 16, 17, 19, 21  
 497 19 omits.

- 19 فقام اسوع واتبعه تلاميذه معه  
 20 فاذا امراه تنزف الدم منذ اثنا<sup>498</sup> عشر سنه جات من ورايه ولمست طرف ثوبه  
 21 قابله في نفسها ان انا مسكت طرف ثوبه بربرت  
 22 فالتفت يسوع ونظر اليها وقال ثقي يا بنيه فان امانتك نجتك، فبريت المراه "من ساعتها"<sup>499</sup>  
 23 وجا يسوع الى بيت الرئيس فابصر نوح<sup>500</sup> واناس قلقيين  
 24 فقال لهم انصرفوا فان الجاريه لم تمت ولكنها نايمه فيدوا يضحكون منه  
 25 فحين اخرج الكل دخل فامسك بيدها فنهضت الجاريه  
 26 فشاع هذا الخبر في تلك البلاد<sup>501</sup> اجمع  
 27 وعند اجتياز يسوع لحقه اعمالوين هاتفين قايلين يا ابن داوود ارحمنا،  
 28 فعند مجيئه الى المنزل تقدموا اليه الاعمالوين فقال لهما يسوع هل تصدقان اني اقدر افعل هذا قالوا  
 نعم يا سيدنا،  
 29 حينئذ لمس اعينهما قايلا ليكن لكما نظير ايمانكما  
 30 فانفتحت اعينهما فنهاهما يسوع قايلاً انظر الا تعلمان احداً  
 31 فخرجا واذا عا<sup>502</sup> في تلك الارض كلها  
 32 وبعد ذلك<sup>503</sup> قدموا اليه انسان اصم مجنون،  
 33 فاذا خرج الشيطان نطق<sup>504</sup> فعجب الجمع قايلين، لم يظهر قط مثل هذا في آل اسرائيل،  
 34 وكان الفريسيين يقولون انما بريس الشياطين يخرج الشياطين  
 35 فطاف يسوع في تلك المدن كلها والقرى<sup>505</sup> يعلم في مجامعهم وينادي ببشاره الملكوت

(b) Sinai, Ar. 106 (J<sup>B39</sup>) and Birmingham, Mingana, Chr. Ar. Add. 124  
 J<sup>B40</sup>)

Matthew 9: 9-17 (fol. 15r-v)

- 9 وبينما يسوع ماض<sup>506</sup> نظر الي رجلا<sup>507</sup> جالس "على العشر"<sup>508</sup> يقال له متى فقال له الحقني فقام واتبعه  
 10 فبينما هم متكبين في بيته<sup>509</sup> اتوا عشارين<sup>510</sup> "كثيرين وخطاه"<sup>511</sup> فدخلوا<sup>512</sup> واتكوا مع يسوع وتلاميذه  
 11 فلما راوا<sup>513</sup> "ذاك الفريسيين"<sup>514</sup> قالوا لتلاميذه لماذا ياكل معلمكم مع الخطاه والعشارين

498 39 اثني

499 39 لساعتها

500 39 نوحات

501 39 الارض

502 39 واذا عاه

503 39 خروجهم

504 39 adds الاصم

505 39 والقرا

506 40 adds من هناك

507 40 انسان (Greek has ανθρωπον and the Syriac ܐܢܫܝܢ).

508 40 مع اصحاب المكس

509 40 البيت. The collated base has no textual support.

510 40 جبايون

511 40 وخطابين كثير

512 40 omits and follows the Greek and the Syriac. The collated base has no textual support. It is worth noting that the Greek has the verb ἐλθόντες after καὶ ἀμαρτωλοὶ and might have been translated twice.

513 40 راو

514 40 الفريسيين ذلك

- 12 فحين<sup>515</sup> سمع ايسوع قال لهم ليس يحتاجون الاصحاح الى طبيب ولكن المرض  
 13 اذهبوا فتعلموا<sup>516</sup> "ما هو انما"<sup>517</sup> اريد رحمه<sup>518</sup> ولا ذبيحه<sup>519</sup> "لاني ما"<sup>520</sup> جيت<sup>521</sup> ادعوا الصديقين<sup>522</sup>  
 لكن الخطاه الى التوبه  
 14 "عند ذلك"<sup>523</sup> دنوا منه<sup>524</sup> تلاميذ يوحنا قايلين<sup>525</sup> لماذا نحن والفريسيين نصوم كثيرا وتلاميذك ليس  
 يصومون  
 15 قال لهم ايسوع<sup>526</sup> "هل يقدروا"<sup>527</sup> "بنو الخدر"<sup>528</sup> ينوحوا<sup>529</sup> ما دام الختن معهم "لكن تجي"<sup>530</sup> ايام اذا  
 ارتفع "عنهم الختن"<sup>531</sup> حينئذ يصومون  
 16 "ما من"<sup>532</sup> احد يرقع<sup>533</sup> رقعته جديده على ثوب بالي "لانها تجذب ملاها من الثوب ويصير الخرق  
 اوسع"<sup>534</sup>  
 17 ولا يجعل خمرا جديدا في زقاق عتيق<sup>535</sup> "والا تفزرت الزقاق وانهرق الخمر"<sup>536</sup> لكن يضع الخمر  
 الجديد في زقاق جدد فيسلمان<sup>538</sup> كلاهما.

### 12.10.3. Subgroup J<sup>C</sup>

#### 12.10.3.1. The Eight Test Passages of J<sup>C</sup>

Matthew 7:15-20 (fol. 28v)

- 15 احترسوا<sup>539</sup> من الانبيا الكذابين<sup>540</sup> فانهم<sup>541</sup> يوافون اليكم بملايبس<sup>542</sup> الغنم وهم "في باطنهم"<sup>543</sup> دياب  
 خاطفه<sup>544</sup>

- 
- 515 فلما 40  
 516 فاعلموا 40  
 517 ماذا 40  
 518 الرحمه 40  
 519 الذبيحه 40  
 520 لم 40  
 521 ات 40  
 522 adds الارار 40  
 523 حينئذ 40  
 524 اليه 40  
 525 وقالوا له 40  
 526 فقال 40  
 527 يصلح 40  
 528 للمعربين 40  
 529 ان يصومون 40  
 530 ستاتي 40  
 531 الختن عنهم 40  
 532 ليس 40  
 533 يضع 40  
 534 omits. 40  
 535 عتيق 40  
 536 ليلا ينشق فيذهب الخمر [وتهلك] الزقاق 40  
 537 بل 40  
 538 ويسلم 40  
 539 احترسوا 3; احذروا 2

- 16 "ومن" <sup>545</sup> ثمارهم تعرفونهم "العلكم تجمعون" <sup>546</sup> من الشوك عنباً أم <sup>547</sup> من الحسك تبنياً.  
 17 هكذا <sup>548</sup> كل شجرة صالحة تعمل <sup>549</sup> ثمرة <sup>550</sup> جيده و "الشجرة المرّة" <sup>551</sup> تعمل <sup>552</sup> ثمرة <sup>553</sup> خبيثه <sup>554</sup>.  
 18 "لن تقدر شجرة صالحة أن تعمل ثمار <sup>555</sup> خبيثه" <sup>556</sup> ولا يمكن الشجرة <sup>558</sup> الرديه <sup>559</sup> أن تصنع <sup>560</sup> ثمرات <sup>561</sup> طيبه <sup>562</sup>.  
 19 وكل شجرة لا تعمل ثمار <sup>563</sup> جيذاً <sup>564</sup> تقطع <sup>565</sup> وتلقى <sup>566</sup> في النار <sup>567</sup>.  
 20 فمن ثمارهم <sup>568</sup> ستعرفونهم <sup>569</sup>

# Matthew 16:1-4 (fol. 54v)

- 1 فدنا <sup>570</sup> الفريسيين <sup>571</sup> والزنادقه وسألوه مجربين له <sup>572</sup> ان يريهم ايه من السماء  
 2 فأجاب وقال لهم اذا صار المساء تقولون صحو <sup>573</sup> لأن السماء "محمرة

- 
- 540 الكذبه 2, 3  
 541 الذين 2  
 542 بملايس 2  
 543 من داخلهم 2  
 544 خطفه 3  
 545 من 3; ومن 2  
 546 انراهم يجمعون 2  
 547 او 2  
 548 فعلى هذه الجبهه 2  
 549 بخصها ان تعمل 2  
 550 ثمرات 2  
 551 وكل شجرة خبيثه 2  
 552 تصنع 3; بخصها ان تعمل 2  
 553 ثمرات 2  
 554 رديه 3  
 555 اثمار 3  
 556 رديه 3  
 557 2 omits.  
 558 شجرة 2, 3  
 559 مره 3; خبيثه 2  
 560 تعمل 2  
 561 اثمارا 3  
 562 جيده 2  
 563 ثمرة 2  
 564 جيده 2  
 565 ستقطع 2  
 566 تطرح 2  
 567 وفي النار تلقى 3  
 568 ثمراتهم 2  
 569 اذا تعرفونهم 2  
 570 فدنا 2  
 571 الفريسيون 3; والفريسيين 2  
 572 2 omits.  
 573 صحو 2



- 3 وبالغداه اليوم شتا لان السما<sup>574</sup> مُحمره بعبوسه يامرائين تعرفون<sup>575</sup> ان تميزوا وجد السماء وما تقدر<sup>576</sup> ان تميزوا ايات ايات<sup>577</sup> الاوقات
- 4 الجيل [الحش<sup>578</sup>] الفاجر يلتمس آيه وما يعطى<sup>579</sup> آيه إلا آيه يونان النبى. و<sup>580</sup> تركهم وانصرف
- Mark 6:14-20 (fol. 112r)
- 14 فبلغ هيرودس الملك خبر ايسوع لان اسمه صار ظاهرا فقال ان يوحنا المعمدان قد أقيم من الموتى<sup>581</sup> فلذلك القوى تجترح به "وقال اخرون<sup>582</sup> انه<sup>583</sup> ايليا
- 15 "وزعم اخرون<sup>584</sup> انه نبيا<sup>585</sup> كاحد<sup>586</sup> الانبيا
- 16 فلما بلغ<sup>587</sup> هيرودس ذلك قال ان يوحنا<sup>588</sup> الذى قطعت انا رأسه هو الذى قد<sup>589</sup> انبعث من الاموات
- 17 "ولذلك ان<sup>590</sup> هيرودس كان قد وجّه فقبض على يوحنا وشده<sup>591</sup> في الحبس<sup>592</sup> من اجل هيرودياضه<sup>593</sup> امراه فيلبس اخيه لانه تزوجها
- 18 وكان يوحنا قد قال لهيرودس ليس يجوز<sup>594</sup> لك ان تتخذ امراه اخيك
- 19 واما هيرودياضه<sup>595</sup> فحنقت عليه وارادت<sup>596</sup> تقتله<sup>597</sup> "فما تمكنت<sup>598</sup>
- 20 لان هيرودس كان يوقر<sup>599</sup> يوحنا لانه كان يعلم انه رجل بار<sup>600</sup> وقديس وكان يحفظه ويسمع منه كثيرا و"يقبل قوله"<sup>601</sup>

---

574 1 omits.

575 2, 3 تعرفوا

576 2, 3 تقدرها

577 2, 3 omit.

578 2, 3 الخبيث

579 يعطا 2

580 2, 3 ثم

581 2, 3 الاموات

582 2 اخرون قالوا 3; اخرون قالوا 2

583 هو 2

584 2, 3 اخرون زعموا 2

585 نبى 3

586 كواحد 2

587 2, 3 سمع

588 2, 3 هذا هو يوحنا 3

589 2 omits.

590 لان هذا 2

591 2, 3 اوثقه 2

592 السجن 3

593 هيرودياضه 2, 3

594 2, 3 يحل 2

595 هرودياضه 2

596 اراده 3

597 ان تقتله 2, 3

598 فلم يمكنها 3; فلم تستطيع 2

599 يحشش 2, 3

600 صديق 3

601 ويعمل ويقبل 2, 3

## Mark 13: 5-11 (fol. 134r-v)

5 فاجابهم ايسوع قايلًا<sup>602</sup> انظروا ما<sup>603</sup> يضلکم<sup>604</sup> احد  
 6 فان كثيرين سيأتون على اسمي قابلين أنا<sup>605</sup> هو فيطعون كثيرون.<sup>606</sup>  
 7 فاذا<sup>607</sup> سمعتم بحروب واخبار حروب فلا ترجفوا<sup>608</sup> لان هذه ينبغي ان تصير بل ليس هو الانقضاء  
 8 لان ستقوم<sup>609</sup> امه على امه ومملكه على مملكه وستكون زلازل في مواضع و"سوف يكون"<sup>610</sup>  
 مجاعات وهيج<sup>611</sup> وهذا بدوا المخاض  
 9 فانظروا انتم لذواتکم<sup>612</sup> لانهم سيسلونکم الى المجامع وتضربون في المحافل وستقامون بحضره الولاه  
 والملوك من اجلي للشهاده عليهم  
 10 وينبغي<sup>613</sup> ان ينادى<sup>614</sup> بالانجيل في كل الامم<sup>615</sup> اولًا<sup>616</sup>  
 11 فاذا جاؤ<sup>617</sup> بکم ليسلمونکم لا<sup>618</sup> تهتموا بما تتکلمون وتتلون<sup>619</sup> لكن مهما لقنتموه في تلك الساعه ايّاه  
 قولوا فليس انتم المتکلمون بل الروح القدس

## Luke 8:9-15 (fol. 177r-178r)

9 فسأله تلاميذه قابلين ما هو معنى<sup>620</sup> هذا المثل  
 10 فقال<sup>621</sup> لکم اعطي<sup>622</sup> ان تعرفوا سراير ملكوت<sup>623</sup> الله. و"باقي الناس"<sup>624</sup> بالامثال<sup>625</sup> يخاطبون<sup>626</sup>  
 حتى اذا ابصروا لا يبصرون واذا سمعوا لا يفهمون  
 11 و<sup>627</sup> هذا هو معنى المثل لان<sup>628</sup> الزرع هو كلام الله

ويجعل يقول 3; وجعل يقول لهم 2 602

لا 2, 3 603

بضلنکم 3; بظننکم 2 604

اني انا 3; زاني 2 605

كثيرين 2, 3 606

فاذا ما 2 607

ترهبوا 3, 2 608

سيقوم 3 609

ستكون 2, 3 610

اضطرابات 2, 3 611

ذواتکم 2, 3 612

وينبغي اولًا 3 613

ينادا 3 614

الارض 2 615

omit. 2, 3 616

اتوا 3; جاوروا 2 617

فلا 3 618

لا ما تتفكرون 2 619

omit. 2, 3 620

فاجاب قايلًا 2, 3 621

قد اعطى 3 622

ملكوه 3 623

اما الباقيين 3; اما للباقيين 2 624

بامثال 2, 3 625

omit. 2, 3 626

omits. 2 627

omit. 2, 3 628

- 12 "فأما الذي"<sup>629</sup> على قارعه الطريق فهم<sup>630</sup> الذين يسمعون ثم يجي المحال فينزع القول من قلوبهم ليلاً يؤمنوا فينجوا<sup>631</sup>
- 13 وأما<sup>632</sup> الذي على الصخر<sup>633</sup> فهم<sup>634</sup> الذين اذا ما سمعوا الكلام يقبلوه<sup>635</sup> بفرح فهولا "ليس لهم اصل"<sup>636</sup> وإنما يؤمنون الى زمن<sup>637</sup> يسير<sup>638</sup> وفي اوان<sup>639</sup> الامتحان<sup>640</sup> يجحدون<sup>641</sup>
- 14 وإنما<sup>642</sup> الذي<sup>643</sup> وقع فما<sup>644</sup> بين الشوك<sup>645</sup> فهم الذين يسمعون "وينطلقون فيختنقون بهموم العالم و[يساره] ولذاته"<sup>646</sup> فلا تكمل<sup>647</sup> ثمراتهم<sup>648</sup>،
- 15 وأما "الذي وقع"<sup>649</sup> في الأرض الجيده فهم الذين يسمعون الكلام بقلوب<sup>650</sup> طاهره<sup>651</sup> صالحه<sup>652</sup> "ويتمسكون به"<sup>653</sup> فيثمرون<sup>654</sup>

Luke 15:11-20 (fol. 209r-v)

- 11 انسان<sup>655</sup> كان له ابنان
- 12 فقال اصغرهما<sup>656</sup> لأبيه "يا ابتاه"<sup>657</sup> اعطني القسم<sup>658</sup> الذي يخلصني من نعمتك<sup>659</sup> فقسم بينهما ما له

629 قالذي 2, 3

630 هم 2, 3

631 فيخلصوا 2, 3

632 omit. 2, 3

633 الصخره 2

634 هم 3

635 قبلوه 2, 3

636 لا اصل لهم 2, 3

637 زمان 3; زمين 2

638 omit. 2, 3

639 حين 2, 3

640 التجربه 2, 3

641 ينحلون 2, 3

642 واما 2, 3

643 الذين 3

644 فيما 2

645 الاشواك 2, 3

646 و(يتقرنهم) في هموم العالم وغناه ولذاته يختنقون 3; ويتصرفهم في هموم العالم وغناه ولذاته يختنقون 2

647 تتم 2, 3

648 اثمارهم 3; اثمارها 2

649 ما سقط 2, 3

650 بقلب 2

651 صالح 3; جيد 2

652 جيد 3; صالح 2

653 ويضبطونه 2, 3

654 ويثمرون بالصبر 2, 3

655 ثم قال ان انسان ما 3; وقال ان انسان ما 2

656 الشاب منهما 2, 3

657 ايها الاب 2, 3

658 النصيب 2

659 مالك 2, 3

- 13 ومن بعد ايام غير كثيره جمع الابن الشاب<sup>660</sup> "كل ما"<sup>661</sup> له وسافر الى كوره بعيدِه هناك<sup>662</sup> بَدَّ ماله اذ عاش مفرط
- 14 فلما انفق ما<sup>663</sup> كان له<sup>664</sup> "وحدث جوع شديد في تلك الكوره"<sup>665</sup> وبدا هو ان يعوز
- 15 فمضى<sup>666</sup> واتصل بواحد من اهل تلك الكوره فانفذ<sup>667</sup> الى حقوله ليرعى<sup>668</sup> خنازير
- 16 وكان يتمنى<sup>669</sup> ان يملا جوفه من الخروب التي<sup>670</sup> كانت الخنازير تأكله فلم يكن احد يُعطيه<sup>671</sup>
- 17 ثم [اخطر<sup>672</sup>] بذاته وقال<sup>673</sup> كم اجراء<sup>674</sup> عند ابي بفضل عنهم الخبز<sup>675</sup> وانا فهالك<sup>676</sup> جوعاً
- 18 لأقومن وانطلق الى ابي ولاقولن<sup>677</sup> "يا ابتاه"<sup>678</sup> قد اخطأت في السما وبين يديك
- 19 ولست كفوا<sup>679</sup> ايضاً ان ادعى<sup>680</sup> لك ابنا. فاجعلني<sup>681</sup> كاحد أجرايك
- 20 فنهض وأقبل<sup>682</sup> الى ابيه "فلما قرب"<sup>683</sup> منه رآه ابوه فتحنن وبادر فاحتضنه<sup>684</sup> وجعل يقبله
- John 6:30-35 (fol. 260v-261r)
- 30 فقالوا<sup>685</sup> له ما الايه التي تعملها<sup>686</sup> حتى نبصرها<sup>687</sup> ونصدّقك ماذا تعمل
- 31 أبأونا اكلوا المنّ في البريه كما هو مكتوب انه<sup>688</sup> اعطاهم خبزاً من السماء لياكلوا
- 32 فقال<sup>689</sup> لهم ايسوع حقاً اقول لكم ليس موسى اعطاكم الخبز<sup>690</sup> من السماء "لكن ابي يعطيكم الخبز الحقيقي من السماء"<sup>691</sup>

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660 2, 3 الاصغر

661 3 كلما

662 2, 3 وهناك

663 2, 3 ما كل

664 2, 3 معه

665 2, 3 حدث في ذلك البلده جوعاً شديداً

666 3 فمضاً

667 2, 3 فانفذه

668 2, 3 ليرعى

669 2, 3 يشتهي

670 2 الذي

671 2, 3 يسمح له

672 2, 3 انه خطر

673 2, 3 قايلًا

674 2 اجبر

675 2 خبزاً

676 2 اموت 3 رفاهلك

677 2, 3 ولاقولن له

678 2 ايها الاب

679 2, 3 اهلاً

680 2, 3 ادعاً

681 2, 3 اجعلني

682 2 اقبل

683 3 واذا حصل غير بعيد

684 2, 3 فوقع على عنقه

685 4 فقالوا

686 2, 3 تصنعها

687 2, 3 نراها 4 ; نعاين

688 3 ان الله

33 لَأَنَّ خبز الله هو المنحدر<sup>692</sup> من السماء المعطى العالم<sup>693</sup> الحياه  
 34 فقالوا له يا سيدنا<sup>694</sup> اعطنا من<sup>695</sup> هذا الخبز "في كل حين"<sup>696</sup>  
 35 فقال<sup>697</sup> لهم يسوع انا هو خبز الحياه من يوافي<sup>698</sup> الى عندي ليس يجوع ومن يؤمن بي ليس يعطش  
 في وقت من اوقاته<sup>699</sup>

John 18:19-27 (fol. 303r-304r)

19 ثم سأل<sup>700</sup> رئيس الكهنة يسوع<sup>701</sup> عن تلاميذه وعن تعليمه  
 20 فاجاب<sup>702</sup> يسوع انا مجاهره<sup>703</sup> خاطبت العالم "وأنا"<sup>704</sup> في كل حين علمت في "المجمع"<sup>705</sup> وفي  
 الهيكل<sup>706</sup> حيث تجتمع<sup>707</sup> اليهود كلهم فلم اتكلم شيء<sup>708</sup> خفية  
 21 لماذا تسألني اسأل<sup>709</sup> الذين سمعوا<sup>710</sup> اي شيء<sup>711</sup> خاطبتهم به هو لاء<sup>712</sup> يعلمون ما قلته انا  
 22 فلما قال يسوع هذا القول<sup>713</sup> لطمه احد الغلمان الواقفين<sup>714</sup> لطمه وقال اهكذا<sup>715</sup> تجاوب رئيس الكهنة  
 23 اجابه يسوع<sup>716</sup> ان كنت تكلمت كلاماً<sup>717</sup> منكراً فاشهد برداوتته<sup>718</sup> علي<sup>719</sup> وان كان مستقيماً فلم  
 تضربني

- 
- 689 2 قال  
 690 الخبز الحقيقي 2, 3  
 691 4 omits.  
 692 4 النازل  
 693 للعالم 3  
 694 سيد 2, 3  
 695 2, 3 omit.  
 696 دايماً 4  
 697 قال 4  
 698 يات 4  
 699 زمانه 4  
 700 سل 3  
 701 لاييسوع 2, 3, 4  
 702 فاجابه 2, 3, 4  
 703 بمجاهره 3, 4  
 704 انا 2, 3  
 705 المجمع 3; الهيكل 2  
 706 الهيكل 4  
 707 يجتمع 4; يجتموا 3  
 708 بشي 4; بشيا 2, 3  
 709 اسئل 3, 4  
 710 اسمعوا 4  
 711 شينا 3; شيا 2  
 712 هولاي 2  
 713 القول له 2  
 714 4 omits.  
 715 هكذا 2  
 716 ايسوع 2, 4  
 717 2, 3 omit.  
 718 برداوتته 4; برداوتته 3  
 719 2, 3 omit.

- 24 فانفذه حنان مربوطا الى قيافا رئيس<sup>720</sup> الكهنة  
 25 وكان سمرعان بطرس واقف يتسخن فقالوا له هل<sup>721</sup> انت من تلاميذه<sup>722</sup> فانكر هو وقال لست انا  
 26 ثم قال واحد من عبيد رئيس الكهنة وهو نسيب ذاك العبد الذي قطع بطرس اذنه افما ابصرتك انا  
 "في البستان معه"<sup>723</sup>  
 27 فانكر<sup>724</sup> ايضا بطرس وفي الحين صاح الدّيك

12.10.3.2. An Additional Passage from Matt 1:18-25 (J<sup>C1</sup> and J<sup>C5</sup> (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, E. 95))

- 18 واما مولد ايسوع<sup>725</sup> فهكذا كان اذ خطبت امه مريم ليوسف فقبل التيامهما صودفت حبلا<sup>726</sup> من الروح القدس  
 19 ولان يوسف رجلها كان عدلا ما اراد<sup>727</sup> ان يفضحها فاعتزم ان يخلّيها سرا  
 20 فلما اخطر هذا "في ذاته"<sup>728</sup> اذ ملاك<sup>729</sup> الرب قد ظهر له في الحلم قايلًا يا يوسف ابن<sup>730</sup> داود لا تخف من التمسك بمريم امراتك لان المولود منها من الروح القدس هو  
 21 وستلد ابنا وتدعون اسمه ايسوع<sup>731</sup> لانه يستخلص شعبه من خطاياهم  
 22 وهذا كله كان ليتم ما قاله الرب "بلسان النبي"<sup>732</sup> اذ يقول  
 23 ها العذري<sup>733</sup> تحبل<sup>734</sup> وتلد ابنا ويدعون اسمه عمانوئيل الذي ترجمته<sup>735</sup> الهنا<sup>736</sup> معنا  
 24 فلما نهض يوسف من هجوعه<sup>737</sup> عمل كما<sup>738</sup> اوعز اليه ملاك الرب واشتمل على مريم خطيبته  
 25 ولم يعرف حالها الى fol. 18r. ان ولدت ابنها البكر فدعا<sup>740</sup> اسمه ايسوع

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720 راييس 4  
 721 لعلك 3; العلك 2  
 722 تلاميذه انت 2  
 723 معه في البستان 3  
 724 فجحد 3, 2  
 725 يسوع المسيح 5  
 726 حبلى 5  
 727 لم يشا 5  
 728 ببالة 5  
 729 بملاك 5  
 730 بن 5  
 731 يسوع 5  
 732 بالنبي 5  
 733 البتول 5  
 734 تستمد في بطنها 5  
 735 تاويله 5  
 736 الالهنا 5  
 737 مضجعته 5  
 738 ما بحسب 5  
 739 به 5  
 740 فدعى 5

- 1 احذروا 48; فاحذروا 98  
2 14, 34, 50, 52, 54, 57, 65, 66, 72, 73, 78, 91 omit.  
3 الزور 10  
4 التي 15, 5  
5 3, 7, 18, 24, 48, 52, 54, 57, 81, 87; ياتوكم 4; ياتونكم 15, 5; ياتون اليكم 8  
6 المحلان and in the margin 95; الضان 48  
7 8; وهو من داخلهم 19, 25, 35, 41, 48, 53, 56, 62, 67, 68, 70, 71, 77, 79, 81, 82, 83, 86, 87, 89, 93, 94  
ومن داخل 96; ومن داخلهم 94  
8 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 22, 25, 27, 28, 31, 32, 33, 37, 51, 60, 62, 63, 64, 65, 69, 71, 75, 79, 82, 83, 89, 93, 94, 95  
خطفه  
9 9, 40, 48, 53, 56, 60, 62, 63, 64, 67, 69, 70, 71, 77, 79, 81, 83, 86, 87, 89, 92, 94, 96  
من  
10 2, 8, 10, 14, 37, 41, 46, 48, 52, 53, 60, 62, 63, 66, 67, 69, 70, 71, 72, 77, 78, 79, 81, 83, 86, 87, 89, 91, 92, 94, 95, 96, 98  
تعرفونهم 15, 36, 44, 50, 54, 56, 57, 64, 73, 81, 84, 85  
تعرفهم 20, 27  
is written above it. فاعر تعرفونهم 51; فاعرفونهم 51  
11 3; يجتنى 63, 64, 70, 71, 79, 81, 82, 83, 89  
يجتنى 67; يجتمعون 46, 48, 92; تجنن 8; يخرج 3  
12 6, 88 add يجتمع 10; يقطف 18, 54 add يقطف. The repetition of the verb is also found in the Bohairic version. The verb  $\epsilon\gamma\gamma\alpha\gamma\epsilon\kappa$  (gather) occurs twice in verse 16.  
13 8 القرب as in the Peshitta and Hareclean versions:  $\epsilon\gamma\gamma\alpha\gamma\epsilon\kappa$ ; 44, 84 الردار as in the Curetonian Syriac:  $\epsilon\gamma\gamma\alpha\gamma\epsilon\kappa$ ; 96 الحسك which possibly translates the Greek  $\tau\acute{\rho}\iota\beta\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  or Coptic  $\epsilon\gamma\gamma\alpha\gamma\epsilon\kappa$ . See Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary*, 16a; For العوسج as possibly translated from the Bohairic version ( $\epsilon\gamma\gamma\alpha\gamma\epsilon\kappa$  (Gk.  $\tau\acute{\rho}\iota\beta\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ )) see *Ibid*.  
14 5, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 28, 30, 31, 32, 34, 41, 44, 46, 48, 50, 53, 54, 56, 60, 62, 63, 64, 65, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 75, 79, 81, 82, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 93, 94, 95, 96  
هكذا 10; هاكني 57; وهكذا 91; وهكذي 92  
15 ليس كل 53; هل 50  
16 62, 77, 86, 87  
جيده  
17 10, 48 have تصنع as all Syriac versions (Curetonian is defective here) and Greek MSS ( $\tau\omicron\iota\epsilon\iota$ ); 54, 62, 77, 86, 87, 96 have تنمر which is not found in any known *Vorlagen*; 81 ليس تخرج. The text has تخرج which accurately translates the Bohairic version.  
18 ثرا 48  
19 3 صالحه and above the line the expression 5 is written by another hand; 5, 8, 18, 20, 21, 54, 88 صالحه; 68 had الشريه then crossed out. Beside it the expression صالحه was added.  
20 ثرا 86, 87, 88, 94  
21 والشجرت 50; وكل شجر 8

- 18 "لا<sup>28</sup> تقدر<sup>29</sup>\*<sup>30</sup> شجرة<sup>31</sup> صالحة<sup>32</sup> تخرج<sup>33</sup> ثمرة<sup>34</sup> شريرة<sup>35</sup>\*<sup>36</sup> ولا شجرة<sup>37</sup> ردية<sup>38</sup> تخرج<sup>39</sup> ثمرة<sup>40</sup> جيدة<sup>41</sup>  
 19 'وكل<sup>42</sup> شجرة لا تثمر<sup>43</sup> "ثمرة<sup>44</sup> جيدة<sup>45</sup>\*<sup>46</sup>،<sup>47</sup> تقطع وتلقي<sup>48</sup> في النار  
 20 فمن<sup>49</sup> ثمارهم<sup>50</sup> تعرفونهم<sup>51</sup>

- 22 15, 46, 57, 65, 72, 73, 85 الشريرة (evil) as in Coptic and Syriac. The collated base follows the Greek which has σαπρός and not πονηρός.  
 23 8, 18, 54, 62, 77, 86, 87, 96 تثمر; 10, 48 تصنع. Cf. above.  
 24 40 omits and in the margin the phrase صالحه والشجرة الرديه تخرج ثمرة is written in a different hand; 81 omits.  
 25 8 تثمر; 46, 48, 62, 77, 85, 86, 87, 96 ثمارا. The collated base follows the Coptic in inserting ثمرة in singular. The Greek and Syriac have καρπούς in plural.  
 26 8, 10, 18, 54, 56, 65, 86, 88 رديه; 36 رديه شريرة; 46, 85 شريرا; 62, 77, 87, 96 رديا; 68 omits. The collated base follows the Greek, Syriac and Coptic versions.  
 27 31 omits.  
 28 18, 54 ليس  
 29 10, 18, 36, 44, 46, 48, 54, 57, 72, 73, 84, 85 تستطيع  
 30 53 omits by homoioteleuton.  
 31 77, 86, 87 الشجرة  
 32 7 الصالحة; 77, 86, 87 جيدة  
 33 8, 18, 54 read تثمر (bear fruit) as in the Greek manuscript B which reads ἐνεγκεῖν (inf. of to carry, bear); 10 ان تصنع; 11, 32, 34, 52, 56, 63, 64, 67, 70, 71, 79, 86, 89, 91 ان تخرج; 48 ان تخرج; 77, 87, 96 تثمر; 77, 87, 96 تصنع; Most Greek manuscripts read ποιεῖν and agree with the Arabic MSS 10, 48. The Coptic and Syriac have "produce" and not "bring forth". The majority of the Arabic manuscripts in this family read "bring forth".  
 34 46, 48, 85, 87, 96 تثمر; 77 ثمارا; 86 اثمارا. Greek and Syriac have καρπούς in plural against the Coptic which has it in singular (and possibly some of the Syriac manuscripts).  
 35 10, 18, 24, 28, 31, 36, 44, 51, 54, 57, 73, 77, 84, 86 رديه; 46, 85, 87, 96 رديا. Greek, Coptic and Syriac read "evil" and not "bad".  
 36 20, 60, 62, 65, 81 omit by homoioteleuton.  
 37 60 omits; 77, 86, 87 الشجرة  
 38 22 has (with the Syriac and Coptic versions) الشريرة; 77, 79, 86, 87 الرديه. The collated base follows the Greek by inserting σαπρός (رديه) instead of πονηρός (شريره).  
 39 10, 18, 54, 62 تثمر; 48 تصنع; 56, 60, 63, 64, 67, 70, 71, 79, 82, 83, 94 ان تخرج; 77, 86, 87, 96 ان تثمر; Most Greek manuscripts read ποιεῖν, MS B reads ἐνεγκεῖν (inf. carry, bear) and the Coptic and Syriac read "produce". Most Arabic manuscripts read "bring forth".  
 40 46, 85, 96 ثمارا; 48, 62 ثمارا; 77, 87 اثمارا  
 41 2, 18, 24, 36, 44, 54, 57, 65, 72, 73, 84 صالحه; 46, 85 صالحا  
 42 46, 48, 57, 72, 73, 77, 85, 92, 96 كل  
 43 8 تخرج; 48 has تصنع as in Greek. The collated base seems to follow the Coptic Bohairic version.  
 44 8 ثمارا; 18, 33, 83 omit; 46, 85 ثمارا; 81 ثمرات  
 45 8, 18, 46, 54, 57, 85 صالحا; 10 omits; 27, 44, 72, 73, 84, 96 صالحه  
 46 24 omits.  
 47 85 omits.  
 48 4, 8, 20, 33, 36, 37, 44, 54, 57, 81, 84 وتلقا  
 49 10, 48 قاذرا من



## Matthew 16:1-4

- 1 وجا<sup>52</sup> الفريسيون<sup>53</sup> والزنادقه ليجريوه<sup>54</sup> ويسالوه<sup>55</sup> "ان يريهم اية<sup>56</sup> من السماء"<sup>57</sup>
- 2 فاجابهم<sup>58</sup> قايل<sup>59</sup> \* اذا كان المساقلم ان<sup>60</sup> "السما<sup>61</sup> مصحية<sup>62</sup>"<sup>63</sup> "لاحمرارها<sup>64</sup>
- 3 وبالغداة<sup>65</sup> تقولون<sup>66</sup> اليوم شتا<sup>67</sup>"<sup>68</sup> "لاحمرار<sup>69</sup> جو السماء<sup>70</sup> بعينوس<sup>71</sup>"<sup>72</sup> "ايها<sup>73</sup> المراءون<sup>74</sup>"<sup>75</sup>
- "تعلمون<sup>76</sup> \* تمييز<sup>77</sup> وجهه<sup>78</sup> السماء<sup>79</sup>"<sup>80</sup> "هذا<sup>81</sup> الزمان<sup>82</sup> لا<sup>83</sup> تعلمون<sup>84</sup>"<sup>85</sup> \*<sup>86</sup>
- 
- 50 اثمارهم<sup>36</sup>
- 51 تعرفوهم<sup>85</sup> 4, 6, 7, 14, 24, 33, 34, 36, 40, 44, 46, 50, 54, 56, 57, 60, 65, 72, 73, 79, 84, 85
- 52 وتقدم<sup>48</sup>; فأتى اليه<sup>85</sup> 46, 57, 72, 73, 85 add واليه<sup>85</sup>; 13, 24, 31, 36, 44, 51, 70, 80, 84, 88, 95, 96 add وتقدم<sup>8</sup>
- 65 The expression جاء is closer to the Coptic than to the Greek προσελθόντες. The addition of اليه is possibly to render the Greek preposition/prefix πρός. The expression تقدم translates the Greek προσελθόντες. The syriac version has منه which is best translated as اقربوا (but is not found in any of the manuscripts in this family).
- 53 8 reads المعترله<sup>8</sup>; الفريسين<sup>8</sup> 4, 6, 11, 25, 35, 37, 41, 50, 65, 77 reads المعترله<sup>8</sup>, literally *withdrawers* instead of *Pharisees*. The Syriac reads ههناك from ههنا (to set a side). The Arabic gives the literal translation of the Syriac. In his article on the Arabic Diatessaron, P. Joose, argues for three possible options for the occurrence of المعترله instead of الفريسين (1) "A wrong interpretation of the Syriac original." (2) "A very literal translation" (3) This expression was "already customary in Nestorian circles as a designation of the Pharisees" (see, Joose, "Arabic Diatessaron", 108-9). The context does not suggest any connection with the Islamic theological school known as المعترله<sup>8</sup>; 36, 72 الفريسين<sup>8</sup>.
- 54 2, 3, 13, 18, 36, 44, 54, 57, 72, 73, 84 يجريوه<sup>84</sup>; 4, 11, 24 omit; 6, 8, 10, 15, 37, 48, ليجريوه<sup>67</sup>; 77, 88, 95 يجريونه<sup>84</sup>
- 55 2, 3, 6, 8, 10, 12 ويسلون<sup>84</sup>; 4, 11, 15 ويسلون<sup>84</sup>; 14, 50 فسالوه<sup>84</sup>; 24 ويسالوه<sup>84</sup>; 82 ويسالونه<sup>84</sup>; 84, 87, 92 ويسالوه<sup>84</sup>
- 56 علامه<sup>4</sup>
- 57 The succession of words follows the Syriac and Greek MSS σημειον εκ του ουρανου επιδειξει αυτοις. ايه من السماء يريهم اياها<sup>8</sup>
- 58 5, 8, 48, 78, 96 فاجاب<sup>8</sup>; 10, 31, 37, 77, 95 add يسوع which is not found in Greek, Syriac or Coptic; 11 اجابهم<sup>8</sup>; 18, 92 فاجاب<sup>8</sup>; 54 اما هو فاجابهم<sup>8</sup>
- 59 2, 4, 5, 11, 31, 36, 44, 46, 51, 57, 72, 73, 85, 91 وقال<sup>8</sup>; 3 adds لهم<sup>8</sup>; 8, 10, 18, 48, 54, 78, 84, 92, 96 وقال<sup>8</sup>; 81 omits. The Greek as well as the Curetonian, Peshitta and the Harclean read ειπεν αυτοις. The Sinaiticus only reads معه.
- 60 10, 48, 96 omit; 46, 85 يكون<sup>85</sup>; 86, 87 سيكون<sup>85</sup>
- 61 8, 10, 46, 48, 85, 86, 87, 96 omit to follow either the Greek or the Syriac against the Coptic.
- 62 2, 4, 11, 12, 20, 21, 24, 33, 36, 37, 40, 44, 57, 68, 72, 75, 77, 95 صاحيه<sup>8</sup>; 8, 46, 48, 85, 86, 87, 96 صحت<sup>10</sup>; 10 صحو<sup>8</sup>
- 63 The Coptic version translates the expression السما مصحيه (the heaven [is] calm). The Greek reads here εὐδαί (fair weather) as well as the Syriac Peshitta and Harclean سم صحو.
- 64 2, 46, 85 السما محمره<sup>8</sup>; 8, 48, 96 لان السما احمرت<sup>10</sup>; 86, 87 لان السما حمرا<sup>8</sup>; 95 من اجل ان السما حمرا<sup>8</sup>. The word السما was added to translate the Greek or Syriac (Peshitta or Harclean) Vorlage accurately.
- 65 36, 44, 57, 84, 86, 87, 96 وفي الغداة<sup>8</sup>

- 66 4, 84 omit; 8 يقولوا 8; تقولوا 28, 86 omit to follow the Greek or the Harclean Syriac version. The collated base follows accurately the Coptic.
- 67 شني 95
- 68 65, 72, 73 omit by homoioteleuton.
- 69 لحمه 86, 87
- 70 The Greek manuscript D reads ἄρη and the rest ὁ οὐρανός.
- 71 4, 11, 33, 37, 75, 95 وغيماها 36; 44, 46, 57, 53, 72, 85 بعبوسه 78, 91 وتغيمها 93 . ويعبوس . The Greek reads συγγίνων. The Syriac Peshitta and Harclean read حححه or حمحه(adv).  
لان السما محمره بعبيوس 48 ; لان السما احمرت مظلمه 10 ; لان السما محمره بعبيوسه 96 , 8 ; لان السما مضلمه 2  
يا 2, 10, 44, 48, 84  
المرابين 2, 10, 37, 84 ; المرابون 7, 22, 28, 31, 93 ; المراون 33, 57, 73, 77  
Most Greek MSS do not have المرينن 95 ; المروون 50 ; مراوون 48 ; المرابيون 85 , 53, 46 ; والمرابيون  
This addition is found in all Coptic MSS and the Harclean Syriac version.  
omit as in most Peshitta and Greek MSS. 86, 87  
تعلمون 86, 87 تعرفون 2, 10, 46, 48, 57, 77, 80, 85, 96  
ان تميزوا 96 ; تمييزا 86, 75 ; تمييز 14, 28, 40 ; وتميزون 93, 94, 99, 87, 85, 84  
وجهه 75 جو and above it in red جو 33 omit; 2, 10, 77  
لوجه السما تمييز 95  
تعليمون وجه تمييز السما 51 ; تعليمون لوجه السما تمييز 37 ; وجه السماء تحسنون تنظرون 8  
omits. 12  
omits. 64
- 83 وعلامات (as in Coptic: Νεοτ); 8, 96 روايات; 12 ايه; 36, 41, 44, 46, 57, 72, 73, 84, 85 وسلاعه
- 84 هذه؛ The pronoun "this" is found in the Peshitta and a few Bohairic Coptic MSS. See Horner, *Coptic Version*, 139. 46, 85, 96 omit; 48
- 85 الزمان in singular and follows the الازمنه 48 ; الاوقات . The collated base has الزمان in singular and follows the Coptic Bohairic version. The Greek and Syriac (Peshitta and Harclean), however, have καιρων plural. 46, 85, 96
- 86 لا يمكن 10 ; ما 2, 8 ; كيف 91, 85, 84, 85, 91
- 87 تمیزون (Coptic: πεζαυ) 2 ; تحسبون 8 ; 33, 36, 37, 44, 57, 65, 72, 73, 75, 84, 95 تعرفون (as in Greek and Harklean Syriac MSS: δύνασθε); 77 has تعرفون which is close to the Peshitta (مدحض...مذعزع) 96 ; تقنون (δύνασθε) 96 ; The collated base follows the Coptic: See Horner, *Coptic Version*, 138, S.C.E. Legg ad loc and footnote 3 where the Coptic translates the Greek word συνίετε (συνήμι).
- 88 omits. 13
- 89 ولا يستطيعون تعلمون آيات الازمنه 87 ؛ ولا تستطيعون تعلموا آيات الازمنه 86
- 90 3, 6, 18, 54, 92 omit; 5 omits but in the margin there is the following reading:  
رومي وليس في القبطي اذا كان المسا قلت ان السما صاحبة لاحمرارها وبالغداه يقولون اليوم شتا لاحمرار جو السماء وتعيمها ايها المراون تعلمون تمييز وجه السما وايه هذا الزمان لا تعلمون الجيل:
- 15: omits, but in the margin there is the following reading:  
في العربي يزاید اذا کان المسا قلتم ان السما صاحبه لاحمرارها وفالعاده تقولون اليوم شتا لاحمرار جو السماء ببعبوس ایها المرابیین تعلّمون تمييز ایه هذا الزمان
- 32: The text is written in the body of the manuscript but the phrase ليس في القبطي is written in the margin
- 88: omits, but in the margin we find: (vertically on the left hand side in the same hand):

4 الجيل<sup>91</sup> "الشري<sup>92</sup> الفاسق<sup>93</sup> 94 يطلب<sup>95</sup> اية<sup>96</sup>، 97 "ولا يعطي<sup>98</sup> 99 100 ايه<sup>101</sup> الا اية<sup>102</sup> يونان<sup>103</sup> النبي<sup>104</sup> "ثم تركهم<sup>105</sup> ومضي<sup>106</sup>.

### Mark 6:14-20

14 وسمع<sup>107</sup> "هيرودس<sup>108</sup> الملك<sup>109</sup> 110 لان<sup>111</sup> "اسمه كان<sup>112</sup> قد<sup>113</sup> ظهر<sup>114</sup> 115 وقال<sup>116</sup> يوحنا المعمد<sup>117</sup> قام<sup>118</sup> من الاموات<sup>119</sup> "ومن<sup>120</sup> اجل<sup>121</sup> ذلك<sup>122</sup> "القوات تعمل<sup>123</sup> به<sup>124</sup>

لاحمرارها وبالغداة تقولون اليوم شتاء لاحمرار جو السماء وغمامها بعبوس ايها المراءون تعلمون تميزون وجه السماء، وآيات هذا الزمان لا تعلمون الجيل الشرير

These two verses are omitted in  $\aleph$  B X G  $f^{13}$  etc.  $Sy^{s,c}$  and at least five Coptic Bohairic MSS. It is worth noting that most of the Arabic manuscripts in which the omission is found are Coptic-Arabic bilingual MSS. This shows that in these manuscripts, the Arabic is corrected against the Coptic in parallel.

91 2 ان الجيل<sup>2</sup> The Greek MSS 291 and 700 have και αποκριθεις ειπεν (see Legg, *Matthew* 16:4); ان الجيل<sup>46, 57, 72, 73, 85</sup> وقال هذا الجيل<sup>24</sup> جيل<sup>10</sup>; القتيله<sup>8</sup>

92 8, 50 omit. The expression και μοιχαλεις is also omitted in the Greek MS D; 10, 84 شرير (written above the line).

93 فاجر<sup>10</sup>; الفاسقه<sup>8</sup>

94 الفاسق الشرير<sup>57, 80</sup>

95 تطلب<sup>8</sup>

96 4, 11, 20, 21, 34, 40, 68 علامه<sup>75</sup> adds من السماء then crossed out.

97 60 omits by homoioteleuton.

98 وليس<sup>41</sup>; ولن<sup>8</sup>

99 له<sup>46</sup> تعطى<sup>8</sup>; يعطى<sup>2, 4, 11, 36, 37, 57</sup>

100 35 omitted this reading but added it later in the margin.

101 2, 12, 35 omit; 4, 11, 20, 21, 34, 40, 68 علامه

102 4, 11, 20, 21, 34, 40, 68 علامه

103 يونس<sup>95</sup>; يونأ<sup>79</sup>

104 The expression του προφητου is found in C W  $\Theta$   $f^{13}$ , etc. as well as in all Syriac and Coptic MSS. However, it is omitted in  $\aleph$  B D L.

105 3, 22 فتركهم<sup>4, 5, 6, 10, 11, 15, 18, 24, 28, 36, 37, 48, 54, 57, 65, 72, 73, 77, 85, 88, 92, 95</sup> وتركهم

106 ومضا<sup>81</sup>; وذهب<sup>10, 48</sup>; وانطلق<sup>4</sup>

107 به<sup>81</sup> adds

108 هيروديس<sup>67</sup>

109 5, 7, 24, 31, 51, 78, 84, 91 add خبر يسوع – The Greek MSS  $f^{13}$ , 543, 7, 76, 91, 106 etc. add την ακοην Ιησου. The Greek may have also influenced the Arabic MSS 37, 48, 65, 72, 73, 95 below; 6, 88 add لاجل يسوع<sup>34</sup>; 37, 57, 95 add بخبر يسوع<sup>48</sup>; 48 adds بسماع<sup>65, 72, 73</sup> add باخبار يسوع<sup>80</sup>. The Peshitta reads حد معه (about Jesus) as well as four Coptic MSS. Cf. Horner, *Coptic Version*, ad loc.

110 15, 18, 54 read الملك هيرودس as found in  $\aleph$  A B C<sup>3</sup> L N W D Q P S F I  $Syr^{harl.}$  Copt.<sup>bo.</sup> The collated base follows C<sup>3</sup> D F 229 etc. and some Greek lectionaries as well the Syriac Sinaiticus, the Peshitta and the Coptic Sahidic versions.

111 لانه<sup>54</sup>

112 50 omits; 92 has صار as the Greek ἐγένετο.

113 46, 57, 85, 92 omit.

114 46, 57, 85, 92 شاع<sup>96</sup>; ظاهرا

- 15 "وقال<sup>125</sup> اخرون<sup>126</sup>" انه<sup>127</sup> "ايليا<sup>128</sup> واخرون<sup>129</sup> انه<sup>130</sup>"<sup>131</sup> نبي<sup>132</sup> كواحد<sup>133</sup> من<sup>134</sup> الانبياء<sup>135</sup>  
 16 فلما سمع<sup>135</sup> هيرودس<sup>136</sup> قال<sup>137</sup> "انا<sup>137</sup> قطعت<sup>138</sup> راس<sup>139</sup> يوحنا<sup>140</sup>"<sup>141</sup> "وهوذا<sup>142</sup> هو<sup>143</sup> قد<sup>144</sup>"<sup>145</sup> قام<sup>146</sup> من<sup>147</sup> الاموات<sup>148</sup>

- 115 The verb عَرَفَ (seems best to translate the extended Ethp<sup>el</sup> form of the verb مَدَّ (to know) in the Syr<sup>s</sup>. P. versions : ܡܕܕܝܬܐ (was being known)).  
 116 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 14, 18, 20, 23, 24, 31, 36, 40, 41, 48, 50, 54, 56, 57, 60, 67, 68, 74, 77, 79, 80, 84, 87, 88, 89, 90, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96 add ان  
 117 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 11, 18, 20, 21, 22, 24, 29, 34, 36, 37, 40, 54, 65, 68, 80, 88, 95; والصابغ<sup>8</sup>; والمعداني<sup>8</sup>; 10, 13, 15, 27, 44, 46, 53, 57, 70, 71, 72, 73, 77, 79, 81, 84, 85, 86, 87, 96, 98; والمعدان<sup>60</sup>; المعدا<sup>10</sup>  
 118 8, 53, 72, 73, 77, 81 قد قام  
 119 بين الاموات<sup>10</sup>. The preposition بين (rose from among the dead) is only found in Syr<sup>s</sup>. and P. versions: ܒܝܢ; الموتى<sup>6</sup>, 44, 46, 57, 85, 88, 96  
 120 من 44, 53, 72  
 121 2, 10, 48, 54, 77; ولاجل<sup>4</sup>; 6, 7, 11, 41, 98; ومنجل<sup>8</sup>; ولاجل<sup>18</sup>; ومنجل<sup>84</sup>  
 122 2, 5, 8, 15, 18, 54, 84, 92 هنا  
 123 13, 41 يعمل  
 124 القوات يعمل<sup>98</sup>; تفعل هذه الجرايح على يده<sup>8</sup>  
 125 قال 92  
 126 اخرون<sup>18</sup> changed to اخرون<sup>90</sup>; اخرين<sup>72</sup>, 98; قوم اخرون<sup>54</sup>  
 127 اخرون<sup>36</sup> قالوا; واخرون<sup>15</sup> قالوا; واخرون<sup>8</sup> كانوا يقولوا  
 128 2, 4, 5, 7, 10, 20, 28, 29, 40, 68, 77, 88, 98; واليا<sup>6</sup>; اليا<sup>48</sup> (as the Greek Ἠλιας); اليباء<sup>51</sup>; اليباء<sup>79</sup>  
 129 اخرون<sup>36</sup>; وقال قوم اخرون<sup>18</sup>, 54; وقالوا<sup>15</sup>, 41, 46, 57, 80, 85, 88, 92; وقالوا<sup>65</sup>, 72; وقالوا<sup>65</sup>. The collated base follows the Peshitta version by dropping the verb "to say". Other Arabic versions read "and others were saying".  
 130 8 omits.  
 131 13 omits.  
 132 2, 10, 41, 77; وكاحد<sup>18</sup>; واحد<sup>54</sup>; او واحد<sup>50</sup>; واحد<sup>65</sup>, 72, 73, 98 omit.  
 133 2, 10, 41, 77 omit.  
 134 2, 3, 5, 6, 9, 14, 15, 18, 22, 35, 41, 44, 53, 54, 57, 65, 67, 72, 73, 76, 78, 80, 81, 82, 88, 91, 92 add الاولين<sup>29</sup>. This variation is only found in the Coptic Bohairic version and the Greek MS 64 and some Georgian manuscripts; 29 omits but adds it in the margin. This MS has another version written between the lines of the text; 32 has the letter ق before الاولين<sup>32</sup> to indicate that this word is only found in the Coptic text.  
 135 سمعهم<sup>27</sup> has سمع then changed later with another ink to سمعهم  
 136 هيروديس<sup>67</sup>  
 137 اني<sup>10</sup>  
 138 انه<sup>36</sup>; ان يوحنا الذي قطعت راسه<sup>18</sup>, 54, 92; يوحنا الذي انا قطعت عنقه<sup>15</sup>; يوحنا الذي انا قطعت راسه<sup>8</sup>, 86; انا. قطعت راس يوحنا المعدان<sup>57</sup>; ايوحنا الذي قطعت انا راس<sup>96</sup>; يوحنا الذي قطعت انا راسه. All the variations (except the last one) follow either the Syriac ܝܘܚܢܐ ܕܝܚܝܐ ܕܝܘܚܢܐ or the Coptic version "(it is) John, whom I beheaded." The collated base follows the Greek ἔγωγε ἀπεκεφάλισα Ἰωάννην.  
 139 5, 28, 31, 46, 57, 78, 85, 91; وها<sup>8</sup>, 18, 54, 72, 73, 86, 92, 96 omit; 10; وها<sup>15</sup>, 36, 65; وها<sup>51</sup>, 84; وها<sup>74</sup> هوذا

- 17 \*لان<sup>146</sup> هيرودس<sup>147</sup> كان<sup>148</sup> ارسل<sup>149</sup> واخذ<sup>150</sup> يوحنا<sup>151</sup> وحبسه<sup>152</sup> "من اجل"<sup>153</sup>\*<sup>154</sup> هيروديا<sup>155</sup>  
 امر<sup>156</sup> اخيه فيلبس<sup>157</sup>  
 18 "لانه كان<sup>158</sup> قد<sup>159</sup>\*<sup>160</sup> تزوجها<sup>161</sup> فقال له<sup>162</sup> يوحنا<sup>163</sup> ما<sup>164</sup> يحل<sup>165</sup> لك "ان<sup>166</sup> تاخذ<sup>167</sup> امرأه<sup>168</sup>  
 اخيك<sup>169</sup>

- 140 8, 12, 19, 25, 53, 56, 60, 62, 63, 64, 67, 68, 70, 71, 79, 80, 83, 87, 88, 90, 95 omit; 15 الذي;  
 31, 78, 91 هوذا 72, 73 وهو  
 141 4, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 18, 20, 21, 23, 24, 27, 34, 36, 37, 40, 41, 48, 50, 52, 54, 66, 68, 74,  
 79, 88, 89, 90, 92, 93, 94, 95, 98 omit.  
 142 2 وقد  
 143 بين adds 24  
 144 المونا 10; الموتى 2, 36  
 145 15, 41, 92 omit as in the Greek MSS x B L W D etc. as well as the Syr\*. The Coptic  
 manuscripts are divided here, the majority support this reading. The collated base  
 follows the Syr<sup>p</sup> and h, the majority Greek witnesses, and a few Coptic manuscripts.  
 146 وذلك ان 8  
 147 هيروديس 67  
 148 2, 10, 24, 48, 92, 98 omit.  
 149 5, 15, 18, 54, 78, 88, 91, 92 omit as in the Coptic Bohairic MSS; 8 كان قد سير  
 ارسل  
 150 وامسك 96; واعتقل 48; واخذ 36; 31 omits; 18, 54, 88, 92 امسك 18; واعتقل 10; واخذ 8, 15, 78  
 راس يوحنا 64  
 152 2, 10, 18, 48, 54, 96 واوثقه في السجن 8; واوثقه في السجن 8 reads. The verb قذف (to throw, cast)  
 does not translate the Greek verb δέω (as well as the Syriac and Coptic) but βάλλω.  
 The latter is found in MSS D Q f<sup>3</sup> 22. 33. etc.; 15 واعتقله في الحبس 88 adds. 92  
 وفي السجن. The expression وربطه في السجن / واوثقه follows the Greek and the Coptic  
 texts literally: ἔδραμεν αὐτὸν ἐν φυλακῇ.  
 153 2, 10, 18, 25, 48, 54 لاجل 3, 4, 6, 8, 11, 41, 50, 98 منجل  
 154 62 omits by homoioteleuton then adds it vertically in the margin.  
 155 هيروديا 2, 6, 11  
 156 امرات امرات 81; ومرات 50; وامرات 36  
 157 2, 5, 8, 15, 18, 78, 91, 96 فيلبس اخيه. The words were transposed to follow the Coptic,  
 Greek, and Syriac versions. 98 اخيه فيلبس  
 158 2, 10, 48, 92 omit.  
 159 2, 10, 36, 46, 48, 57, 77, 85 omit.  
 160 تلك التي 8  
 161 2, 8, 10, 18, 48, 54, 96 يتزوج بها. The verb تزوج translates the Greek γαμέω. The Coptic  
 reads taking her (lit. اتخذها – as found in the Arabic version of Ibn al-'Assāl).  
 162 28 omits.  
 163 2, 10, 46, 48, 57, 85 وقال له يوحنا قال لهيرودس 5, 6, 78, 88, 91 وقال له يوحنا لهيرودس 8, 92 read  
 لانه يوحنا كان يقول لهيرودس. This variant, as well as the one in MSS 2, 10,  
 46, 48, 85 above and MSS 15, 18, 36, 54, 96 below, reflect accurately the Coptic ver-  
 sion. The collated base which reads αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰωάννης instead of ὁ Ἰωάννης τῷ Ἡρώδῃ  
 agrees with Ms 33<sup>c</sup> of the 9<sup>th</sup> century; 15, 18, 36, 54, 96 وكان يوحنا يقول لهيرودس 24  
 وكان يوحنا يقول له 48, 52, 66, 74 وكان يوحنا يقول له  
 164 2, 6, 11, 88, 96 لا; 8, 10, 18, 48, 54, 92 لا; 36 ليس  
 165 2, 18, 54, 60, 64, 67, 69, 71, 79, 86, 87, 94 تحل  
 18, 54, 60, 64, 67, 69, 71, 79, 86, 87, 94 يحجز 2

19 'وكانت' 170 'هيروديا' 171، 172 'حنقة' 173 عليه" 174، 175 تريد 176 قتله 177 ولم 178 تقدر 179  
 20 لان هيرودس 180 كان 181 يخاف 182 "من" 183 يوحنا" 184 "لانه يعلم" 186، 187 انه رجل صديق 188  
 قديس 189 ويحفظه 190 "ويسمع" 191 منه" 192 كثير 193 \* [ويصنع، 194، 195 "وكان يسمع منه" 196  
 بشهوه 197، 198، 199

166 50 omits.

167 The Greek as well as other versions read ζῆλιν and not γαμείν (as above). The Arabic translates it here with تاذخ.

168 36, 61, 81 امرأة 50 وامرات

169 24 omitted it then added underneath the line: ان تكون معك زوجة اخيك (that your brother's wife be with you). This translation seems to be closer to the Harclean version than the others. The Harclean version reads ان تكون لك زوجة اخيك (that your brother's wife be for you).

170 2, 10 وان 48, 92 واما

171 هيرذيا 6

172 18, 54 كانت و هيروديا كانت

173 2, 3 حنقت قد حنقت 96 وكانت حنقه 92 حنقت 2

174 8 omits.

175 10 48; وتعلقت به. This variant is awkward. The verb تعلق (to be attached) is found in no manuscripts. However, only the Greek lectionary 44 reads συνείχεν instead of ἐνείχεν. The former means "holding together".

176 2, 10, 48, 96 وارانث 8; تهوى 34, 50, 52, 66, 74, 87 وتريد 73 وكانث تريد

177 2, 48 ان تقتله

178 11 omits.

179 5, 7, 9, 11, 12, 14, 19, 20, 23, 25, 27, 28, 29, 37, 44, 52, 53, 61, 66, 71, 74, 78, 86, 87, 89, 90, 91, 93, 94, 95, 98 تنقتد 8; تنقتد 8

180 67 هيروديس

181 48 omits.

182 8 خاف 48; يهاب

183 8, 10, 18, 24, 48, 50, 52, 66, 74, 77, 92 omit.

184 2 omits.

185 11 omits.

186 24 علم 50; كان يعلم 84; 88 omits.

187 2, 10 ويعلم 8; 36, 46, 57, 77, 85, 92, 96 لعلمه 18, 54 ويعرف 48; وعلم

188 8 omits.

189 10, 46, 80, 85 وقديس

190 4 وحفظه 48; وكان يحفظه 96, 92, 85, 74, 54, 52, 50, 46, 36, 24, 18, 10; وكان يستبقه 8; ويحفظ 4 ويحفضه

191 2, 46, 85 وسماع 48; وكان يسمع

192 8 يطيعه

193 4, 86, 92, 96 omit; 8; وفي اشياء كثيرة 19 the word is written above the line; 31 omitted this reading then added it in the margin.

194 2-4, 7, 9-16, 18-25, 27-32, 34, 35, 37, 40, 44, 48, 50, 52, 53, 56, 60-74, 76-78, 80, 81, 83, 84, 87, 89-91, 93-95, 98 omit as in the Greek MS D and a very few Coptic MSS; 6, 15, 41, 54, 88 ويعملها 8; ويجعلها 8; وكان حزين القلب 87. The majority Greek texts read here εποίη. MSS κ B L (W) Q etc. read ἠπόρει.

5 "فقال لهم<sup>200</sup> يسوع<sup>201</sup>"<sup>202</sup> انظروا لا<sup>203</sup> يضلكم<sup>204</sup> احد

6 فان 205 كثيرين 206 ياتون باسمي 207 قائلين 208 اني 209 انا هو المسيح 210 ويضلون 211 كثير 212

- 195 46, 85 كثره اثيا صنع اشيا كثره 86; ولسمعه انا كان يصنع اشيا كثره 92; ويسمعه كان يصنع اشيا كثره 96; ولما كان يصنع اشيا كثره 96. This variation has to do mainly with the location of the adverb πολλὰ (كثيرا) and the verb which it qualifies. In the collated base the adverb πολλὰ qualifies the preceding verb ἀκούω. In this case the adverb qualifies the verb which follows the adverb immediately (ποιέω). The Coptic and the Syr<sup>and P</sup> versions seem to support the former.
- 196 3, 4, 7, 9, 11-16, 18-25, 27-32, 34, 35, 37, 40, 44, 46, 50, 52, 53, 56, 60-74, 76-78, 80, 81, 83-87, 89, 90-96, 98 omit with no textual support.
- 197 81 وكان حزين القلب وهكذا كان يسمع منه 92; بشهوت 84 adds وكان حزين القلب لذلك 36; وكان يطيعه 15; ويستند بما يسمع به 10; ويسمع منه بتلذذ 8; ويسمع منه ويطيعه بشهوة 6; ويستند بما يسمع منه 2 ويسمع منه 88 وكان بشهوه يسمع منه 54; ويلذ ما يسمع منه 48; وكان يسمع منه بشهوه 57, 41; ويقبل قوله بالتلذذ بشهوه
- 199 5, 51 وكان حزين القلب وهكذا كان يسمع منه 92; ليس للرمي (not found in the Greek) is written in the margin.
- 200 30 omits.
- 201 عيسى 74
- 202 2, 10, 77 فاجابهم يسوع قائلا 5; فاجابهم يسوع لهم 78, 88, 91; فبدأ يسوع يقول لهم 6; فبدأ يسوع يقول لهم 8, 28; فبدأ يسوع يقول لهم 46, 57, 85; وان يسوع اجابهم وبدا يقول لهم 36; فاجابهم يسوع 31; فابتدئ يسوع يقول لهم 18, 54; لهم فاجاب يسوع وبدا يقول لهم 86; وعند ذلك بدأ يسوع يقول لهم 84; فاجابهم يسوع وابتدا يقول 48; فاجابهم وبدا يقول لهم 90. Four major variations occur in the Syriac, Greek and Coptic *Vorlagen*. 1) The first variation reads simply ܐܡܢܝܢܝܢ (Jesus said to them) and is found in the Syriac Sinaiticus. It is remarkable that this reading agrees with the collated base; 2) The second reading adds the verb ἀρχω (begin): ο δε Ιησους ηρξατο λεγειν αυτοις. This reading is found in 8 B L W Ψ 33 etc. as well as the Syriac Peshitta and the Coptic Bohairic versions. The Arabic MSS which read similarly are: 5, 6, 18, 54, 78, 88, 84, 90, 92; 3) The third reading adds the verb ἀποκρινομαι instead of ἀρχω. The Greek MSS D Θ 565 etc. read και αποκριθεις ο Ιησους ειπεν αυτοις. The Arabic MSS 8 and 28 follow literally this reading. Mss 2, 10, 77 read similarly but with minor variations; 4) the fourth reading adds both verbs αποκρινομαι and αρχω. The majority Greek texts with the Syriac Harklean read: ο δε Ιησους αποκριθεις αυτοις ηρξατο λεγειν, and W f<sup>1(13)</sup> 28 pc read και αποκριθεις αυτοις ο Ιησους ηρξατο λεγειν. This fourth reading agrees with the Arabic MSS 36, 46, 48, 85, 86, 96.
- 203 10, 77 لا 31
- 204 3, 4, 6, 9, 10, 11, 13, 15, 21, 23, 24, 34, 37, 44, 50, 54, 62, 67, 72, 81, 86, 87, 89, 99 يظلمك 8; يظلمكم 36, 46, 57, 84, 85
- 205 2, 10, 48, 77, 84 لا 8, 53 omit as in 8 B L W Ψ 2427; 50 لا
- 206 4, 18, 19, 25, 35, 41, 46, 50, 51, 53, 56, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 67, 69, 70, 71, 72, 79, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 92, 93, 94 كثيرون 2, 3, 10, 13, 15, 20, 21, 40, 68, 80, 98 كثير
- 207 10 على اسمي
- 208 4, 99 قليلون
- 209 2, 8, 18, 54, 78, 88 omit; 99 بائي
- 210 7, 10, 46, 48, 50, 66, 74, 84, 85, 86, 96 omit. The collated base reads ο Χριστος as in the Greek W Q f<sup>13</sup> etc. as well as in the Coptic Sahidic and Bohairic versions.

- 211 3, 6, 8, 11, 15, 37, 79, 87 يظلون 36; يظلون 84, 86, 99  
 212 8 adds قُدروا 12, 14, 18, 19, 28, 30, 36, 46, 50, 51, 54, 56, 57, 60, 61, 64, 69, 70, 71, 74,  
 كثيرين 62, 63, 67, 85, 86  
 213 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 11, 20, 21, 28, 31, 34, 36, 37, 40, 48, 51, 78, 88, 98, 99 الحروب  
 214 22, 41 omit by homoioteleuton.  
 215 3, 4, 5, 6, 8-13, 15, 20, 21, 30, 31, 32, 34, 36, 37, 40, 46, 48, 51, 53, 56, 57, 61, 67, 68, 69,  
 77-80, 83, 85-89, 91-94, 98, 99 لا  
 216 2, 10, 48 اتفلقوا 8; تظطربوا 77 adds لهذا 84, 86, 96 تخافوا 90 تتقلقن . The verb اضطرب possibly  
 renders the Greek θροεσθε, and the verb فلق renders the Greek θορυβω.  
 217 2, 24 لا بد 3, 4, 11, 13, 15, 28, 21, 37, 51, 98, 99 omit; 5, 7, 9, 12, 14, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 25,  
 30, 32, 34, 40, 44, 53, 54, 56, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 78, 79, 81, 83,  
 86, 87, 89, 91, 93 فينبغي 6, 88 وهذا ينبغي 8 ان 10; 77 لا بد 36, 46, 48, 57, 85, 92 لانه ينبغي 41  
 فانها لا بد 96 وينبغي 94 فان ذلك ينبغي 84 فانها ينبغي 90 فلا بد 50, 52, 74, 99  
 218 6, 10, 20, 40, 48, 57, 66, 74, 77, 84, 88, 92, 96 omit; 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 19, 25,  
 28, 30, 31, 32, 34, 51, 52, 56, 60, 61, 63, 64, 67, 69, 70, 71, 79, 80, 83, 86, 87, 89, 93, 94, 99  
 هذا  
 219 3, 4, 8, 11, 13, 15, 28, 31, 51, 99 omit.  
 220 تكون 96  
 221 2, 5, 21, 24, 37, 41, 50, 68, 78, 91 ان يكون هذا 36, 46, 57, 85 كل هذه 90 ان يكون هذه 98 ان  
 هذا يكون  
 222 2, 10 بل  
 223 ليس 84  
 224 هو 84 يأتي 15  
 225 3, 13, 20, 37, 40, 68, 74 الانقضاء 36; الانتقاضى  
 226 لانه تقوم 96 لان تقوم 92 فان تقوم 86 وتقوم 84  
 227 وان امه تقوم 90 50, 52, 66, 74, 90 وانه امه تقوم 10; امه تقوم 8  
 228 3 ويكثر 13, 15 ويكثر 28, 36, 80, 86 وتنكر 3, 4, 6, 8, 11, 20, 21, 24, 34, 37, 40, 41, 68, 98, 99 تنكن 4 تكين 3  
 وتنزل 77 ويكون  
 229 3, 4, 11, 13, 14, 20, 21, 22, 24, 34, 37, 40, 41, 68, 77, 80, 98 add والجوع 6, 8 add ويجون جوع  
 10, 36, 46, 48, 85, 92 زلازل 15 adds وجع 28 adds وعلا وجع 99 والجوع وجو  
 230 10 على 72 omits.  
 231 86 omits.  
 232 موضع 50, 88  
 233 2, 10, 46, 48, 57, 84, 85, 96 اماكن 36; اماكن 52, 66, 74, 90, 92 مواضع  
 234 7, 51, 57 add وسجس 10, 31 add واضطراب 32 وجوع 36, 46, 85 سجس 48 واضطرابات 84  
 adds ووباء 88 adds مكان مكان 84 . Some Greek MSS read λοιμος (plague, pestilence) instead  
 of λιμος (famine).  
 235 3, 4, 6, 8, 11, 13, 14, 15, 20, 21, 22, 24, 28, 34, 37, 40, 41, 44, 53, 68, 77, 80, 98, 99 omit; 18,  
 54, 86 والجوع 90 ونكون مجاعات 92 ونكون مجاعات وهيوح 10; والجوع 50, 52, 66, 74, 90  
 واضطرابات . The Syriac and the majority Greek MSS add the expression και παρα  
 χαι (اضطرابات/ هيوح عجمعه) to the word famines, as is the case with MSS 50, 52, 66, 74,



9 "انظروا<sup>239</sup> انتم<sup>240</sup> انهم<sup>241</sup> يسلمونكم<sup>243</sup> الى "المجامع<sup>244</sup> والمحافل<sup>245</sup> فتضربون<sup>247</sup>،<sup>248</sup>  
'وتقامون<sup>249</sup> امام<sup>250</sup> الملوك<sup>251</sup> والقواد<sup>252</sup>،<sup>253</sup> 254 "من اجلي<sup>255</sup> شهادة<sup>257</sup> عليهم<sup>258</sup>

90, 96 above. The collated base renders the Coptic Bohairic and Sahidic versions, and the Greek MSS  $\kappa^2$  B D L  $\Psi$  579, 2427.

236 10, 23, 92 هذا; 36, 90 add هي; 37, 81 وهذا; 46, 57, 85 وهذا كله; 48, 74, 96 هذه; 84 وهذا كله

237 46, 57, 81, 84, 85, 90, 92 اول

238 2, 6, 10, 18, 23, 27, 35, 44, 46, 48, 53, 54, 56, 57, 65, 72, 73, 76, 77, 81, 84, 85, 88, 92  
الاجاع; 70, 86, 96 بالمخاض

239 ثم قال لهم انظروا 84 فانظروا 96, 92, 90, 85, 74, 66, 57, 52, 50, 48, 46, 10 وانظروا 10

240 2, 10, 36, 46, 48, 57, 85, 92 لانفسكم; 7 adds نفسمك; 11, 12, 14, 19, 25, 61, 63, 64, 67, 69, 71, 83, 86, 87, 89, 93, 94 omit; 70 بانفسكم; 84 adds لانفسكم; 90 وانتم انفسكم; 96 الى انفسكم

241 2, 10, 48, 92, 96 لانهم; 11 had originally انهم but changed to انكم; 19, 88 انه; 37, 90 omit; 46, 57, 79, 84, 85 فانهم; 86 فانهم

242 8 omits as in the Syriac Sinaiticus version and the Greek MSS D W  $\Theta$   $\phi$  28 etc.

243 4, 11 يسلموكم; 8 يسلموكم; 52, 66, 74, 92, 96 يسلمونكم; 90 يسلمونكم. The future tense reflects most Greek, Syriac and Coptic *Vorlagen*.

244 موضع 78; المجالس 74; الاحكام 36, 57; 27 omits; مواضع الحكم and in the margin الحكم 5; محاكم 2; الحكم 84 reads الامم (nations) and agrees with the Syriac Sinaiticus: حمة (nation, people); 90, 91 مواضع الحكم. The expression has replaced the الحكم in some of the manuscripts above, and one of the possibilities is that it renders the Syriac Peshitta  $\text{ܡܘܨܬܐ}$ . The Coptic has "council" and Ibn al-'Assāl translated it as مواضع الحكم (as is also the case with MSS 5, 78, 90, 91 above).

245 وفي 46, 85, 86; المحافل 27; وفي المجامع 5, 36, 78, 91; والاحكام 5, 11, 24, 28, 51, 99; وفي مجمعهم 2. The Syriac, Greek and Coptic have the preposition "in" before "the synagogue", however, it is omitted in many Arabic MSS. The Peshitta and some Greek lectionaries e.g. *l18, l19, l49, l183* have the pronoun  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\upsilon\varsigma$  after  $\sigma\upsilon\upsilon\alpha\gamma\omega\gamma\eta$  (ܥܫܬܪܝܬܐ) as is the case with the Arabic MSS 2 and 84 above, and 18 and 54 below.

246 52, 66; الاحكام 50; المحافل وفي مجامع 48; المحافل والمجامع 30; محافل وفي مجامعهم 18; محافل ومجامع 10. The Coptic reads "...councils; and in the synagogues...", the majority Greek manuscripts read  $\dots\sigma\upsilon\upsilon\epsilon\delta\rho\iota\alpha\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \sigma\upsilon\ \nu\alpha\gamma\omega\gamma\alpha\varsigma$ . The collated base, which reads المحافل فتضربون والمجامع ويسلمونكم الى المجامع، seems not to follow any specific *Vorlage*.

247 88; فتضربون 73; تضربون 46, 48, 85, 86; تضربوا 36, 57; ونظربون 8; يضربونكم 2, 5, 18, 54, 78, 88, 90. The Greek and Syriac versions have the passive voice here. MSS 2, 5, 18, 54, 78, 88, 90 read "they will beat you (active 3<sup>rd</sup> person pl.)" and follow literally the Coptic version. As a general Coptic grammatical rule the "[dynamic passive meaning [...]] is only expressed by 3d pl. conjugation of a transitive verb add direct object" (Bentley, Layton, *A Coptic Grammar*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag: 2000, 135).

248 وتضربون في المحافل 96; ويسضربونكم في المحافل 90

249 84, 86, 94 وتقومون; 5, 78, 91 ويقيمونكم; 2. For the use of the passive in Coptic see above. MS 2 follows the Coptic literally. MSS 5 and 78 were corrected against the Coptic and the expression وتقامون was left in the text. It is unlikely that the collated base was translated from Coptic. Some Arabic manuscripts however, were corrected against the Coptic version.

250 قدام 90; بين يدي 84; عند 10

251 10, 48 ملوك; 24 الملوك والاحكام; 90 الولاء. See the footnote below.

- 252 10 مديبرين 48; وقواد 67; القواد 84; وروس السلطان 84; القواد 67; وقواد 48; ومديبرين 10  
253 2, 5 ملوك 74, 78, 91, 96 الملوك . The Greek, Coptic, and the Harklean Syriac  
read ἡγεμονων και βασιλεων (governors and kings); The Syriac Peshitta reads ܡܠܟܝܬܐ  
ܩܘܕܐܝܬܐ (kings and governors). The collated base follows the Peshitta version.  
254 36 وقدام الملوك 57; وامام القواد والملوك تقامون 92; وقدام الملوك والقواد تقفون 46, 85; وقدام الملوك والقواد تقفوا 36  
تقفوا. For the use of the passive tense in Coptic, see above and for the variant readings  
between “governors and kings” and “kings and governors” see the preceding foot-  
note.  
255 2, 3, 4, 10, 11, 13, 15, 25, 26, 35, 41, 48, 50, 80, 83, 86, 87, 94, 96 اجل 8; منجلي 10; لاجلي 72,  
73 اسمي 81; اجل اسمي 73  
256 2, 48 لاجلي 3, 4, 6, 11, 13, 41, 98 منجلي 15  
257 2, 10, 48 الشهاده 84; لشهاده 74; للشهاده 48  
258 2, 5, 10, 36, 46, 52, 54, 57, 74, 78, 85, 90, 91, 92 لهم  
259 31 وفي  
260 2, 5, 10, 48, 50, 52, 66, 74, 78, 91, 92 ولكل 18, 54 لجميع  
261 7, 36, 96 omit (see below); 90 وللام اجمعين  
262 7, 21, 24, 46, 85, 89, 96 وينبغي 34 omits.  
263 31, 50, 77 omit and lack textual support.  
264 90 ينادى  
265 94 ان يكرز اول  
266 2, 10 الامم 7; بالابشاره 7; يكل الامم 36; في جميع الامم 96; في كل الامم 96. In this case, the occur-  
rence of the phrase, “among all nations”, at the end of verse ten suggests that manu-  
scripts 7, 36, 96 may have been corrected against the Peshitta version.  
267 57 فقبل كل شي لا بد ان يكرز بهذا الانجيل في جميع الامم 84; وينبغي اولاً ان يكرز بالانجيل في جميع الامم 57  
268 84 اخذوكم  
269 2, 10, 84 ليسلموكم 48; يسلمونكم 90; مسلمين لكم 90. Greek and Coptic παραδιδόντες; Syriac  
ܡܠܝܬܐ ܡܠܝܬܐ.  
270 10, 27, 48 لا  
271 3, 6, 88 add 5, 78, 91 وتبدو ان تهتموا 23, 35, 69; تهتمون 74; تهتموا 86; تفكروا سابقا 90; تفكروا سابقا 86; تهتمن قبل 90; تفكروا سابقا 86; تهتموا 74; تهتمون 23, 35, 69; تبدو ان تهتموا 5, 78, 91; 88, 91 بما  
The collated base does not read “beforehand” (Greek προ-; Syriac (excl. Sinaiticus)  
ܡܠܝܬܐ ܡܠܝܬܐ; Coptic “beforehand”). A few Greek MSS e.g. M Γ 33, 59 etc. agree with the  
collated base and only read μη μεριμνᾶτε (do not be anxious) instead of προμεριμνᾶτε  
(do not be anxious beforehand). In addition, the Syriac Sinaiticus only has ܡܠܝܬܐ ܡܠܝܬܐ (to  
think, meditate and also to be worried and agrees with the collated base. See *Al-Lubāb*,  
vol. 1, 1091f.).  
272 5 بما 8, 10, 18, 28, 31, 78, [84], 88, 91  
273 2 تتكلمون 90; تتكلموا [84]; تتلون 10; تتكلمون به 5, 78, 91; تقولوا 3, 8; تنطقون 2  
274 77 omits.  
275 3, 4, 8, 12, 21, 31, 32, 37, 41, 51, 53, 80, 98 وبماذا 10, 48; 46, 85, 92 omit (see the follow-  
ing footnote); 77 وبماذا  
276 8, 24 تفكروا سابقا 92; تقولوا 84; تتلون 90, 48; تفكرون سابقا 46, 85; تتفكرون 36; تقولون 10; تجيبون 24  
ولا (neither what you [are to] answer) the Arabic MSS 46, 85 and 92 read ولا

## Luke 8:9-15

9 "ثم سآله<sup>290</sup>"<sup>291</sup> تلاميذه<sup>292</sup> قابلين<sup>293</sup> ما<sup>294</sup> هذا<sup>295</sup> المثل  
 10 فقال<sup>296</sup> لهم<sup>297</sup> لكم<sup>298</sup> اعطي<sup>299</sup> علم<sup>300</sup> سراير<sup>301</sup> ملكوت<sup>302</sup> الله<sup>303</sup> "فاما الباقلون<sup>304</sup>"<sup>305</sup> فبامثال<sup>306</sup>  
 "لكيما<sup>307</sup> يبصروا<sup>308</sup>"<sup>309</sup> "فلا<sup>310</sup> يبصرون<sup>311</sup>"<sup>312</sup> ويسمعوا<sup>313</sup> "فلا<sup>314</sup> يسمعون<sup>315</sup>"<sup>316</sup> ولا<sup>317</sup>  
 يفهمون<sup>318</sup>

- (neither think beforehand), and agree with the Greek MS 38 of the ninth century (μηδε προμελετατε). Moreover, the Greek MSS A X Y Γ Δ Π Φ Ξ 118, 22, etc. read μηδε μελετατε (Syriac Peshitta: ܡܗܕܐ ܡܥܠܬܐܬܬܐ) and MS Arabic 36 agrees with this reading. The collated base reads تجيبون (what you [are to] answer) and the Arabic MSS 10, 84 read ما تتلون (what you [are to] recite). The Greek, Syriac and Coptic *Vorlagen* do not reflect such a translation. It might be possible that the whole expression بما تجيبون ولا بما تقولون (what you are to say and neither what you are to answer) translates the Greek or Coptic phrase τὴ λαλησητε.
- 277 2, 5, 78, 86, 91 omit as well as in the Coptic MSS, Greek κ B D L W Σ Ψ f1, and Syriac Sinaiticus.
- 278 96 reads لا تهتموا ولا تتكلمون سابقا بماذا تتكلمون and agrees with the Byzantine text type.
- 279 90, 92 omit.
- 280 بل ما تعطونه 92; بل الذي تعطونه 90; الذي الذي تعطون 85; الذي تعطون 36, 46; تعطوا 3, 77
- 281 بل مهما اعطيتم 96; بل مهما تعطوا 86; ولكن ما يعطى 84; فستعطون 10, 48
- 282 2, 8, 10, 18, 22, 24, 41, 48, 50, 54, 73, 77; ما 23, 62; التي 36, 46, 84, 85; اياه 52, 65, 66, 74; بما به 8; بتكلموا به 13, 8; به 27, 56; بتكلموا 86; تكلموا 96, 84; بتكلمونه 54; يتكلمون به 37; تنطقون 36, 46, 57, 85; يتكلمون 36, 46, 57, 85; فانكم ليس 84; لستم انتم 57; انتم 36, 62, 70, 72, 87 add; ولست انتم 46, 85; لستم 36; لانكم لستم 10, 48, 96; لانكم انتم 86; ومن اجل لستم انتم 90; لانكم انتم لستم انتم 86; انتم 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 11, 12, 13, 15, 53, 57, 62, 72, 80, 90, 98, 99; المتكلمون 10, 84; الذين تتكلمون 77, 88; الذين المتكلمين 96
- 285 92 omits.
- 287 2, 10, 48, 86 بل
- 288 الروح 90
- 289 8, 24 read ابيكم يتكلم فيكم (spirit) of your father speaks within you) and lack textual support. The only codex which has a similar expression (but without "of your father") is the 13<sup>th</sup> or 14<sup>th</sup> century Coptic-Arabic bilingual codex, BnF, Copt. 14. The Coptic text reads "[the holy spirit] who is in you (εὐαγγελιστην)" (see the critical apparatus of Horner, *Coptic Version*, 435). The Arabic text of BnF, Copt. 14 has Ibn al-'Assāl's version and does not have this addition. The reading ابيكم يتكلم فيكم is peculiar indeed but has little if any value for textual critics.
- 290 31 تساءل. The preposition δε is omitted in l1127 Lvt (l) Dtp Cs (2mss. Gg). The pronoun αυτον is omitted in Lvg (mss.).
- 291 فسآله 5, 28, 41, 46, 48, 57, 77, 78, 85, 91, 92, 94
- 292 التلاميذ. The pronoun αυτου is omitted in W 700 Lvt (a b c ff<sup>2</sup> l) Cyr.
- 293 3, 4, 11, 15; وقالوا 5, 66, 78, 86, 87, 91, 96 omit with P<sup>75</sup>, S, B, D, L, W, X, 1, 33, 131, 151, etc. Lvt (e a aur b c d ff<sup>2</sup> g<sup>1</sup> gat) Lvg, Ss Sc Sp Dtp Cs Cb Gg.
- 294 48, 50, 52, 54, 66, 92 add هو
- 295 54 omits.
- 296 اما هو فقال 92

- 297 48, 92 omit. The pronoun لهم (*αὐτοῖς*) in the collated base is also found in Q, 13, 69,  
124, 157, 346 etc. Lvt (e aur b c f etc.) Lvg Ss Sc Sp Sh (mg) Sj (1ms.) Dtp Cs Cb etc.
- 298 2 انتم 5, 78, 91 انتم
- 299 2 اعطيت 5, 78, 91 add لكم; 46, 85 اعطيت
- 300 2 ان تعرفوا 48 معرفه; 46, 57, 85 ان تعلموا 8, 41 omit as well as in Lvt (a);
- 301 46, 85 اسرار 50 سرير 57, 86, 87 read سر in singular as in 1338, 1443, Lvt (a aur b c d f  
etc.) Lvg, Ss, Sc, Sp, Dtp Cs (1ms.) etc.
- 302 41, 50, 52, 66, 94 ملكوة 92 الملكوت
- 303 92 omits as in Lvt (g1), Cb (2mss.).
- 304 4 الباقيين 11 الباقيين 36, 37, 41, 46, 56, 57, 65, 67, 81, 85, 98 الباقيون 38 reads فلم يعطوا as in Ss  
Sc ; 96 الباقون للباقون
- 305 48 والباقون
- 306 5, 8, 13, 19, 77, 78, 79 فبالامثال 21, 28, 40 يخاطبون 31, 38, 51 فبالامثال يخاطبون 36 فبالامثال اكلمهم  
بالمثال 48, 92 بمثال 68 يخاطبون then crossed out. λαλω is found in Δ 13 16 161 etc. Lvt (b)  
and the verb (الكلم) (λεγειναι) p. singl.) of the Arabic MS 36 agrees with this variation. The Ss Sc  
Sp read خلاصته (λεγεσθαι) and the Arabic MSS 21, 28, 38, 40, 51, 68\* read the same.
- 307 5, 34, 52, 54, 78, 92, 91, 96 لكي 50, 66 كي
- 308 3, 4, 8, 11, 13, 15, 31, 37, 50, 51, 57, 77, 79, 81, 85, 94 يبصرون 10 يسمعون يبصروا 36 ينظرون  
86, 87 مبصرين 96 كانوا يبصرون 98 omits.
- 309 48 لينصروا
- 310 34 فما 86, 87 ولا 57 98 omits.
- 311 5, 10, 78, 86, 87, 91 يبصرون 36 ينظرون 48 ينظرون
- 312 56 omits by homoioteleuton.
- 313 3, 4, 8, 11, 13, 15, 23, 25, 31, 37, 41, 46, 50, 51, 56, 57, 58, 62, 64, 67, 69, 77, 79, 81, 83, 85,  
94, 96 يسمعون 36 والذين يسمعون 86, 87 وسامعين . In this footnote the variation is between  
ακουοντες and ακουσωσι.
- 314 5, 12, 78, 91 يسمعا
- 315 31, 34, 36, 46, 48, 85, 86, 87, 92, 96 omit. The addition of ... فلا يسمعون (... μη ακουσων  
και) in the collated base is found in Greek MS 157 and the expression μη ακουσων  
μηδε in 477, 1216, Sh (mg) Cb Et. The collated base follows probably the Coptic ver-  
sion.
- 316 86 لا
- 317 5, 78, 91 يفهموا 34 reads يسمعون with /524 Lvt (d l) Cyr Lc PRIS, RUF.
- 318 24 يبصرون ولا يسمعون ولا يفهمون ويبصرون ولا يبصرون . A similar transposition is not seen in the  
Greek, Syriac, Coptic or Latin Vorlagen.
- 319 4, 11, 23, 30, 54, 89, 93, 94 هذا
- 320 34, 50, 52, 66, 98 read معنى (meaning, significance) and not εστι; 67 omits.
- 321 86, 87 read فهو هذا and follow the Greek (εστι δε αυτη) accurately.
- 322 34 الزارع
- 323 3 reads كلمه (word). The collated base has كلام (talking, saying, words). The Greek,  
Syriac, Coptic Vorlagen read λογος.
- 324 3, 4, 8, 11, 37, 38, 48, 51, 77, 78, 91, 98, 99 والذي وقع 46, 50, 57, 85 والذي وقع 52, 66 والذي وقع 58  
الذي but crossed out and the word الذي is written above it. Instead of οι MSS Lvt (e f)

13 "واما الذي<sup>337</sup>338 على الصفا<sup>339</sup> فهم<sup>340</sup> "الذين يسمعون<sup>341</sup>342 الكلمة<sup>343</sup> ويقبلونها<sup>344</sup> بفرح<sup>345</sup> وهولاي<sup>346</sup> ليس<sup>347</sup> "الهم<sup>348</sup> اصل<sup>349</sup>350 وهم<sup>351</sup> انما<sup>352</sup> يومنون الى<sup>353</sup> زمن<sup>354</sup> التجربة<sup>355</sup> وفي<sup>356</sup> زمان<sup>357</sup> التجربه<sup>358</sup>359 يشكون<sup>360</sup>

and Sj read το and the MSS of this footnote. The verb وقع (to fall) is probably an Arabic addition to the text to clarify the meaning.

325 3, 4, 11, 15, 99 omit as in one Coptic manuscript and the Greek MS Δ; 48 هو

326 15 omits.

327 2, 28, 31, 51 السامعون; 6, 10, 24, 38, 46, 77, 85, 98 سامعوا; 13, 57 سامعون

328 2, 31, 51, 54, 88, 92, 96 omit; 6, 34, 48, 98 الكلام. The word الكلمه / الكلام is supported by X, 124, 174, 213, 472, 577, 1524, Lvt (e c) Ss Sp Sj (2mss.) Dtp Cb (1ms.) etc. The Sc reads محله الله (the word of God).

329 ثم ياتي 86, 87, 92 فيات 15; فيجي 2

330 2, 6, 36, 88 الشيطان; 23, 25, 27, 35, 44, 53, 65, 72, 73, 81 الشرير. The Greek and Latin read [διδυβολος], the Coptic πτεπιδιδυβολος (ابليس) or possibly الشيطان; one Coptic manuscript reads ποινηρος (الشرير); the Ss, Sc, Sp, read حلدصه (εχθρος/ العدو); The Sh reads محلمي (النام); Sj and Ar reads "Satan" (الشيطان) and MSS 2, 6, 36, 88 agree with this last reading. The collated base follows the Greek, Latin or Coptic.

331 فياخذ 36; فينز 34

332 الكلام 48

333 2 قلبهم. The collated base reads قلوبهم (των καρδιων) and agrees with 131, 472, 1009 and Lvt (e). The rest of the Greek, Syriac, Coptic and Latin MSS read της καρδιας.

334 لكي لا 36, 83, 94; لكيلا 27, 37; لكيما 28, 46, 48, 50, 52, 57, 66, 85, 92, 98

335 يومنون 8, 34

336 4, 8 فيخلصون; 94 reads فيصلحوا (so they become righteous). This reading is not supported by any *Vorlagen*. It could be a scribal mistake (transposition of the two letters ح/خ and ص/س).

337 6, 11, 31, 62, 94, 99 الذين; 50, 52 add وقع. The collated base reads الذي (sing.) and agrees with Lvt(e), Ss, Sc, Sj (1ms.). For وقع see above.

338 والذي 48, 58

339 2, 24, 50, 52, 62, 66, 86, 87, 92 الصخره; 48 صفاء. The Greek and Coptic MSS read πετρα and πετρα respectively; Syriac صخره; Latin has terram. The Arabic words الصخره and الصفا are synonymous.

340 هم 2

341 5, 31, 48, 51, 54, 78, 91, 92 read اذا سمعوا and agree with Sc and Sp: سمعوا (past tense), Greek ακουσαι (subj. Aorist) as well as the majority Latin MSS; 13 سمعوا (see above); 86, 87 حينما يسمعون. The Coptic has "they should hear." The Lvt (c) reads [ακουωσι]. The collated base agrees with the Coptic and the Lvt (c) versions.

342 73 omits by homoioteleuton.

343 2, 5, 51, 54, 78, 86, 87, 91, 92 omit. Cf. below; 48 الكلام

344 2, 5, 54, 78, 91 يقبلون الكلمه; 4, 10, 24, 36, 77 ويقبلوها 48; يقبلونه 51; يقبلون الكلمه اليهم 86, 87, 92. Cf. below.

345 The phrase in the collated base reads: الذين يسمعون الكلمه ويقبلونها بفرح (those who hear the word and receive it with joy). The Coptic, Greek and most of the Latin MSS agree to locate the word الكلمه (λογος – word) after the second verb قبل (δεχομαι – receive). However the Arabic locates it after the first verb سمع (ακουω – hear) and agrees with Sj, Ss,

14 والذي<sup>361</sup> وقع في<sup>362</sup> الشوك هم<sup>363</sup> الذين<sup>364</sup> يسمعون<sup>365</sup> الكلمة<sup>366</sup> "ومن اجل<sup>367</sup>"<sup>368</sup> هم<sup>369</sup> الغني<sup>370</sup> وشهوات<sup>371</sup> معيشتهم<sup>372</sup>"<sup>373</sup> الذاهبين<sup>374</sup> فيها<sup>375</sup> يخنقهم<sup>376</sup>،<sup>377</sup> فلا "ياتون<sup>378</sup> بثمره<sup>379</sup>"<sup>380</sup>

- Sc (both Ss and Sc adds حجد (ευθεως) and Lvt (b r<sup>1</sup>)). The Arabic MSS 2, 5, 51, 54, 78, 86, 87, 92 follow here the Greek, Coptic and the majority Latin versions.
- 346 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 10, 11, 13, 15, 20, 21, 22, 24, 28, 34, 36, 37, 40, 41, 48, 57, 65, 68, 72, 73, 77, 88, 98, 99 omit as in D, Lvt (e d) Ss Sc Sp; 5, 12, 23, 25 وهؤلاء 9, 14, 30, 54 وهولا 27, 31, 32, 38, 50, 51, 52, 53, 56, 66, 69, 78-81, 83, 86, 87, 89, 91-94, 96 وهؤلاء 58 وهولا 58
- 347 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 10, 11, 13, 15, 20, 21, 22, 24, 28, 34, 36, 37, 40, 41, 48, 65, 68, 72, 73, 77, 88, 98, 99 وليس 50, 52, 65, 92 لا
- 348 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 10, 11, 13, 15, 20, 21, 24, 28, 34, 36, 37, 40, 41, 65, 68, 72, 73, 77, 88, 98, 99 read لها فيهم (has in them). The addition of the expression فيهم is not found elsewhere. The similar but not identical phrase is found in the Ss and Sc texts. It reads لهم حصه (they have in it). The expression فيها is found in the Arabic MSS 22, 46, 85 below; 22, 46, 57, 85 add فيها. Cf. above; 48 له فيهم
- 349 34 omits.
- 350 52, 66, 92 read اصل لهم instead of لهم اصل. Most origins read ριζαν... εχουσι.
- 351 2, 5, 8, 36, 72, 73, 78, 91, 94 omit; 41 وهولا
- 352 2, 8, 48 omit; 36, 72, 73, 78, 91, 94 وانما
- 353 5, 41, 50, 52, 66, 78, 88, 91, 92 omit.
- 354 2, 3, 4, 8, 10, 11, 13, 15, 24, 37, 46, 48, 53, 57, 67, 77, 79, 85, 92, 98 زمان 6, 41, 50, 66, 78, 88, 99 زمين 36 زمنا يسيرا 9, 52, 54, 91 زمان يسيرا
- 355 2, 3, 6, 9, 15, 36, 37, 46, 48, 50, 52, 54, 66, 78, 85, 86, 87, 88, 92, 96 omit; 58 the word التجربه is crossed out. The collated base reads التجربه and lacks textual support. The addition of التجربه could be because of the occurrence of the same expression after the expression زمن in the second clause.
- 356 ثم في 86
- 357 5, 12, 19, 25, 28, 30, 32, 37, 41, 44, 48, 50, 53, 54, 56, 58, 62, 63, 64, 69, 70, 71, 83, 86, 87, 89, 91, 93 زمن 96 وقت. Instead of καιρον the Lvt (e) reads ωραν and the Arabic MS 96 may have possibly been influenced by this reading.
- 358 24 omits.
- 359 20, 21, 27, 31, 40, 57, 68, 80, 98 omit by homoioteleuton.
- 360 2 يتخلوا 5, 14, 31, 78, 91 يتخلون 9, 31, 51, 54, [80] يتخلون 28 reads يتخلون and in the margin the expression تشكون is written; 46, 85 يديرون / يديرون 50, 52, 66 يتركونها 56 تشكون 58 تشكون is crossed out and underneath it the expression يرجعون وراهم is inserted; [86] يتركون 92 يتركون [96] يندبرون. It is remarkable that only the Syriac manuscripts (Ss, Sc, Sp, Sj excl. the Sh) read ماحصلهم (from the root حعل and means شك (to doubt)), and agree with the collated base. The rest of the Arabic manuscripts in this footnote, and which do not read the verb شك, agree with the Greek, Coptic, Latin and/or the Syriac Harklean versions.
- 361 واما الذي 96
- 362 على 8
- 363 هؤلاء هم 92 يفهم 48, 58
- 364 الذي 92
- 365 يسمعون 50
- 366 5, 54, 78, 91, 92, 96 omit; 48 الكلام. The expression الكلمة in the collated base is supported by the following MSS: 157, 472, 1009, 1950, Lvt (a c f g<sup>1</sup> r<sup>1</sup>) Sc, Sp, Sj (1ms.) Dtp, Cs, Cb, Ar, Gg. The majority Greek readings omit the word الكلمة.

367 38, 57, 92 omit.

368 2, 48 ولاجل 3, 6, 8, 13, 15, 41, 98, 99 ومنجل. The Coptic omits this reading. The Greek has υπο, the Syriac ܐ and the Latin a.

369 3, 4, 36, 56, 67, 69, 72, 79, 83, 87, 89, 94 omit, but we know of no MS which omits μεριμνα; 5, 31, 38, 48, 51, 78, 91 الاهتمام 46, 85, 86, 92 reads الهموم (in plural as in the Greek, Coptic and Latin). The collated base reads هم (in sing.) and agrees with Lvt (f) [μεριμνης] as well as the Ss, Sc, and Sp: infinitive of مـ يـ هـ (see *Al-Lubāb*, vol. 1, 537).

370 4, 23, 36, 37, 53, 91 الغنا 5, 31, 38, 48, 51, 86, 92 والغنى 9, 14, 21, 40, 54, 56, 68 add الاهتمام (and the care) after الغنى (riches) but this reading has no textual support; 46, 57, 77, 85 والغنا. The addition of the conjunction و before الغنى agrees with almost all *Vorlagen*. The genitive construction of the phrase هم الغنى (the concern of wealth), as in the collated base, is supported by four Coptic Sahidic MSS and a few late Greek MSS. In addition, the Greek MS D, 1319 and Lvt (e c d f) could possibly witness to the Arabic origin since the conjunction και in the phrase υπο μεριμνων και πλουτου is omitted.

371 54, 99 وشهوه 67, 83, 94 وشهوة

372 28, 31, 38, 51, 81 المعيشه 36; الدنيا 48; العمر. The collated base reads معيشتهم (their live). The attached pronoun هم- (αυτων) has no textual support. More than a few Coptic MSS add [τουτου] (this life) but not [αυτων]. It is remarkable that none of the Arabic MSS of this family render the Coptic pronoun this (as the case with Ibn al-'Assāl's version). The Arabic MSS 28, 31, 36, 38, 48, 51, and 81 omit the attached pronoun هم.

Three different nouns are used in this variant: 1) المعيشه (livelihood); 2) الدنيا (world); 3) العمر (life, age). The Greek and Coptic read [του βιου] (الحياه). The Ss and Sc read حـمـمـه (العمر) as in the Arabic Ms 48 above; the Sp and Sh read حـلـمـه (العالم / الدنيا) as MS 36 above. The expression المعيشه could translate either [του βιου] or حـلـمـه. For حـلـمـه (as المعيشه) see *Al-Lubāb*, vol. 2, 878.

373 ولذات المعيشه 92; ولذات الحياه 86, 87; ومعيشتهم 2

374 4, 8, 10, 21, 22, 24, 34, 40, 65, 68, 72, 73; الزاهيون 5, 31, 51, 78, 91; والذين يذهبون 28, 38; فيذهبون 36; والساكنين 48; والساكنين 86, 87; والذين يذهبون 92

375 48, 86, 87, 92 omit as in Greek, Latin and Syriac MSS. The expression فيها (in it) in the collated base has no textual support. The only possibly exception is the Coptic Bohairic version which reads literally "walking in them". Ibn al-'Assāl's version reads فيها as well.

376 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 15, 24, 28, 31, 36, 37, 46, 48, 51, 54, 57, 58, 77, 78, 85, 86, 87, 88, 91, 98, 99 يخنقون 13; يخنقوا 14, 19, 23, 25, 27, 30, 38, 53, 56, 63, 65, 67, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 79, 80, 83, 89, 93, 94 يخنقون 20, 22, 34, 40, 68 يخنقون 21; هم يخنقون 32; يخنقون 44; يخنقون 81. All the *Vorlagen*, with the exception of the Coptic, have the passive form of the verb συμπινω (the Syriac has the extended form *Ethp'el* of the verb سـمـ). The Coptic reads "choke them" (يخنقهم / يخنقهم) as in many late Arabic Mss. It is remarkable that none of the early MSS of this version follow the Coptic but read يخنقون (they are choked).

377 فيخنقهم الاهتمام والغنى وشهوات معيشتهم الزاهيين 52, 66; فيخنقهم الاهتمام والغنى وشهوات معيشتهم الزاهيين فيها 50; ثم يذهبون فيخنقون من هموم الحياه وغناها ولذاتها 96; فيها

378 21, 53, 57 ياتوا 94

379 27 يثمر 31

380 81 يثمر فيهم

15 "واما الذي" 381 وقع 382 في 383 الارض الصالحه 384 فهم 385 الذين "يسمعون الكلمة بقلب جيد" 386 387  
فيحفظونها 388 ويثمرون 389 بالصبر

# Luke 15:11-20

11 وقال 390 انسان 391 له 392 ابنان  
12 فقال 393 "الا صغر 394 منهما 395" 396 لابيئه 397 "يا ابيه 398" 399 اعطني 400 نصيبي 401 من مالك 402  
فقسم 403 "بينهما 404 ماله 405" 406

381 قالذي 94

382 48, 86, 87, 96 omit as in most *Vorlagen*. The expression وقع (بعد – [πεσον]) in the collated base, which in this case is placed before εν τη καλη γη, is only supported by Sc, Lvt (c) and Dtp. However, MSS Lvt (e), Cs and Cb (mss,) etc. read [πεσον] but after [γης]. The collated base might have been influenced by either.

383 على 38, 54, 88

384 5, 19, 35, 37, 44, 48, 56, 78, 80, 84, 91 الجيده 4, 99; الصلحه 99, 4; 36 adds الصالحه above the line in a different hand.

385 هم 2, 8, 48, 96

386 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 15, 46, 66, 78, 85, 91 add صالح 8; ظاهر 36; طيب صالح 50, 52, 86, 87, 96 add طيب 92. The collated base omits صالح (αγαθη) and agrees with Lvt (e a aur b c d ff<sup>2</sup> l q r<sup>1</sup>).

387 48 . بقلب جيد وصالح يسمعون الكلام . The succession of words follows the Greek and Syriac.

388 فهم يحفظونها 81; يقبلونه 48; فيحفظوها 4; ليحفظونها 15, 3; فيمسكونها 2

389 وياتون ثمره 48; ويوتون الثمر 36; فثمر 8

390 3 reads as in 1187\*, Dtp, Cs, (1ms.); 36, 46, 85 add لهم يسوع (possibly influenced by the Peshitta, see below); 57, 65 add لهم يسوع ايضا with the Syriac Peshitta لهم يسوع ايضا (he said another parable). The exact sentence has no textual evidence, but the phrase مثل اخر (ετερων παραβολων) is also found in the Arabic Diatessaron; 86, 87 add انه. The collated base reads وقال (και ελεπεν) and is supported by Lvt (b), Dta. But it is also possible that behind وقال to find the expression ελεπεν δε which is supported by most readings.

391 2, 5, 78, 86, 87 read كان انسان and agree with the Coptic Bohairic; 92 انسان ما

392 36, 50, 52, 57, 65, 66, 92 كان له 96; كان له 92 (ελεπεν) and variant reads كان له (εσχεπεν). This uni-variation agrees with the Coptic, Syriac, and Lvg and Lvt e aur b c f ff<sup>1</sup> g<sup>1</sup> i l q r<sup>1</sup>) and the Greek W 179. The collated base agrees mainly with the Greek witnesses.

393 36 adds له as in Lvt (a b c ff<sup>2</sup> l r<sup>1</sup>), Sc, Sp.

394 36 reads ابنه الاصغر . The addition of ابنه (his son) is also found in the Peshitta version and the Arabic Diatessaron.

395 3, 4, 8, 10, 11, 13, 15, 36, 98 omit as in Syriac and Lvt (e a b c ff<sup>2</sup> i l r<sup>1</sup>).

396 اصغرها 48, 50, 52, 66, 92

397 36 omits as in Sc, Sp, Dta, Lvt (a b c ff<sup>2</sup> g<sup>1</sup> l r<sup>1</sup>) and Lvg (1 ms.). The Greek MSS read τω πατρι (الاب). The collated base follows the Coptic Bohairic or the Syriac Curetonian version.

398 2; ابي 6, 8, 10, 13, 36, 37, 44, 46, 48, 53, 56, 57, 65, 67, 72, 73, 81, 85, 86, 87, 88, 92, 96, 98; ابناه 38, 89; اب 40; ابط . Cs and Cb read [πατερ μου] and the rest read πατερ.

399 80 omits as in S\* 1242\*, Lvg (1ms.), Ss, etc.

400 3, 4, 15 اعطني يا ابناه 11; اعطني يا ابناه 41; اعطني (for the omission of the expression اعطني يا ابناه see above). The transposition of words helps the Arabic text to flow better.



- 13 وبعد<sup>407</sup> ايام قلائل<sup>408</sup> جمع الابن<sup>409</sup> الاصغر "كل شي"<sup>410</sup><sup>411</sup> وسافر الى كورة<sup>412</sup> بعيدة "وبدد  
ماله<sup>413</sup> هناك<sup>414</sup>"<sup>415</sup> "بعيش بذخ"<sup>416</sup><sup>417</sup>  
14 فلما نفذ<sup>418</sup> "كل شي"<sup>419</sup> له<sup>420</sup> حدث<sup>421</sup> جوع شديد<sup>422</sup> في تلك الكور<sup>423</sup> فافتقر<sup>424</sup>

- 401 36, 57, 65, 81 add يخصني 46, 85; الجزء الذي يخصني 48; الجزء الذي يخصني 92; النصيب الذي يخصني 48; النصيب الذي يخصني 92; النصيب الذي يخصني 96 adds  
الجزء الذي يخصني. The Greek reads μερος and the Coptic adds [μου] and the collated base  
agrees with the Coptic version. The addition of the phrases (ما يخصني) or النصيب الذي يخصني is an attempt to either translate the Greek επιβαλλον  
μερος or, most probably, the Syriac ܡܚܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܚܝܬܐ.  
402 30 مالك (جور) 32 adds رومى جور 46, 85, 96 المال 86 adds الذي يصيني. The Greek and  
Coptic read [ουσια] (جور) as mentioned by the scribes of MS 30 and 32. The Latin  
also read *substantiae*. The collated base reads مالك (your money). The expression ουσια  
could also mean "property, money, wealth". The Ss has ممتلك (your possession,  
goods, property, substance); The Sc and Sp read صدى (your house) and the Sh has  
ممتلك (your possessions or wealth- الرزق). Since the Coptic, Greek or Latin do  
have the possessive pronoun ك (σου), it is more likely that the collated base is trans-  
lated from the Syriac. MSS 46, 85, 96 omit the possessive pronoun and are corrected  
against either the Greek or the Coptic *Vorlage*.  
403 4, 31 فقصم  
404 بينه وبين اخيه 24; بينهم 11  
405 المال 92; مال 85, 46  
406 ماله عليهما 2  
407 ومن بعد 96  
408 3, 15, 24, 77 قليل 46, 65, 57, 85, 86, 87, 96; قليله 54. Ss, Sc and Sp read ملد (قليله) and  
the collated base agrees with the Syriac version. The Greek, Coptic, Latin and Syriac  
Harklean read ου πολλας ημερας (ايام ليست بكثيرة) Cf. the version of Ibn al-'Assāl which  
also reads ايام ليست بكثيرة.  
409 53, 65, 79 omit (with Sh).  
410 8, 10, 20, 23, 27, 36, 37, 41, 46, 48, 54, 57, 66, 69, 73, 81, 85, 89 add له  
411 كلشي 67  
412 36, 44 بلده 50, 52, 66; بلاد 96 the word كوره is crossed out and the word بلده is added  
beside it. The expression كوره (*Kurah*) is from Greek Χωρα, however, this does not  
necessarily show that the scribe was translating from Greek.  
413 كل ماله 54  
414 هنا 31; 40, 68, 92 omit.  
415 3, 8, 11, 15, 36, 48; وهناك بدد ماله 4; وهناك بذر ما له 4. The collated base has the same succe-  
sion of words as the Coptic Bohairic. It reads وبدد ماله هناك and the Coptic reads "and  
he scattered his substance there." The transposition of words made by the scribes of  
MSS 3, 4, 8, 11, 15, 36, 48 shows a correction against either the Greek or Syriac *Vor-  
lage*.  
416 مترخي 70, 86, 87; وعاش شاطرا 44 adds رومي وعاش شاطرا 32 adds شاطر 15; شطاره 3  
417 عايشا ببذخ 48; مفرطا 36  
418 نفق 48; انغد 46, 85, 92, 96; فقد 32  
419 كلشي 67  
420 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 14, 15, 21, 23, 31, 32, 34, 37, 50, 51, 52, 53, 61, 63, 64, 66, 67, 68, 69,  
70, 71, 72, 73, 77, 79, 86, 87, 89, 93, 94, 96, 98 omit as in the Coptic MSS. The Greek  
reads απανησαντος δε αυτου παντα; The Ss, Sc, Sp add ܡܕܝܬܐ ܕܡܕܝܬܐ (he had - معه / كان له).

- 15 وانقطع<sup>425</sup> "الى رجل<sup>426</sup>" "من عظم<sup>428</sup>"<sup>429</sup> تلك<sup>430</sup> الكورة<sup>431</sup> فارسله<sup>432</sup> الى حقله<sup>433</sup> يرعي<sup>434</sup>  
 خنازير<sup>435</sup>  
 16 وكان<sup>436</sup> يشتهي<sup>437</sup> ان يملأ<sup>438</sup> بطنه من الخرنوب<sup>439</sup> الذي<sup>440</sup> كانت "الخنازير<sup>441</sup> تاكله<sup>442</sup>"<sup>443</sup> فلا<sup>444</sup>  
 يعطي<sup>445</sup> ذلك<sup>446</sup>
- 
- 421 3, 15, 48; كان: 15. The Syriac reads ܡܥܡܐ (كان) and agrees with MSS 3 and 15. The Greek reads ἐγένετο (صار) and agrees with MS 48. The collated base reads حدث (happened) and agrees with the Coptic Bohairic version.
- 422 2, 54, 88, 91 عظيم
- 423 52, 66, البلاد; 96: البلاد
- 424 5, 78, 91; فابدا يعوز 36; فابندا يعوز 9 omits; 10: فابندا يعوز 36; فابندا يعوز ايضا 6; فاما هو فبدا يعوز 92; فابندا ان يعوز 88; فابندا يحتاج 86, 87; واما هو فافتقر 54; ويدي هو ان يعوز 48; فابندا ان يحتاج 46, 85 يحتاج. The Syriac Peshitta and Harklean, and Greek MSS read with slight variations και αυτος ηρξατο υστερευσθαι (and he began to be in want). The Coptic adds "also" and reads "and he also began to be in want." Only MSS 6 and 88 follow the Coptic and the rest of the variations in this footnote (with the exception of MS 9) follow either the Syriac (Peshitta / Harklean) or the Greek *Vorlage*. The collated base omits αυτος ηρξατο and agrees with 1950 and Lvt (b r<sup>1</sup>).
- 425 5, 6, 78; فانطلق والتصدق 48, 86, 85, 92; فمضى ولمس 46, 87; فذهب والتصدق 41; وملتصق 7; ومضى فانقطع 54, 87, 88, 92; فمضى وانقطع 86, 87, 88, 92, 96. Ss and Sc read ܡܥܡܐ and Sp, Sh, Greek and Coptic Mss read: ܡܥܡܐ (και πορευθεις εκολληθη - (فانطلق والتصدق). This reading is found in MSS 5, 6, 36, 41, 46, 48, 78, 85, 86, 87, 88, 92, 96. The collated base reads الى وانقطع (and he devoted himself to) and omits πορευθεις. This reading has no textual support.
- 426 78, 91, 96 واحد
- 427 36; بمديني واحد 41, 46, 48, 85, 92; بواحد 54; برجل 86, 87. All *Vorlagen* read بواحد (ἐνι) and not رجل (ἀνθρωπος). The expression رجل could possibly be the translation of ἐνι or ἐνι των πολιτων (one of the citizens) especially since عظم<sup>429</sup> is omitted afterward in many manuscripts.
- 428 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 10, 11, 13, 15, 20, 21, 22, 28, 34, 54, 65, 57, 77, 98 omit; 36, 92, 96: اهل 46, 85: اهل مدن, سكان, اهل المدينة 88; اهل مدن 78, 91; قاطني 48; سكان 85, 98. The expression اهل المدينة is a scribal correction to render the Greek, Syriac or Coptic [των πολιτων].
- 429 24; مدني 86, 87; وفي 40, 68; عظيم<sup>433</sup> من 37 omits; 37: عظيم<sup>433</sup> من 24
- 430 86, 88, 88 من تلك
- 431 19, 70, 72; كورة 50, 52, 66; البلاد 96
- 432 57, 65 omit and lack textual support.
- 433 2 reads الحقل (τους αγρους) and agrees with the Coptic Bohairic, Sc, Ss, Sp, Sj, D, 66, 131, 1241, Lvt (aur d) Dta. The collated base agrees with the Greek *Vorlage* by adding the pronoun αυτος. It reads τους αγρους αυτου (الى حقله).
- 434 2, 34, 48, 50, 52, 66; ليرعى 36, 37, 79, 81; بيرع<sup>434</sup> 46, 57, 65, 85 add 98; له 98
- 435 2 الخنازير
- 436 48 وهو
- 437 28 omits.
- 438 5, 15, 77 يملئ
- 439 4, 6, 11, 14, 23 الخروب
- 440 6, 12, 20, 24, 28, 30, 78, 80, 88 التي
- 441 53 omits.



20 فقام<sup>472</sup> و جا الى ابيه<sup>473</sup> "وفيما<sup>474</sup> هو<sup>475</sup> بعيد<sup>476</sup>"<sup>477</sup> نظره<sup>478</sup> ابوه فتحنن<sup>479</sup> واسرع<sup>480</sup> واعتقه<sup>481</sup> وقبله<sup>482</sup>،<sup>483</sup>

# John 6:30-35

30 قالوا<sup>484</sup> له<sup>485</sup> اي<sup>486</sup> ايه<sup>487</sup> تصنع<sup>488</sup> لنراها<sup>489</sup> ونومن بك "ما الذي<sup>490</sup>"<sup>491</sup> تصنع<sup>492</sup>

- 466 3, 6, 8, 10, 11, 13, 15, 20, 27, 36, 37, 53, 56, 79, 81, 98 ادعا
- 467 77 ابنك. The collated base reads لك ابنا (σου υιου) instead of ابنك (υιου σου). This reading is also found in the Greek MS D.
- 468 3, 15, 36, 48, 77, 92, 96 omit. The expression لكن (αλλα), in the collated base, agrees with Lvt (b) and Cb (5 mss.)
- 469 57, 65 omit.
- 470 4, 11, 37 وكواحد 50 احد
- 471 3, 4, 15, 37 ومن اجرايك 22 incorrectly reads جيرانك ([one of] your neighbours).
- 472 94 reads wrongly فقال (and he said).
- 473 46 reads ببينه and lacks textual support.
- 474 36 واذا 48, 77; وفيينما 36
- 475 انه 36
- 476 5, 54, 78 add منه 21, 22, 61 بعيد 41; غير بعيد منه 46, 85 جدا 92; عن بعيد 92. MSS 21, 22, 41, 61 add غير (ου) and read ... وفيها هو غير بعيد... (While he was *not* far off...). This reading agrees with MSS P, X, Y, 33, 115, 2643, 11579, 11627. It could also be possible that one (or more) of the scribes has misread the preposition *عن*; he read it *غير*.
- 477 57, 65 منه 57, 65. Cf. the previous argument.
- 478 4, 8, 11, 15, 36, 37 ابصره
- 479 5, 78 فتراف 8, 36, 46, 48, 53, 72, 79, 81, 85 add عليه (επ αυτω) as in the Arabic and Persian Diatessarons; 91 فتراف.
- 480 اليه 48 adds; فصار 36
- 481 32 adds فاه وقيل فاه منكيه. ق وقيل فاه 32. The Coptic reads αϥϣⲓⲧⲉ εϥⲉⲛ ⲧⲉϥⲙⲁⲣⲃⲓ (lit. he threw himself upon his neck); The Greek and Syriac have similarly επεπεσεν επι τον τραχηλον αυτου (πελ χλ). The variations in Arabic are more likely to be linguistic rather than textual. They have used different words to say the same thing.
- 482 67 omitted this reading then added it later in the same hand in the upper margin; 83 واقبله. The Coptic reads αϥⲓ ⲡⲉϥⲓⲱⲧ (and kissed his mouth – Ibn al-'Assāl's version reads فاه وقيل). The collated base reads وقبله (and kissed him) as in Greek, Latin and Syriac MSS.
- 483 40, 68 omit.
- 484 86 فقالوا
- 485 16 adds ايضا 36, 59, 72, 88 omit.
- 486 17, 23, 44, 46, 50, 52, 66, 72, 73, 76, 92 ايه 31, 53, 57, 65, 81, 85 ايت 48; فليت 58; ما هي 58
- 487 59 الايه التي
- 488 2, 78, 88, 91 add انت 16, 26, 59 تصنعها انت
- 489 5, 48, 78, 86, 91 لنرى 16; لنرى but then crossed out and the expression ها نعاين is written in the margin in another hand; 26 لكي نرى لنراها 52
- 490 48 omits as in the Greek MSS.
- 491 2 عمل/امر. MSS 2, 26, 88 add ماذا 44, 50, 52, 54, 66, 92; اي عمل 26; اي امر 2. The reading in the collated base is closer to the Greek or Syriac than the Coptic.
- 492 26 تصنعه 88; تصنعه 54

- 31 اباونا اكلوا المن في البرية<sup>493</sup> كما هو مكتوب "انه<sup>494</sup> اعطاهم خبز<sup>495</sup> من السما"<sup>496</sup> %\*لياكلوا<sup>497</sup>  
 32 "قال<sup>498</sup> لهم يسوع<sup>499</sup>"<sup>500</sup> "الحق الحق"<sup>501</sup> اقول لكم ان<sup>502</sup> ليس موسى اعطاكم الخبز<sup>503</sup> من  
 السماء<sup>504</sup> %\* لكن<sup>505</sup> ابي الذي<sup>506</sup> % يعطيكم<sup>507</sup> "خبز<sup>508</sup> الحق<sup>509</sup>"<sup>510</sup> من السماء،<sup>511</sup> %\*<sup>512</sup>  
 33 لان<sup>513</sup> خبز<sup>514</sup> الله<sup>515</sup> هو<sup>516</sup> الذي<sup>517</sup> % نزل<sup>518</sup>"<sup>519</sup> من السماء ويهب<sup>520</sup> الحياه<sup>521</sup> للعالم<sup>522</sup>  
 34 \*قالوا<sup>523</sup> له 'يا سيد<sup>524</sup> اعطنا "في<sup>525</sup> كل حين،<sup>526</sup> من هذا الخبز"<sup>528</sup> %\*<sup>529</sup>

493 36 adds وماتوا

494 48 omits.

495 85, 92 الخبز

496 2, 59 The transposition of words follows closely the Coptic version (MSS 2, 16, 54 are Arabic-Coptic bilingual MSS).

497 41, 50, 52, 66 فاكلوا

498 48, 54, 59, 92 فقال

499 77, 88 omit.

500 24 reads اجلبهم يسوع وقال. This reading is found in a few manuscripts, as noted by Tischendorf *ad loc.*

501 50, 52, 66 read امين امين (*amīn, amīn*) as in all *Vorlagen*.

502 2, 4, 6, 10, 12, 16, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26, 27, 32, 34, 36, 44, 49, 50, 52, 53, 55, 57, 60, 66, 67, 69, 77, 78, 79, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 91, 92, 94, 98, 99 انه; 48, 54, 59, 73 omit.

503 6 + but then crossed out. الحفاني

504 81 omits by homoioteleuton

505 26, 48, 54 بل; 94 لكن

506 2, 48, 59, 86, 87, 92, 96 omit.

507 2, 48 اعطاكم (εδωκεν) but has no textual support. All *Vorlagen* read δίδωσιν as well as the collated base.

508 2, 48 الخبز

509 2 omits; 48, 92 الحقيقي

510 59 للحفاني

511 10, 69 omit by homoioteleuton.

512 20 omitted this reading due to homoioteleuton but added it later in the margin; 54 added this reading in the margin with a Coptic parallel.

513 59 omits.

514 59 وخبز

515 10, 24 الحق and has no textual support.

516 3, 4, 6, 8, 15, 16, 88, 99 انما هو; 11 omits.

517 83, 94 omit by homoioteleuton.

518 26 يأتي (as in Ibn al-'Assāl's version). The collated base reads نزل (past tense) and follows the Syriac versions. The Greek reads ὁ καταβαινων (present participle). And the Coptic "comes down" (present).

519 48 reads النازل (ὁ καταβαινων).

520 2, 5, 26, 31, 48, 51, 78, 91 ويعطي; 4, 50, 54 وهب. The verb وهب which is used in the collated base is similar to the Syriac مھب (used in all four Syriac versions noted by Kiraz).

521 59 بالحياه; 67 للحيات; 92 بحيوه; 94 الحيوه

522 59 الى العالم

523 36, 46, 48, 54, 59, 65, 85 فقالوا; 94 قال

John 18:19-27

19 "فاما<sup>541</sup> عظيم<sup>542</sup> الكهنه فسال<sup>543</sup>"<sup>544</sup> يسوع<sup>545</sup> عن<sup>546</sup> "تلاميذه و عن<sup>547</sup>"<sup>548</sup> تعليمه

548 81 omits by homoioteleuton.



- 21 "ما 572 بالك" 573 تسالني 574 سل 575 اوليك 576 "الذين سمعوا" 577 ما 578 "كلمتهم به" 579 فهو لاء 580 هم 581 يعرفون 582 ما 583 قلته 584 انا 585  
 22 "فلما قال 586 هذا" 587 كان 588 واحد 589 من 590 الشرط 591 قابما 592 "فلطم 593 يسوع" 594 \* 595 "وقال 596 له" 597 "هكذا 599 تجاوب 600 عظيم 601 الكهنه" 602

564 36 كانوا اليهود يجتمعون MS 16\* (see the previous footnote) and 36 read συνερχοντο instead of συνερχομαι. This variation is also found in the Greek MS M, 33 and about ten other minuscule MSS.

565 وما 92

566 54 اقل; 72, 73, 92 تكلمت. All possible *Vorlagen* read ελαλησα (تكلمت). The collated base reads اتكلم (lit. ελαλουν – imperf. 1<sup>st</sup> per Sing).

567 8 وشي; 26, 54 read كلمه with the Coptic version (as well as Ibn al-‘Assāl’s version); 41 في شي; 51 omits.

568 41 omits.

569 51 خفياء 54: بخفيه

570 96 في خفيه بشي

571 36 reads ما تكلمت وشي مخفي and follows the Sinaiticus and Peshitta versions closely. The collated base is closer to the Coptic than any other versions.

572 6, 8, 10, 11, 12, 15, 17, 20, 41, 53, 56, 63, 67, 69, 71, 86, 89, 93, 94, 96 وما; 24, 44, 50, 52, 66, 88 فما. The addition of και or δε has no textual support.

573 2, 36, 78, 91 فلهذا 26, 54 لماذا; 48 لم. The expression لماذا translates the Coptic word εο-κεορ (wherefore).

574 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 10, 11, 15, 24, 88 وتسالني 54: تسالوني 96 adds انا (με).

575 20, 27, 30, 72, 96 اسال; 26, 31, 36, 44, 53, 54, 56, 92 سال 80: فصل

576 2, 16, 26, 36, 46, 48, 54, 85, 92, 96 omit with the Coptic version; 3, 6, 30, 81 اوليك 4, 8, 10, 11, 98 هوليك 24: هولاي 57: هولاي 65: هولاي. The Syriac Sinaiticus reads لمسلم, The Peshitta and Harklean read لمسلم. The Greek has τους.

577 36, 48 السامعين

578 16 هو الذي 36: عن ما 69 omits.

579 2 تكلمت انا 54: قلته 26: قلته لهم 16: قد قلته لهم 2. The verb قال (to say) translates the Coptic and Greek *Vorlagen* more accurately than كلم (to speak). The Greek reads λεγω. For the Coptic see ζω in Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary*, 754f.

580 3, 4, 6, 11, 13, 24, 44, 57, 70, 80, 88, 98 وفيهولاي 16, 54 هولاء 26: ها 36, 53 هولاي 46, 85, 86 فيها ان هولاء 96: فيها هولاء 92 omits; 77 وفاوليك 72, 73 هولاء 66: فيها هولاء 50: فيها

581 16, 27, 36, 48, 54, 56, 65, 92, 96 omit as in most *Vorlagen*; 73 adds الذين 77 فهم

582 5, 16, 78, 91 يعلمون 26: يعلموا

583 16 الذي (pl.) with the Greek and Coptic MSS; 26 الذي

584 16 قلته with a cross above it. The manuscript is torn on the edges and it is not possible to read what is written; 38 adds ولكم 81 قلت

585 36, 38, 41, 91 omit with the Curetonian and Peshitta versions.

586 5, 6, 7, 16, 31, 57, 78, 88, 91 add يسوع with the Coptic version.

587 2, 54 read هذا لما قاله يسوع and follow the Coptic version; 36 وفي قوله هذا 48: وفي قوله هذا. The variations in MSS 36 and 48 are relatively closer to each other than to the other witnesses. They are both corrected against either the Greek or the Syriac; 92 reads وهذا لما قالها and follows the Greek.

588 2 وان 54: وكان 48: وان 54

589 26 احد



23 اجابه 603 يسوع\*605 ان كنت 606 "تكلمت بردي 607" 608 فاشهد 609 بالردي 610 وان كان 611 جيداً فلم 612  
تضر بني 613

590 26 omits.

591 36 الخدم; 26, 48 الخدام . The Coptic, Syriac Sinaiticus and Peshitta witnesses support the collated base. The Greek (as well as the Harklean) reads βοηθητης (helper, servant, assistant) and MSS 26 and 48 agree with this reading.

592 2 القيام; 5, 26, 78, 91 واقفا; 16 القيام but then crossed out and قايلما was added by a different hand; 54 omits.

593 2, 48, 54 لطم

594 3, 10, 15, 20, 21, 22, 24, 28, 30, 36, 46, 57, 61, 65, 85, 88 add على خذه. The expression على خذه is explicit in the Sinaiticus and the Peshitta: حمل حصه. The Harklean only has حصه.

595 4, 8, 11, 77 read فطمه but lack textual support.

596 5 adds ليس; 48, 54, 92 قايلما

597 5 هو; 54, 77, 91, 92 omit.

598 2, 26, 41 read قايلما as in Greek and Coptic. The collated base follows the Peshitta.

599 2, 4, 6, 8, 15, 24, 27, 52, 77, 98 هكذي; 17 omitted this reading then added it in the margin in another hand; 26, 36, 48, 50, 92, 96 اهكذا; 66 اهكذي; 91 اهكذا

600 54 تحبيب

601 5, 23, 26, 36, 48, 50, 52, 66, 77, 78, 91, 92 ريس; 46, 57, 65, 85 راس; 54 روساء

602 16 had كمتل جواب ريس الكهنه then crossed out and the phrase وقال هكذا تجاوب كمتل was added in the margin. There is also a cross above the word كمتل in the text.

603 5, 31, 46, 53, 57, 65, 78, 85, 88, 91 read اجاب and follow the Coptic version as well as the Arabic MSS 26, 54, 60 below (with small variations); 9, 12, 19, 34, 38, 41, 42, 43, 47, 49, 50, 52, 55, 66, 67, 76, 83, 89, 94 read فاجابه (απεκριθη δε αυτω) . The conjunction δε lacks textual support; 10, 24, 36, 96 read فقال له The Sinaiticus reads ܡܠ ܡܢ ܡܢ and 𐤌 𐤍 𐤌 𐤍 579 etc. read ο δε [...] ειπεν αυτω; 26, 54, 60 فاجاب. Cf. this verse with the variant readings in the Coptic version: Horner, *Coptic Version*, 546.

604 5, 26 add وقال له; 7, 13, 16, 53, 54, 57, 65, 78, 88, 91 add له وقال with the Coptic and Syriac Peshitta versions; 30 reads الرب يسوع and lacks textual support; 41, 50, 52, 66 add قايلما. The addition of قال (say) in this footnote is mainly because of a Coptic influence.

605 69 omits by homoioteleuton.

606 The scribe of MS 54 wrongly writes كان.

607 4, 8, 11, 13, 24, 26, 44, 46, 48, 65, 70, 72, 73, 77, 78, 85, 88, 91, 92 بالردي; 16 had بالسو then crossed out and بالردي was added in the margin; 36 reads بشر and the Syriac versions read صعه (evil, wrong). The expression ردي in the collated base and in this footnote probably reflect a Greek or Coptic origin: κακως (κακως); 57 omits.

608 54 رديا تكلمت

609 36, 46, 57, 60, 65, 73, 85, 96 add علي with no textual support.

610 16 had بالسو then crossed out and the word بالردي was added in the margin; 36 بالشو; 51 بالشر. See above.

611 26, 36 قلت. The addition of the verb قال (to say) in MSS 26, 36 is probably to clarify the meaning of the phrase ει δε καλως (as is the case, for example, with many printed English editions). It is unlikely that the scribes of MSS 26 and 36 have made the correction against the Sinaiticus (which has حلاله (تكلمت)) but miss out the first part of the clause).

- 24 "وحنا ارسل يسوع" 614<sup>616</sup> الى "قيافا عظيم" 617<sup>618</sup> الكهنه  
25 'وكان' 619 "سمعان" 620 الصفا" 621<sup>622</sup>, 623 واقفا" 624 بصطلي 625 فقالوا 626 له 627 لعلك 628 "انت 629 من تلاميذه 630" 631 فانكر 632 وقال "لست انا" 633<sup>634</sup>
- 
- 612 5, 15, 68, 73 فلما 13 لم 16, 26, 46 لماذا 54, 60, 65, 78, 91 فلماذا  
613 23, 44, 50, 78, 91 ضربتني 40 يضربني 52, 66, 77 ضربني  
614 46, 85 انفذ 57, 65 فانفذ  
615 19, 25, 27, 35, 40, 42, 45, 47, 49, 64, 70, 72, 76, 80, 81, 83, 85 omit with the Coptic, Sinaiticus and Harklean versions and also the Greek witnesses. The collated base agrees with the Peshitta by inserting بعد (يسوع) 30; الرب يسوع موقفا 5, 71 add موقفا (added above the line by possibly the same hand). 98 adds موقفا. The collated base has omitted موقفا (δεδεμενον) and lacks textual support.  
616 2, 6, 26, 54, 66, 78, 88, 91, 92 read وحنيذ ارسله حنان موقفا and agree with the Coptic version; 3 reads وحنيذ ارسل حنان يسوع موقفا. This reading agrees with the Coptic but it adds يسوع (Cf. with the Peshitta version); 5 وحنيذ ارسله حنا موقفا 16; وحنيذ ارسله حنان مربوطا. The Coptic version agrees also with MSS 5, and 16 (and 50, 52 below); 36 reads حنان مربوطا 96; وحنيذ ارسله حنان موقفا 50, 52; وفارسله حنان موقفا 48; واليسوع follows the Peshitta version; 48 وحنا ارسله موقفا. The collated base reads وحنا ارسل يسوع (ἀπεστείλεν δε αυτον ο "Αννας). The conjunction δε is supported by MSS  $\kappa$  f<sup>13</sup> and other few Greek MSS, r<sup>1</sup>, Syriac Sinaiticus and Peshitta and Sahidic versions. But all the witnesses mentioned, other than the collated base, add δεδεμενον.  
617 5, 23, 26, 36, 48, 50, 52, 54, 66, 77, 78, 91, 92 ربيس 16 with a cross above it.  
618 46, 65, 57, 85 read عظيم الكهنه قيافا. The transposition of these words lacks textual support.  
619 88 omits.  
620 2, 4, 5, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, 28, 30, 31, 32, 36, 38, 40, 42, 43, 45, 47, 48, 49, 54, 55, 60, 61, 64, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 76, 77, 78, 83, 89, 91, 93, 96, 98 سمعون / سمعون 88. The Greek and Coptic read [Σιμων]. The Syriac has سمعون.  
621 3, 5, 23, 26, 46, 48, 54, 57, 65, 85, 88, 91, 92 بطرس 50 omits with the Syriac Sinaiticus; 78 reads الصفا then crossed out and beside it the word بطرس was added.  
The Greek and Coptic read Περσος, The Peshitta reads صهس, and the Harklean reads [هههه] (the brackets are of Kiraz's). The collated base is probably influenced by the Peshitta, and the variations in this footnote by the Coptic.  
622 6 omits.  
623 16, 24 الصفا كان 24  
624 54 كان واقفا 88 قايما  
625 15 بصطلي 51, 63 omit with no textual support (it may show that 51 and 63 are related).  
626 30 reads فقال (ελεπεν) instead of (ελεπον) and is supported by the Greek MS A.  
627 6, 11 omit with no textual support.  
628 2 اما 16, 48, 57, 68 العلك and in the margin 21 لعل 26, 54 ليس 50; العلك 96; الست 96  
629 5, 50, 52, 54, 66, 78, 91, 96 ايضا. This addition is supported by all Vorlagen.  
630 16, 26, 92 add ايضا (see above).  
631 36 reads واحد من تلاميذه انت and shows a Peshitta or Sinaiticus influence.  
632 5, 16 فانكر 26; فجد ايضا 36; فجد ايضا (which is a literal translation of the Syriac انكر); 48 adds نكر and فانكر 92; فاما هو فانكر 78, 91; فاما هو فجد 54; ذلك 96; فانكر وقال mean "to deny." The version of Ibn al-'Assāl reads جحد. The collated base has وقال وانكر

26 قال له<sup>636</sup> واحد من عبيد عظيم<sup>637</sup> الكهنة قريب<sup>638</sup> الذي<sup>639</sup> "كان سمعون<sup>640</sup> قطع<sup>641</sup> اذنه<sup>642</sup>"  
 "اليس انا<sup>643</sup>"<sup>644</sup> رايتك<sup>645</sup> معه في البستان  
 27 "فانكر<sup>646</sup> سمعون<sup>647</sup> ايضاً<sup>648</sup>"<sup>649</sup> "وفي ذلك الوقت<sup>650</sup> صاح<sup>651</sup> الديك

(and he denied and he said). The Coptic reads "and he denied, he said" and the Greek and Syriac read "he denied and said." The collated base has both conjunctions inserted.

633 اعرفه<sup>50</sup>

634 2, 5, 16, 26, 54, 78, 91, 92 read لا and follow the Coptic versions (and the Syriac Sinaiticus). The collated base which reads انا لست translates the Greek ουκ εμυ or possibly the Syriac ܐܢܐ ܠܝܬ.

635 4, 8, 11, 16, 26, 32, 36, 46, 48, 50, 52, 54, 57, 66, 88, 92 فقال . The addition of ف lacks textual support.

636 48, 54, 92 omit. The collated base adds له which is supported by the Peshitta version.

637 2, 5, 23, 26, 36, 48, 50, 52, 57, 65, 66, 77, 78, 85, 91, 92 ربييس 16; ربييس and in the margin عظيم . روسا<sup>54</sup>; راييس<sup>30</sup>. See above.

638 16, 54 ربييس . In this context وكان يناسب 73; وكان قريب 48; والذي هو قرابه 36; وهو نسيب 26; قرابه 23; نسيب 16, 54. The two expressions قريب and نسيب are synonymous.

639 للذي 36, 48

640 2, 3, 5, 6, 13, 31, 41, 50, 51, 52, 54, 66, 78, 86, 88, 91, 96 بطرس with the Greek and Coptic witnesses; 4, 9, 12, 15, 19, 25, 34, 38, 42, 43, 44, 47, 49, 53, 55, 72, 73, 76, 81, 93 read سمعان and follow the Peshitta or the Sinaiticus version; 39, 56, 60, 63, 64, 69, 70, 71, 83, 89, 94 read سمعان الصفاء (these scribes include both readings, (and also the ones of MSS 46, 65, 67, 85, 92 below)). The Sinaiticus reads: سمعان كاهن (Simon Kafa); 46, 57, 65, 85, 92 read سمعان بطرس; 67 adds الصفا; 80 صفاء. The collated base follows either the Peshitta or the Sinaiticus.

641 16, 26, 36, 48 read قطع بطرس. The construction كان...قطع in the collated base follows either the Sinaiticus or the Peshitta version: سمعان قطع. (Cf. also with the Harklean).

642 54, 57 add اليميني; 65 adds اليمين. This addition of اليمين (his right ear) lacks textual support. (Cf. John 18:10).

643 36, 48 omit.

644 46, 85, 96 اما

645 16 ابصرتك and in the margin رايتك; 36 reads قد رايتك (εωρακα - perf.) instead of رايتك (εἶδον - aorist). If this is the case then the reading lacks textual support; 96 adds انا.

646 2, 16 read وايضا جدد and follow the Coptic.

647 2, 3, 5, 6, 16, 26, 31, 36, 50, 52, 66, 78, 86, 88, 91, 92, 96 read بطرس and is supported by the Greek and Coptic MSS; 8, 67, 77 add الصفا; 9, 46, 57, 65, 85, 89 سمعان بطرس; 12, 22, 25, 38, 41, 44, 45, 47, 49, 51, 61, 93 read سمعان (Simon) and supported by the Syriac Sinaiticus and the Peshitta; 13, 39, 43, 53, 55, 56, 60, 63, 64, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 80, 81, 83, 94 صفاء. It is worth noting that the Sinaiticus does not read: سمعان كاهن (Simon Kafa) as above.

648 2, 8, 16, 17, 43, 55, 77, 78 omit.

649 48 وايضا جدد بطرس; 54 وايضا انكر بطرس. Cf. above.

650 2, 16, 26, 36, 48, 50, 52, 54, 66, 78, 85, 91, 92, 96 وللوقت

651 4, 8 صرخ; 28, 31 صدح

## 12.12. Family L

## 12.12.1. The Eight Test Passages

## Matthew 7:15-20

- 15 فاحذروا<sup>1</sup> من الانبياء الكذبة الذين ياتونكم "في ملابس"<sup>2</sup> الخرفان وباطنهم<sup>3</sup> ذياب خاطفة  
 16 ومن ثمارهم تعرفونهم هل<sup>4</sup> يجنى<sup>5</sup> عنب من شوك او يجتنى<sup>6</sup> تين من العليق<sup>7</sup>  
 17 كذلك<sup>8</sup> كل شجرة صالحة تخرج ثمرة صالحة والشجرة الرديئة تخرج ثمرة رديئة  
 18 لن<sup>9</sup> يمكن<sup>10</sup> شجرة طيبة ان تصنع ثمرة خبيثة ولا شجرة خبيثة<sup>11</sup> ان تصنع ثمرة طيبة<sup>13</sup>  
 19 وكل شجرة لا تصنع ثمرة جيدة ستقطع وتلقى في النار  
 20 فمن ثمارهم اذن تعرفونهم

## Matthew 16:1-4

- 1 فجاء الفريسيون<sup>14</sup> والزنادقة مجربين<sup>15</sup> له فسالوه ان يرهم آية من السماء  
 2 "فاما هو فاجاب"<sup>16</sup> وقال لهم "اذا كان<sup>17</sup> المساء<sup>18</sup> تقولون انه "صحو لان السماء حمراء"<sup>19</sup>  
 3 وبالغداة<sup>20</sup> تقولون اليوم<sup>21</sup> شتاء لاحمرار السماء وعيوسها<sup>22</sup> ايها المراون تعرفون<sup>23</sup> تمييز<sup>24</sup> وجه  
 السماء وآية هذا الزمان لا تعرفونها  
 4 ثم اجاب<sup>25</sup> وقال لهم [في الحاشية: ما بين علامتين ليس في سر ولا في ق]<sup>26</sup> ان القبيلة الخبيثة  
 الفاجر<sup>27</sup> تطلب آية<sup>28</sup> ولن تعطي<sup>29</sup> آية<sup>29</sup> الا آية يونان النبي ثم<sup>30</sup> تركهم ومضى

1 تحفظو 3, 4, 11; تحفظوا Underneath this variant, the letter ق is written followed by

2 بلباس 4, 11

3 ومن باطنهم 4, 11

4 لعله 2, 7, 10

5 يجتنى 2, 4, 7, 10; يجمع 3, 8, 9, 11, 13

6 يجمع 3, 4, 11

7 العوسج 2, 7, 10; شوك 3, 4, 11

8 وكذلك 12

9 لا 3, 4

10 تمكن 11

11 رديه 2

12 2 omits.

13 2 reads جيدة and above it the word طيبة is written in red.

14 الاحبار 4, 11

15 ممتحنين 4, 11

16 فاجاب هو 4, 11

17 جاءت 4, 11

18 العشيات 4, 11

19 السما مصحيه لاحمرارها 4, 11

20 وبالغدوات 4, 11

21 ان اليوم 2

22 بعْيوس 4, 11

23 تعرفون 3

24 تميزون 9

## Mark 6:14-20

- 14 وسمع هيرودس الملك<sup>31</sup> لان<sup>32</sup> اسمه ظهر فكان يقول ان يوحنا المعمد قام من الموتى ومن اجل هذا تعمل<sup>33</sup> به القوى
- 15 وكان اخرون يقولون انه "ايلايس وكان اخرون يقولون<sup>34</sup> انه"<sup>35</sup> نبي كاحد الانبياء<sup>36</sup> الاولين
- 16 فلما سمع هيرودس قال، ان يوحنا الذي "اخذت انا"<sup>37</sup> راسه<sup>38</sup> هو "هذا"<sup>39</sup> قد<sup>40</sup> قام "من بين الموتى"<sup>41</sup>
- 17 لان هيرودس كان<sup>42</sup> "ارسل فامسك"<sup>43</sup> يوحنا وشده في الحبس من اجل هيروديا امراة فيلبس اخيه لانه كان قد اتخذها
- 18 وكان يوحنا قد قال لهيرودس<sup>44</sup> انه<sup>45</sup> لا يحل لك اتخاذ امراة اخيك
- 19 فكانت هيروديا حنقه<sup>46</sup> عليه وكانت تريد قتله فلم تتمكن<sup>46</sup>
- 20 لان هيرودس خاف<sup>47</sup> من يوحنا اذ يعلم انه رجل بر وقديس فحفظه، وكان بطبعه<sup>48</sup> "في امور كثيره"<sup>49</sup> وكان حزين القلب وباسئل<sup>50</sup> كان يسمع منه

## Mark 13: 5-11

- 5 فيدا يسوع ان يقول لهم انظروا ان<sup>51</sup> لا يضلکم<sup>52</sup> احد
- 6 فان كثيرين<sup>53</sup> باتون باسمي قائلين انى انا هو المسيح فيضلون<sup>54</sup> كثيرين

- 
- 25 4, 11 add هو
- 26 7, 8, 10 omit.
- 27 الفاسقه 2
- 28 8 omits.
- 29 تعطا 4
- 30 2, 5, 8, 9, 10 و
- 31 2, 7, 10 add من اجل يسوع
- 32 11 ان
- 33 4, 8, 11 يعمل
- 34 4 omits.
- 35 13 omits.
- 36 11 omits.
- 37 انا اخذت 7
- 38 عتقه 2, 4, 7, 9, 10
- 39 هو 2, 7, 10
- 40 الذي 4, 11
- 41 2, 7, 8, 10 omit.
- 42 7, 10 omit.
- 43 امسك 2, 7, 10
- 44 لهيروديس 7; له 2
- 45 2 omits.
- 46 تقدر 4, 11
- 47 كان قد خاف 2
- 48 يسمع منه 4, 11
- 49 كثيرا 4, 11
- 50 وبشهره 4, 11
- 51 2, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10 omit.
- 52 يضلکم 10

7 فاذا ما<sup>55</sup> سمعتم بحروب واخبار حروب فلا تقلقن فانه ينبغي ان يكون<sup>56</sup> هذه<sup>57</sup> لكن لم بات الانقضاء  
 8 وان امه تقوم على امه ومملكه على مملكه وتكون<sup>58</sup> زلازل في مواضع وتكون<sup>59</sup> مجاعات وهياج<sup>60</sup>  
 وهذه هي<sup>61</sup> اول الطلق  
 9 فانظروا انتم انفسكم<sup>62</sup> فسيسلمونكم الى مواضع الحكم، وسيضربونكم في المحافل، وتقامون قدام  
 الحكام<sup>63</sup> والملوك من اجلي شهادة لهم  
 10 وللامم اجمعين ينبغي اولاً ان ينادى بالانجيل  
 11 فاذا قدموكم<sup>64</sup> "مسلمين لكم"<sup>65</sup> فلا تهتمن<sup>67</sup> قبل<sup>68</sup> بماذا تتكلمون "به"<sup>69</sup> ولا بما<sup>70</sup> تتلون<sup>71</sup> بل الذي  
 تعطونه في تلك الساعة هذا الذي تتكلمون به لانكم "لستم انتم"<sup>72</sup> المتكلمون<sup>73</sup> بل روح<sup>74</sup> القدس  
 Luke 8:9-15

9 ثم سأل تلاميذه ان<sup>75</sup> ما هو<sup>76</sup> هذا المثل  
 10 "فاما هو"<sup>77</sup> فقال لهم، قد<sup>78</sup> حظيتم انتم<sup>79</sup> بعلم<sup>80</sup> اسرار ملكوت الله واما الباقون "فيكون القول لهم  
 بامثال"<sup>81</sup> "لكي لا"<sup>82</sup> يبصروا<sup>83</sup> وهم مبصرون ولا يسمعا<sup>84</sup> ولا يفهموا<sup>85</sup> وهم سامعون

- 
- 53 كثيرون 8, 11  
 54 فيظلون 10; فيضلوا 8  
 55 5, 7, 8, 9, 10 omit.  
 56 2, 4, 5, 7, 11, 13 تكون  
 57 2, 7, 8, 10 omit.  
 58 ويكون 11  
 59 يكون 3  
 60 2, 7, 10 omit.  
 61 10 omits.  
 62 2, 7, 8, 10 omit.  
 63 2 omits; 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13 الولاء 6; الولاء and above it الحكام  
 64 4, 11 يقدمونكم  
 65 This reading is added in red by the same hand.  
 66 4, 11 ويسلمونكم  
 67 تهتمون 11; تهتموا 9; تنتقدوا فتهتمون 10, 2, 7  
 68 7, 10 omit.  
 69 5, 7, 9, 10 omit.  
 70 بماذا 7, 8, 10  
 71 2 omits.  
 72 انتم لستم 9  
 73 المتكلمون 9, 8  
 74 الروح 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11  
 75 قائلين 4, 11  
 76 4, 11 omit.  
 77 4, 11 omit.  
 78 هو انتم قد 4, 11  
 79 4, 11 omit.  
 80 ان تعلموا 2, 7, 10  
 81 في الامثال 2, 7, 8, 10  
 82 لكيلا 3, 7, 8  
 83 يبصرو 13; يبصرون 3, 8  
 84 يسمعو 13

- 11 وهذا هو المثل، الزرع هو كلام الله  
 12 فاما الذي على الطريق فهم اوليك الذين يسمعون الكلمه<sup>86</sup> ثم ياتي ابليس فينزع الكلمه من قلوبهم، ليلا يؤمنوا فيخلصوا  
 13 واما الذي سقط على الصخره فهم الذين اذا<sup>87</sup> سمعوا<sup>88</sup> يقبلون القول<sup>89</sup> بفرح وهاولاء<sup>90</sup> لا اصل لهم وهم انما يؤمنون زمناً يسيراً وفي زمان<sup>91</sup> التجربه<sup>92</sup> يتركونه  
 14 واما الذي سقط في الشوك فهم هاولاء<sup>93</sup> الذين يسمعون الكلمه<sup>94</sup> ويخنفهم<sup>95</sup> الاهتمام والغنى ولذات<sup>96</sup> "هذه الحياه"<sup>97</sup> الساعين فيها فلا باتون بثمره  
 15 واما الذي سقط<sup>98</sup> على<sup>99</sup> الارض الصالحه فهم هاولاء<sup>100</sup> الذين يسمعون القول<sup>101</sup> بقلب صالح خير فيتمسكون به ويثمرون بالصبر

### Luke 15:11-20

- 11 ثم قال ان رجلاً كان له ابنان  
 12 فقال اصغرها<sup>102</sup> لابيها با ابة اعطنى نصيبى من الميراث<sup>103</sup> اما هو فقسم بينهما العيش<sup>104</sup>  
 13 ومن بعد ايام ليست بكثيره جمع الابن الصغير<sup>105</sup> كل شيء وسافر الى كورة بعيدة فيذر هناك ما له اذ عاش مفرطاً  
 14 فلما نفذ<sup>106</sup> كل شيء<sup>107</sup> حدثت مجاعة عظيمه "في تلك الكوره"<sup>108</sup> وبداء هو ايضا ان<sup>109</sup> يعوز  
 15 فمضى والتصق بواحد من اهل مدينه تلك الكوره فارسله الى الحقل ليرعى خنازير  
 16 وكان يشتهى ان يملأ بطنه من الخروب<sup>110</sup> الذي<sup>111</sup> كانت الخنازير تاكله فلم يكن احد يعطيه

- 
- 85 يفهمو 13  
 86 10 omits.  
 87 3 omits.  
 88 سمعو 13  
 89 اليهم 2 adds  
 90 وهاولاء 8، وهاولاء 13، 5، 7، 12، وهاء 3  
 91 زمن 8، 12، 13  
 92 الامتحان 2، 7، 10  
 93 هاولاء 4، 6، 7، 8، 11، 12، 13  
 94 2، 7، 8، 10 omit.  
 95 يخنفهم 2، 7، 8، 10  
 96 وشهوات 4  
 97 معيشتهم 4  
 98 7، 8 omit.  
 99 في 7، 8، 11  
 100 هاولاء 6، 7، 8  
 101 3 omits.  
 102 الاصغر 11  
 103 مالك 4، 11  
 104 ما له 3، 4، 8، 11  
 105 الاصغر 3، 4، 6، 7، 8، 10، 11، 12  
 106 انفق 4، 11  
 107 وفرغ 4، 11 add  
 108 11 omits.  
 109 7، 8، 10، 11 omit.  
 110 الخروب 7، 10

- 17 فلما رجع اليه قلبه قال انه كم اجير لابي بفضل عنهم الخبز وانا هاهنا أهلك في الغلاء<sup>112</sup>  
 18 اقوم فامضى الى ابي واقول له يا ابيه<sup>113</sup> اخطات في السماء وقدامك<sup>114</sup>  
 19 "ولست بمستحق ان ادعى<sup>115</sup> ابنك فاجعلني<sup>116</sup> مثل احد اجر اياك  
 20 ثم قام وجاء الى ابيه واذ كان بعيدا راه ابوه فتحنن واسرع فوقع على عنقه وقبل فاه"<sup>117</sup>

John 6:30-35

- 30 قالوا له اية آية تصنعها انت لكي نرى ونؤمن بك اي عمل صنعته  
 31 ابائنا اكلوا المن في البريه كما هو مكتوب انه<sup>118</sup> اعطاهم خبزا من السماء لياكلوا<sup>119</sup>  
 32 قال لهم يسوع الحق الحق اقول لكم انه ليس موسى، اعطاكم الخبز من السماء بل ابي الذي يعطيكم  
 خبز الحق من السماء  
 33 لان[خبز الله هو الذي ياتي<sup>120</sup> من السماء وهو معطى الحياة للعالم  
 34 قالوا له ايها الرب اعطنا هذا الخبز كل حين  
 35 قال لهم يسوع انا هو خبز الحياة من يات الي لا يجوع ومن يؤمن بي لا يعطش الى الابد]<sup>121</sup>

John 18:19-27

- 19 فاما رئيس الكهنة فسأل يسوع عن<sup>122</sup> تلاميذه وعن<sup>123</sup> تعليمه  
 20 فاجابه يسوع قايلا انا خاطبت العالم باعلان وكنت اعلم في المجامع كل حين وفي الهيكل حيث  
 تجتمع<sup>124</sup> اليهود<sup>125</sup> فيه<sup>126</sup> اجمعون<sup>127</sup> ولم اكلم احدا كلمة في الخفيه<sup>128</sup>  
 21 فلماذا تسألني سل الذين سمعوا ماذا قلته لهم فهم هم هؤلاء<sup>129</sup> يعلمون اللواتي قلتن انا  
 22 فلما قال يسوع هذه لطم "يسوع احد الخدام الواقفين"<sup>130</sup> قايلا ابمئل هذا تجاوب رئيس الكهنة  
 23 فاجاب يسوع وقال له ان كنت قلت ردياً فاشهد بالردي وان كان جيذا فلماذا ضربتني  
 24 حينئذ ارسله حنان موثقاً الى قيافا رئيس الكهنة  
 25 وكان سمعان بطرس قايما يصطلي فقالوا له العلك<sup>131</sup> انت ايضاً من تلاميذه اما هو فجدد وقال لا

111 التي 2, 7, 10

112 12 adds جوعا

113 ابته 11

114 امامك 2

115 ادعا 8

116 بل اجعلني 2

117 6 omits.

118 بانه 10

119 لياكلوا 7, 8, 10

120 نزل 3, 8, 12

121 1 omits. Folio fol. 319r starts with الذي ارسلني وانا اقيمه في اليوم الاخير

122 من اجل 2, 7, 10

123 من اجل 2, 7, 10

124 يجتمع 2, 7, 10, 12

125 اليهوديه 3

126 اليه 2, 7, 10

127 اجمعين 4, 8, 11

128 الخفاء 11, 4; الخفا 2, 10

129 هؤلاء 2, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13

130 احد الخدام الواقفين يسوع 2, 7, 10

131 الغلمان 4



26 فقال له<sup>132</sup> واحد من عبيد ربييس الكهنه وهو قريب الذي قطع بطرس<sup>133</sup> اذنه اليس انا رايتك معه في البستان  
27 فانكر بطرس ايضا فللوقت صاح الديك

## 12.12.2. Two additional Passages from John 20:19-23 and 21:14-19a

### 12.12.2.1. The Collation of John 21: 14-19a (BL, Or. 3382 (sigla 1) and MS Beirut, Library Ibrāhīm ibn Bishārah al-Hūrī (sigal 14))<sup>134</sup>

14 فهذه ثالث دفعه ظهر يسوع لتلاميذه اذ قام من الموتى  
15 فلما اكلوا<sup>135</sup> قال يسوع لسمعان بطرس يا سمعان بن يونا اتحبي اكثر من هأولاء<sup>136</sup> قال له نعم يا رب انت تعلم اني احبك قال له ارفع خرافي  
16 ثم قال له مره ثانيه يا سمعان بن يونا اتحبي قال له نعم يا سيد انت تعلم اني احبك قال له ارفع غنمي  
17 قال له ايضا مره ثالثه يا سمعان بن يونا اتحبي فحزن بطرس لانه قال له ثلاث مرات اتحبي فقال له ايها الرب انت عارف بكل شي فانت عالم بانني احبك قال له يسوع ارفع نعاجي<sup>137</sup>  
18 الحق الحق اقول لك انك اذ<sup>138</sup> كنت<sup>139</sup> شابا<sup>140</sup> كنت<sup>141</sup> تشد ذاتك وحدك وتمضي الى حيث تريد واما  
19a اذ شخت فتبسط يديك ويشدك اخر ويحملك<sup>142</sup> الى حيث لا تريد وهذا قاله مقررًا بابيه ميته يمجده الله

### 12.12.2.2. Collation of John 20: 19-23 (BL, Or. 3382 and MS Vatican, Sbath 1035)<sup>143</sup>

In the text below, BL, Or. 3382 has the sigla 1 and Vatican, Sbath 1035 has the sigla 15.

19 ولما كان عشية ذلك اليوم أحد السبت وكانت ابواب المكان الذي "كانت التلاميذه فيه"<sup>144</sup> مجتمعين مغلفة خوف من اليهود جاء يسوع فوقف في وسطهم وقال له<sup>145</sup> السلام لكم

132 4, 10, 11, 13 omit.

133 4 omits.

134 The text is from Samir, "La version", 527-8. I have only transcribed the text (the punctuations and apparatus are not included in the transcription).

135 14 اكلو

136 14 هألاء

137 14 غنمي

138 14 و

139 14 انت

140 14 شاب

141 14 omits.

142 14 وتحمل

143 This text is from Paul Sbath, *Bibliothèque de manuscrits Paul Sbath*, 3 vols, (Cairo: H. Friedrich et Co. 1928), 146-157. This manuscript is not included in the *ALAGM*. On this manuscript the catalogue gives the following description: "Transcrit en 1400 de l'ère copte (1683) très belle écriture, 604 pages divisées en colonnes, la page de 10 lignes, relie 7 x 5."

144 15 فيه التلاميذ

- 20 ولما قال هذا أراهه بديه وجنيه ففرح التلاميذ لما رأوا الرب  
 21 فقال لهم "ايضا يسوع"<sup>146</sup> السلام لكم كما أرسلني ابي "ارسلكم انا ايضا"<sup>147</sup>  
 22 ولما<sup>148</sup> قال هذا نفخ في وجوههم وقال لهم اقبلوا روح القدس  
 23 الذين تغفرون<sup>149</sup> لهم خطاياهم تغفر لهم<sup>150</sup> والذين تمسكوا<sup>151</sup> عليهم تمسك

## 12.13. Family M

### Matthew 7:15-20 (fol. 13r)

- 15 تجنبوا انبياء الكذب الذين يستشعرون لكم طرف وهم في ضمايرهم سباع مغيره  
 16 ويا فعالهم [تمتكون] الى ضمايرهم اي قدر احد ان يقطف من الشوك عنباً او من الحشيش تيناً  
 17 كذلك لا تأتي الشجره الطيبه الا بطعم طيب ولا الخبيثه الا بطعم خبيث  
 18 لانه لا تقدر الشجره الخبيثه ان تأتي بطعم طيب ولا الطيبه ان تأتي بطعم خبيث  
 19 فكل شجره لا تأتي بطعم طيب تقطع وفي النار تدفع  
 20 وبتعمها تعرفون حالها.

### Matthew 16:1-4 (fol. 27r)

- 1 فاقبل اليه الصدقون والكذوبون مجربين له فرغبوا اليه ان يظهر لهم ايه سماويه  
 2 فاجابهم وقال اذا رايتم الحُمرة مع المسى حتمتم بالصحو بالغد لاهمرار الجو مع الليل  
 3 واذا رايتم الحمرة بالغد حتمتم بالنو وتحكمون بامارات السماء وتعجزون عن امارات الدهور  
 4 يسئل النسل السوء ويسئل [القميق] ايه ولا يعطى من الايات الا ايه يونس النبي ثم خرج عنهم منطلقاً  
 Mark 6:14-20 (fol. 59v)

- 14 فبلغ هرودس خبره وكان يقول ما هذا غير يحي قام عن الموت ولذلك يُطلع العجايب  
 15 وكان غيره يقول بل هو الياس وبعضهم يقول بل هو نبي من الانبياء  
 16 فقال هرودس بل هو يحي الذي امرت بذبحه هو الذي حيي  
 17 وكان هرودس قد امر بحبس يحي لتزوجه اورظياظه امره اخيه قليس  
 18 وكان قد منعه يحي عمدا وقال له لا يحل لك نكاح امره اخيك  
 19 فكانت اورظياظه تحنل لقتله ولا تجد سبيلا اليه  
 20 لخوف هرودس منه ومعرفته بصلاحه وقصله وكان يسمع منه احيانا وينتمي الى رايه  
 Luke 8:9-15 (fol. 94r-v)

- 9 فكاشفوه التلاميذ عن تفسير هذا المثل  
 10 فقال لهم انتم اعطيتم معرفه ملك الله وغيركم انما تضرب لهم الامثال ليبصروا ولا يميزوا ويسمعوا  
 ولا يفهموا  
 11 وانما يشبه كلام الله بالذريعه  
 12 فالذي سقط منها في الطريق هو الذين يسمعون الوحي ويذهب الشيطان بذلك عن قلوبهم ليلا يؤمنوا  
 فيسلموا

145 15 omits.

146 15 omits.

147 انا ايضا ارسلكم 15

148 فلما 15

149 تتركون 15

150 تترك 15

151 تمسكها 15

- 13 واما الساقطة في المحجر فهم الذين يسمعون الوحي ويتقبلونه فارحين فاذا جربهم في دينهم امر ونزلت عليهم شدّه اسلموه  
 14 والساقطة منها في الشوك هم الذين يسمعون الوحي ويشغلهم عن انمامه خياطه امولاهم وتفقد ضياعهم واتباعهم شهواتهم يغمون الوصيه ولا ياتون بثمره  
 15 والساقطة في ارض طيبه هم الذين يسمعون بضمير صحيح ونيه مستقيمه فيقبلونه ويتمونه على الاحتمال

Luke 15:11-20 (fol. 99v-100r)

- 11 ثم قال رجل كان له ولدان  
 12 فقال الصغير لابيّه يابناه امر لي بسهمي الذي يصير لي فقسم بينهما المال  
 13 وبعد ايام يسيره جمع الصغير سمه وتغرب به الى بلاد بعيدة وجاور في انفاقه حتى فرغ بجميعه  
 14 وبعد فراغه منه اجرّب ذلك الموضع وجعل اهله وجعل يستعطي فيه  
 15 ثم لجأ الى رجل من ذلك الموضع فجعله حارزا للخنازير في احد منازل  
 16 وكان يتشوق الى اكل الخرايب التي كانت تعلق بها الخنازير لو مكن منها  
 17 فادار في نفسه وقال كم اجير يشبع عند والدي الخبز وانا اهلك هاهنا جوعا  
 18 ينبغي لي ان اذهب الى والدي واقول له يابناه اني قد اذنبت عند الله وعندك  
 19 حتى ما استوجب ان انتسب اليك فاجعلني احد خدمايك  
 20 فقام واقبل الى ابيه فبيناه منه على بعد بصره ابوه ورحمه ثم تلقاه وعانقه وقبله

## 12.14. Family N

The words in bold are explanatory expressions and are not found in the majority Greek manuscripts and ancient versions of the Gospels.

Matthew 16:1-4 (fol. 10v)

- 1 فتقدم اليه الفريسيين والزنادقة ليجربوه وسالوه ان يريهم ايه من السماء  
 2 فاجابهم وقال لهم اذا كان المساء **ونظرتم الى السماء وهي محمرة رايقه** قلتم هذه الليله صاحبها  
 3 **وكذلك اذا نظرتموها بالغداه** وهي ذات حمرة قائمه **مكده** قلتم هذا يوما شاتيا ايها المرائين انتم تحسنوا ان تحكموا على وجه السماء فاما على آيات هذا الزمان ما تقرزوا  
 4 الجيل السوفاسق ايه يلتمس وايه لا يعطا الا ايه يونان النبي ثم تركهم وذهب

Mark 6:14-20 (fol. 44v-45r)

- 14 ولما سمع هيرودس الملك باعمال ايسوع لان اسمه كان قد شاع **في [سياة] البلدان وذاع** فقال **لاصحابه لا شك الا ان يوحنا المعمدان قد قام من الموت فلذلك تجترح به هذه القوات والايات والمعجزات الصايرات**  
 15 قال اخرون لا ولكنه ايليا قال غيرهم لا بل هو كان كاحد الانبياء نبيا  
 16 فقال هيرودس ايضا هذا هو يوحنا الذي قطعت انا راسه قد قام من الموت **بلا شك ولا [امتري]**  
 17 وذاك ان هيرودس كان قد ارسل من قبض على يوحنا وقيدته وحبسها من اجل هيرودنيا ضا امراه فيلبس اخيه لانه اتخذه لها زوجة  
 18 وكان يوحنا يوبخه **وينها عن هذا الاسم المخالف الناموس** ويقول له ليس مطلق لك ان تنزوج امراه اخيك  
 19 لاجل هذا كانت هيرودياضا **حاقده على يوحنا مضطغته عليه وجداً وغضباً** تتواعدة وتوثر قتله وما كانت تتمكن من ذلك **ولا تصل اليه**  
 20 وذاك ان هيرودس الملك كان يوقر يوحنا ويثق به ويكرم موضعه ويطيع اوامره ويعمل بها بلذه ويشائنه لعلمه انه رجلا صديقا و[الله] قديسا

Mark 13:5-11 (fol. 59v-60r)

5 فقال لهم يسوع انظروا لا يطغىكم احد  
6 لان كثيرون سيأتون ويسمّون باسمي ويقول الواحد فالواحد منهم انا هو ولكنهم لا يعرفون  
7 ومتى ما سمعتم اخبار قتال وحروب فلا تزعجوا فان ذلك عتيق ان يكون لكنه ليس الانقضاء  
8 وستقوم امه الى امه وتتور مملكه على مملكه ويحدث زلازل في مواضع ما يصير مجاعات وهيج  
هذه [امارات] بدو المخاض  
9 فاما انتم فانظروا واهتموا بانفسكم لانهم سيسلمونكم الى المحافل وتضربوا في المجامع وتقاموا لدى  
الملوك والولاة من اجل الشهاده عليهم  
10 وقبل كل شيء يكرز باليساره في سائر الامم  
11 واذا اقتادوكم لكي يسلموكم فلا تهتموا بالجواب ولا تدرسوا القول وتعدوه للكلام لكن مهما تُلَقَّوه في  
تلك الساعه اياه قولوا ليس انتم المتكلمون القابلون وقتيذ بل الروح القدس هو الناطق فيكم  
Luke 8:9-15 (fol. 84v-85r)

9 فسابلون تلاميذه قائلين ما معنى هذا المثل  
10 فقال لهم لكم اعطى ان تعرفوا سراير ملكوت الله فاما الباقين فيامثال يخاطبون فهم يرون وما  
يبصرون ويسمعون وما يفهمون  
11 وهذا هو تفسير المثل اما الزارع فهو ابن البشر والزرع فهو اقوال الله  
12 وما وقع منه على الطريق هم الذين يسمعون ثم يجي الشيطان فينتزع القول من قلوبهم لكي لا  
يؤمنوا فيخلصوا  
13 واما الذي سقط على الارض الصخريه هم الذين اذا سمعوا القول قبلوه بفرح وليس فيهم اصل فهم  
حينما يسيرا يومنون وفي البلوى يرتابون ويجحدون  
14 والذي وقع بين الشوك هم الذين يسمعون القول الا انهم بتصرفهم في مهمات العالم وفي غناه ولذاته  
يخنقوه وما يتم ثمرهم  
15 والذي وقع في الارض الجيده هم الذين يسمعون القول بعقل مستقيم وقلب صالح سليم ويضبطوه  
حسنا وبصبرهم ياتون ثمرًا محمودًا

Luke 15:11-20 (fol. 101v-102r)

11 انسان ما كان له اثنان  
12 فقال الشاب منهما لابي اياه اعطني القسم الذي يخصني من نعمتك فوزع ماله بين ولديه واعطاه  
جزوه  
13 وبعد ايام قلائل جمع الابن الاصغر كل ما له ورحل ناقلًا الى بلد بعيد وبدد هناك وفره عايشًا على  
جهة الشطور والتفريط  
14 فلما استقرغ ما كان معه حدث في تلك البلده جوعا شديدا فاشتلمه العوز والعدم  
15 واضطره الامر الى انه ذهب وجا الى بعض قطان مدن تلك المدينه ودخل في خدمته  
16 فارسله ذاك الى ضيعته ليرعا الخنازير وكان يشتهي ان يملأ بطنه من الخروب الذي كانت  
الخنازير تاكله وما كان يصل الى مناه  
17 ثم انه عاد الى ذاته وفكر قايلا كم اجرا في بيت ابي يفضل الخبز عنهم وانا هنا اهلك جوعا  
18 لاقوم وامضين الى حضره ابي واقول له ابتاه قد اخطأت في السما وقدامك  
19 ولست اهلا ان ادعا لك ابنا اقبلني واجعلني كاحد اجراك  
20 ثم انه نهض وجا الى عند ابيه ولما حصل بالقرب منه تأمله ابوه عن بعد وعرفه ولده ففتحن عليه  
وبادر مسرعا اليه واعتنق منكبيه وقبل راسه وعينه

John 6:30-35 (fol. 131v-132r)

30 قالوا له ما هي الايه التي تصنع انت لنرى ونؤمن بك ما هو الذي تعمل  
31 ابونا اكلا المن في البريه حسب الفصل المكتوب القائل خبزا من السماء اعطاهم مأكلا

- 32 قال لهم ايسوع امين امين اقول لكم ليس موسى اعطاكم الخبز من السما لكن ابي يعطيكم الخبز الحقيقي من السماء
- 33 لان خبز الله هو الذي نزل من السماء ويمنح الحياه للعالم
- 34 وقالوا له يا رب فاعطنا هذا الخبز على الدائم وفي كل حين
- 35 قال لهم ايسوع انا هو خبز الحياه فالاتي الي لن بجوع ومن يؤمن بي لن يعطش ابدا
- John 18:19-27 (fol. 153v-154r)
- 19 وان ربيس الكهنه سابل لیسوع عن تلاميذه وعن تعليمه
- 20 قال له ايسوع انا نهرا جهارا كنت اخاطب الناس وكل حين كنت اعلم في المحافل وفي الهيكل بحيث كان اليهود يلتامون وما تكلمت شيا في السر بل ظاهرا
- 21 فلم تسابلني سابل الذين سمعوا اقوالي وهو يعزفوك بجميع ما قلت وخطبت
- 22 فعندما قال هذا القول لطمه على خده احد الشرط القيام كانوا هناك وقال له بهذا الجواب تخاطب ربيس الكهنه
- 23 اجابه ايسوع وقال ان كنت ببسما تكلمت فاشهد على بالمنكر وان كنت مستقيما نطقت واجبت فلم ضربتني
- 24 عند ذلك ارسله حنان مكيفا حسب ما كان الي عند صهره قيافا ربيس الكهنه
- 25 وفيما كان بطرس قائما عند النار يتسخن قال له الواقفين معه لا تكون وانت من تلاميذ ايسوع فجدد وقال ما انا منهم
- 26 فقال له واحد من عبيد ربيس الكهنه نسيا لذاك الذي قطع بطرس اذنه انا بعيني ابصرتك في البستان معه
- 27 فانكر بطرس ايضا وفي الحين صاح الديك

## 12.15. Family O

Matthew 7:15-19 (fol. 19r-v)

- 15 احذروا الانبياء الكذبة الذين يوافقكم بلباس الحملان وهو في الباطن ذياب خطفه
- 16 ولكن من ثمارهم تختبرونهم اهل يجنى<sup>1</sup> من قتاد عنب او يقطف من الحسك تبن
- 17 هكذا كل شجرة صالحه فانها تثمر ثمارا صالحه والشجرة الخبيثه فانها تثمر ثمارا خبيثه
- 18 لا يمكن الشجرة الصالحه ان تثمر ثمارا رديه ولا الشجرة الرديه ان تثمر ثمارا صالحه
- 19 فكل شجرة لا تثمر الان ثمارا صالحه فانها تجز وتلقي في النار فاذا من ثمارهم يعرفون

Matthew 16:1-4 (fol. 35r-v)

- 1 وجأ المعتزله والزنادقه لبيروه<sup>2</sup> ملتسمين ان يريهم ايه من السماء
- 2 اجابهم قايلا اذا حضر المساء زعمتم ان السماء ذات صحو لمشاهدتكم احمرارها
- 3 وفي الغد تزعمون ان يومنا ذو شتاء لمعاينتكم حمرة الجو باتقباض ايها المنافقون انتم عالمون بتميز وجه السماء واياه هذا الدهر لستم بعالمين
- 4 الجيل ذو الفسق والشرور يطلب ايه فلا يعطى الا ايه يونان النبي ثمت غادرهم ومضى

Mark 6:14-20 (fol. 72r-v)

- 14 وبلغ هيرودس الملك الانبيا عن يسوع لان اسمه كان قد ذاع فقال ان يوحنا الصابغ قد انبعث من بين الاموات فلذلك قد تظهر على يده المعجزات
- 15 واخرون قالوا بل هو ايليا واخرون بل هو نبي كيعض الانبيا

1 يجتنى 2

2 ليسبروه 2

16 اما هيرودس لما سمع ذلك قال ان يوحنا الذي كنت حازا راسه هو قد بعث من بين الاموات  
 17 ذلك بان هيرودس قد كان ارسل فقبض على يوحنا والقاء في السجن بسبب هيروديا امراه فيلبس  
 اخيه التي تحم<sup>3</sup> على تزوجها  
 18 فقال له يوحنا ليس يحل لك ان تاخذ امراه اخيك  
 19 اما هيروديا فكانت متوعدة له طالبيه قتلته ولم يمكنها اما هيرودس  
 20 فكان من يوحنا على خشبيه لعلمه انه [امر / ابر] صديق طاهر فكان يكلاه وكثيراً ما كان مستمعاً  
 قيله بالاصغا

Mark 13:5-11 (fol. 86r-v)

5 اجابهم يسوع قايلاً احذروا من ان يضلكم احد  
 6 فان كثيرين يوافون باسمي اذ يقولون اني انا هو المسيح ويضلون الاكثريين  
 7 واذا سمعتم بالحروب واخبارها لا تضطربوا فانه لمزمع ان يكون هذا كله ولكن لم يأت الانقضا  
 8 تقوم امه ضد امه ومملكه ضد مملكه وتكون الزلازل في كل موضع ويحدث الجوع وهذه اوايل  
 المخاض  
 9 انظروا فانهم سيسلمونكم الى المجامع والمحافل فتضربون وتشخصون بحضره الملوك والولاه بسببي  
 شهاده عليهم  
 10 وعلي سائر الامم وانه ليجب ان ينذر بالانجيل اولاً  
 11 فاذا احضرتكم واسلمتم فلا تهتموا بما تفوهون ولا بما تجيبون فانكم تلقنون في ذلك الان ما تتكلمون  
 وما انتم بالمتكلمين لكن روح القدس

Luke 8:9-15 (fol. 110r-v)

9 ثم ساله حواريوه قايلين ما هذا المثل  
 10 اجاب المخلص وقال لهم لكم وهب عرفان سر ملكوت الله فاما اوليك فبالامثال لانهم ذوو بصر ولا  
 يبصرون وذوو سمع ولا يسمعون فاقهين  
 11 هذا هو المثل الزرع هو كلام الله  
 12 والذي يزرع على ممر السابله هو اوليك الذين يسمعون الكلمه فياتي ابليس فينزع الكلمه من قلوبهم  
 لكي لا يؤمنوا فيكونوا ناجين  
 13 فاما المبذور على صخر فهم الذين يسمعون للكلمه فيقبلونها جذلين ولا بثبات<sup>4</sup> لها فيهم وهم انما  
 يؤمنون الى زمن التجربه واذا حدث اضطهاد من اجل الكلمه يشكون  
 14 فاما الذي يزرع بين الاشواك فهم الذين يسمعون الكلمه وبسبب الغنا وشهوات معيشتهم الذاهبين فيها  
 يخنقون الكلمه فلا ياتون بثمر  
 15 اما الذي يزرع في الارض الصالحه فهم الذين يسمعون الكلمه متفقهين فيحفظونها ويثمرون بالصبر  
 Luke 15:11-20 (fol. 127v-128r)

11 ثم قال لقد كان لاحد الرجال ابنان  
 12 فقال الاصغر منهما لابي يا ابتاه اعطني سهمي من مالك فقسم ما يملك بينهما  
 13 وبعد ايام قلائل جمع الابن الاصغر كل شي له وذهبن الي بلده شاسعه وبدرق جميع ماله ثم بعش  
 بدخ  
 14 وعند اتلافه كل ما له كان جوع عظيم في تلك البلده وحق به الفقر  
 15 فانقطع الى رجل من عظماء تلك البلده فبعث به الى حقله يرعى خنازير له  
 16 وكان يتطلب سد جوعته من الخروب التي كانت الجنازير تاكله فلا يعطى ذلك  
 17 فاخذ يفكر في نفسه قائلاً كم من مستاجر لابي يفضل عنه الخبز وانا هاهنا اتضور جوعاً

3 قح 2

4 ثبت 2

- 18 لكن انهض وامضي الى ابي واقول له يا ابتاه لقد اخطأت في السماء وبين يديك  
 19 ولست اهلاً ان ادعي لك ابناً ولكن هيني كاحد اجر اباك  
 20 فقام وجاء الى ابيه وفيما هو جاء نظره ابوه علي بعد فرحه واسرع اليه وضمه مقبلاً اياه  
 John 6:30-35 (fol. 155v-156r)  
 30 اجابوه قائلين ايه ايه انت فاعلها لنكون لها من الشاهدين ونومن بك ما الذي انت فاعله  
 31 ان اباونا اكلوا المن في البريه كما كتب انه منحهم خبزاً من السماء لياكلوا  
 32 قال لهم المخلص الحق حقاً اقول لكم ان ليس موسى هو الذي اعطاكم الخبز من السماء لكن ابي هو  
 الذي ينحلكم خبز الحق من السماء  
 33 لان خبز الله هو الذي نزل من السماء ويهب الحيوه للعالم  
 34 قالوا له يا مولانا اعطنا في كل وقت من هذا الخبز  
 35 فقال لهم المخلص انا هو خبز الحيوه ومن يقبل الي فلن يجوع ومن يومن بي فليس يظلم الى الابد  
 John 18:19-27 (fol. 176r-v)  
 19 واما كابر الاحبار اخذ يسايل المخلص عن تلاميذه وعن تعليمه  
 20 فاجابه المخلص قايلاً انا شافيت العالم ظاهراً وفي كل وقت كنت معلماً في الهيكل وفي المجامع  
 حيث تجتمع جماهير اليهود ولم اتكلم شيئاً خفيه  
 21 وما بالك عاكف على تسالي كن مسايلاً اوليك الذين سمعوا كلامي فهم يفقهون ما كنت قايله  
 22 وعندها لطم احد الشرط القيام المخلص وقال له اهكذا ترادد عظيم الكهنه  
 23 فاجابه المخلص قايلاً له ان كنت فهمت بردي فاشهد بالبردي وان كان جيداً فلم تضربني  
 24 وارسل حنان المخلص معتقلاً الى قيافا كابر الاحبار  
 25 والصفاء كان قايماً يصطلي فقبل له عسك انت ايضاً من تلاميذه فانكر وجعل يقول لست انا  
 26 قال له واحد من اعد عظيم الاحبار نسيب للذي كان الصفاء بتر اذنه اما قد رايتك انا معه في البستان  
 27 فجحد الصفاء ايضاً وفي ذلك الوقت سقع الديك

## 12.16. Manuscripts of Mixture Arabic Versions

### 12.16.1. Family p<sup>(1)</sup>

John 6:30-35 (fol. 4r)

- 30 قالوا له اي ايه تصنعها انت لنرا ونومن بك بما تعمل  
 31 ابانا قد اكلوا المن في البريه كما انه مكتوب طعام من السما اعطاهم لياكلوا  
 32 فقال لهم يسوع امين امين اقول لكم ليس موسى الذي اعطاكم الطعام من السما ولكن ابي الذي  
 اعطاكم الطعام الصادق من السما  
 33 [...] طعام الله بحق هو الذي نزل من السما ويعطى الحيا [...] للعالم  
 34 قالوا له ربنا اعطنا كل حين هذا الطعام [...] م]  
 35 قال لهم يسوع اني انا طعام الحيوه من ياتي [...] لا يجوع ومن يومن بي لا يظما للدهر  
 John 18:19-24 (fol. 9v)

- 19 فسال راس الكهنه يسوع عن تلاميذه وتعليمه  
 20 فقال له يسوع اما انا فعلاينه كلمت الناس وكل حين في الجماعات كنت اعلم في الهيكل حيث كانت  
 اليهود تجتمع وسراً لم اتكلم شي  
 21 فلم تسلني سل اوليك الذين سمعوا ماذا كلمتهم فهم يعلموا كل الذي قلت  
 22 فلما قال يسوع هذا اذا احد الخدام الذين كانوا قيام قد لكم يسوع على عارضه وقال له هكذا تراد  
 راس الكهنه

23 اجابه يسوع وقال له ان كنت ببس ما تكلمت<sup>1</sup> فلم ضربتني  
 24 فاما حنا فارسل يسوع ماسورا الى قيافا راس الكهنة فاما سمعان الصفا فكان قابما يصطلي فقال له  
 2 [....]

### 12.16.2. Family q: Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 36

Matthew 7:15-20 (Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 36 (fol. 12r))

15 احتفظوا من الانبيا الكذبه التي تاتيكم بلباس الخرفان وهم من داخل ذياب ضارية  
 16 من اثمارهم تعرفونهم لعلهم يلتقطون من الشوك عنباً او من الحسك تين  
 17 كذلك كل شجره طيبه اثمار طيبه تخرج وكل شجره سو اثمار سو تخرج  
 18 لا تستطيع شجره طيبه تخرج اثمار سو ولا شجره سو تخرج اثمار طيبه  
 19 كل شجره لا تخرج اثمارا طيبه تقطع وفي النار تطرح اذن من اثمارهم تعرفونهم.

Matthew 7:15-20 (Sinai, Ar. 70):

15 احتفظوا من الانبيا الكذابه [...] تاتيكم بلباس الخرفان وهم من داخل ذياب ضارية  
 16 من اثمارهم تعرفونهم هل يلقط من الشوك عنباً او من الحسك تيناً  
 17 كذلك كل شجره طيبه اثمارا طيبه تخرج وكل شجره سو اثمارا سو تخرج  
 18 لا تستطيع شجره طيبه تخرج اثمارا سو ولا شجره سو تخرج اثمارا طيبه  
 19 كل شجره لا تخرج اثمارا طيبه تقطع وتلقا في النار اذن من اثمارهم تعرفونهم.

Matthew 7:15-20 (Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 8 (family b)):

15 احتفظوا من الانبيا الكذبه التي تاتيكم بلباس الخراف وهم من داخل ذياب خاطفه  
 16 ومن اثمارهم تعرفونهم لعل يقطف من الشوك عنباً او من الحسك تيناً  
 17 كذلك كل شجره طيبه اثمارا طيبه تخرج وكل شجره سو اثمار سو تخرج  
 18 وشجره طيبه لا تستطيع تخرج اثمار سو ولا شجره سو تخرج اثمار طيبه  
 19 وكل شجره لا تخرج اثمار طيبه تقطع وتلقا في النار  
 20 اذن من اثمارهم تعرفونهم

Mark 6:14-20 (Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 36 (fol. 24r-v))

14 فسمع هروُدس لان اسمه قد صار علانيه فقال ان يحنا قد قام من بين الموتى منجل ذلك القوات  
 تعملن فيه  
 15 اخرين قالوا بانه الياس [...] الوابانه نبي مثل احد الانبيا  
 16 فسمع [...] فقال ان يحنا الذي قطعت [...] هو الذي قام من بين الموتى  
 17 ان هر [...] هو الذي ارسل فامسك يحنا وربطه [وطرحه] في السجن منجل هروذيا امراه اخيه  
 فيلبس  
 18 لان يحنا كان يقول لهروُدس ليس يحل لك ان تكون لك امره اخيك  
 19 وكانت هروذيا تتواعد وكانت تريد ان تقتله فلم تقدر  
 20 لان هروُدس كان يخشا يحنا لانه راه رجل صديق ومقدس فكان يحفظه كثير ويسمع منه ويعمل  
 وببشاشه كان يطيعه

Mark 6:14-20 (Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 8 (family b)):

14 وسمع هروُدس لان اسمه صار علانيه فقال ان يحنا قام من بين الموتى منجل ذلك القوات [يعملن] فيه  
 15 اخرين قالوا انه ايليا اخرين قالوا بانه نبي مثل احد الانبيا

1 The phrase فاشهد على الشر وان كنت نعماً تكلمت is written in the margin.

2 There is a lacuna in the manuscript. Folio 9v ends with John 18:24 and folio 10r starts on John 21:7b.



- 16 فسمع هرودس فقال ان يحنا الذي قطعتم راسه هو الذي قام من بين الموت  
 17 وان هرودس هو الذي ارسل فامسك يحنا فربطه وطرحه في السجن منجل هروديا مره اخيه فليبيس  
 18 لان يوحنا<sup>3</sup> كان يقول لهرودس انه ليس يحل لك ان يكن مره اخيك لك مره  
 19 فكانت هروديا تتوااعده وكانت تطلب ان تقتله فلم تقدر  
 20 لان هرودس كان يخشا يحنا لانه راه رجل صديق ومقدس وكان يحفظه كثير ويعمل وببشاشه كان  
 يطيعه ويسمع منه

Mark 13: 5-11 (Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 36 (fol. 39v-40r))

- 5 فيدا يسوع يقول لهم احتفظوا الا يطيعكم احد  
 6 فان كثيرا ياتون علي اسمي ويقولون اني انا المسيح وكثيرا يضلون  
 7 فاذا انتم سمعتم بالقتال وسمع الرجوف فلا تخافوا فان ذلك كايما ولكن لما يكون الانقضا  
 8 فانها ستقوم امه على امه وملكا على ملك وترجف الارض في مكان مكان ويكون جوع واستجاس  
 وهذا كله اول المخاض  
 9 ولكن احفظوا انتم انفسكم فانهم سيسلموكم الي الدانه والى جماعاتهم وتضربون وتقومون بين يدي  
 الملوك وذوي السلطان عني لشهاده عليهم  
 10 وفي كل الامم سيكرز ببشرى الانجيل  
 11 فاذا هم اخذوكم ليسلموكم فلا يهكم ماذا تتكلمون ولا تعدون لذلك كلاما ولكن ما أعطيتكم من الله في  
 تلك الساعه ذلك فتكلموا فانكم لستم انتم الذين تتكلمون ولكن روح القدس

Mark 13: 5-11 (Sinai, Ar. 75 (family c))

- 5 فيدا يسوع يقول لهم احتفظوا الا يطيعكم احد  
 6 فان كثيرا ياتون علي اسمي ويقولون اني انا المسيح وكثيرا يضلون  
 7 فاذا انتم سمعتم بالقتال وسمع الرجوف فلا تخافوا فان ذلك كايما ولكن لما يكون الانقضا  
 8 فانها ستقوم امه على امه وملكا على ملك وترجف الارض في مكان مكان ويكون جوع واستجاس  
 وهذا كله اول المخاض  
 9 ولكن احفظوا انتم انفسكم فانهم سيسلموكم الي الدانه والى جماعاتهم وتضربون وتقومون بين يدي  
 الملوك وذوي السلطان علي شهاده عليهم  
 10 وفي كل الامم سيكون بشرى الانجيل  
 11 فاذا اخذوكم ليسلموكم فلا يهكم ماذا تتكلمون ولا تعدون لذلك كلاما ولكن ما أعطيتكم من الله في تلك  
 الساعه ذلك فتكلموا فانكم لستم انتم الذين تتكلمون ولكن روح القدس

Luke 1: 15-34 (fol. 48v-49r)

The text below is collated against Sinai, Ar. 75 (c<sup>1</sup>).

- 15 [---] قدام الرب ولا يشرب خمرا ولا سكر ويمتلى روح القدس وهو في بطن امه  
 16 وكثير من بنى اسرائيل يرد الى الله ربه  
 17 وهو يسلك بين يديه بروح وقوه ايلياس ليرد قلوب الابا على البنين واولايك<sup>4</sup> الذين لا يطيعون الى  
 عقل الابرار وبعد للرب امه مصطنعه  
 18 فقال زكريا للملاك كيف وعلى ماذا اعرف هذا وانا شيخ كبير وخلياتي قد خلت ايامها  
 19 فاجابه الملاك وقال له انا جبريل الذي اقف قدام الله بعثت ان اكلمك واخبرك بهذا  
 20 فانت من الان صامتا لا تستطيع الكلام الى ذلك اليوم الذي يكون فيه هادا لانك لم تصدق كلامي  
 الذي سيكمل<sup>5</sup> في وقته<sup>6</sup>

3 The word has *يو* and is cut in the middle and *حنا* is written on a new line.

4 *c<sup>1</sup>* has *اوليك*

5 *c<sup>1</sup>* has *سيتم*

- 21 وكان الشعب واقفا ينتظرون زكريا ويعجبون من احتباسه<sup>7</sup> في الهيكل  
 22 فخرج زكريا وهو لا يستطيع ان يكلمهم فعلموا انه قد ري<sup>8</sup> رويما في الهيكل فجعل يشير اليهم رمزا  
 وليث اخرسا  
 23 فلما ان تمت ايام خدمته ذهب الى بيته  
 24 فبعد تلك الايام حبلت الاسبع خليلته<sup>9</sup> فكتمت نفسها خمسة اشهر وكانت تقول  
 25 كذلك فعل بي ربي في هذه الايام التي اطلعني لينزع عني العار من بين الناس  
 26 وفي الشهر السادس ارسل جبريل الملاك من عند الله الى مدينه الجليل التي تسما ناصره  
 27 الى عذرا مخطوبه لرجل يدعا يوسف من آل<sup>10</sup> داود واسم العذرا مريم  
 28 فلما دخل اليها الملاك قال لها السلام<sup>11</sup> لك يا ممثليه النعمه الرب معك مباركه انتي<sup>12</sup> في النسا  
 29 وانها قلقت لكلمته فجعلت تهم في نفسها وتقول على ما هذا السلام  
 30 فقال لها الملاك لا تخافي يا مريم لانك قد وجدت نعمه قدام<sup>13</sup> الله  
 31 وانك تحلين حبلا وتلدن ابنا فتدعين اسمه يسوع  
 32 هذا يكون عظيما وابن العلي يدعا ويعطيه الله الرب كرسي داود ابيه  
 33 ويملك على بيت يعقوب للدهر ولملكه لا يكن<sup>14</sup> فنا  
 34 فقالت مريم للملاك كيف يكون لي هذا ولم اعرف بشرا اجاب الملاك

### 12.16.3. Family R: Leipzig 1075

The test passages of family *r* are examined and compared with other texts in the body of this work. See §8.1.3.

### 12.16.4. Family S

#### 12.16.4.1. Family S<sup>A</sup>: BnF, Ar. 57

#### Matthew 7:15-20 (fol. 28v-29r)

- 15 تحفظو من الانبياء الكذبة الذين ياتونكم في ملابس الخرفان وباطنهم ذياب خاطفة  
 16 من ثمارهم تعرفونهم هل يجتنى عنب من شوك او يجمع تين العوسج  
 17 كذلك كل شجرة صالحة تخرج ثمرة صالحة والشجرة الرديئة تخرج ثمرة رديئة  
 18 لن يمكن شجرة طيبة ان تصنع ثمرة خبيثة ولا شجرة جبيثة تصنع ثمرة طيبة  
 19 وكل شجرة لا تثمر صلاحا ستقطع وتلقى في النار  
 20 فمن ثمارهم اذن تعرفونهم

#### Matthew 16:1-4 (fol. 49v-50r)

- 1 فجا اليه الاحبار والزنادقة ممتحنين له وسالوه ان يريهم آية من السما

6 c<sup>1</sup> has حينه

7 c<sup>1</sup> has ما لبثه

8 c<sup>1</sup> has راي

9 c<sup>1</sup> omits it.

10 The Ms has simply ال

11 c<sup>1</sup> has السلام

12 c<sup>1</sup> has انت

13 c<sup>1</sup> has عند

14 c<sup>1</sup> has لا يكون

2 فاجاب وقال لهم اذا جالت العشيات تقولون ان السما مصحبة لاحمرارها  
3 وبالغدوات تقولون اليوم شتا لاحمرار السما بعبوس ايها المراوون اتعرفون تميز وجه السما وسلامه  
هذا الزمان لا تعرفونها  
4 ثم اجاب هو وقال لهم ان القبيلة الخبيثة الفاجره تطلب آية ولن تعطى آية الا آية يونان النبي ثم تركهم  
ومضى

Mark 6:14-20 (fol. 97r-v)

14 وسمع هيرودس الملك لان اسمه كان قد ظهر وقال يوحنا المعمد قام من الاموات ومن اجل القوات  
الذي تعمل به  
15 وقال اخرون انه ايليا واخرون قالوا انه نبي كواحد من الانبياء  
16 فلما سمع هيرودس قال انا قطعت راس يوحنا وهوذا قد قام من الاموات  
17 لان هيرودس كان ارسل واخذ يوحنا وحبسه من اجل هيروديا امراة اخيه فيلبس لانه كان قد تزوجها  
18 فقال له يوحنا ما يحل لك ان تاخذ امراة اخيك  
19 وكانت هيروديا حنفةً عليه تريد قتله ولم تقدر  
20 لان هيرودس كان يخاف من يوحنا لانه يعلم انه رجل صديق قديس ويحفظه ويسمع منه كثيراً

Mark 13: 5-11 (fol. 113v-114r)

5 فقال لهم يسوع انظروا لا يضلكم احد  
6 فان كثيرون ياتون باسمي قائلين انا هو المسيح ويضلون كثير  
7 فاذا سمعتم بالحروب واخبار الحروب فلا تضطربوا لا بد ان هذه كله يكون لكن لم يات الانقضاء  
8 تقوم امه على امة ومملكة على مملكة وتكون زلازل في كل مكان ويكون جوع كثير وهذه بداية  
المخاض  
9 انظروا انتم انهم يسلمونكم الي المجامع والمحافل فتضربون وتقامون امام الملوك والقواد من اجل  
شهادة عليهم  
10 وعلى كل الامم ينبغي اولاً ان يكرز بالانجيل  
11 فاذا قدموكم واسلموكم فلا تهتمون بما تقولون ولا بما تحبون فانكم تعطون في تلك الساعة الذي  
تتكلمون به ولستم المتكلمون لكن روح القدس المتكلم فيكم

Luke 8:9-15 (fol. 148r-v)

9 وبعد ذلك ساله تلاميذه وقالوا له ما هذه المثل  
10 فقال لهم لكم اعطى علم سراير ملكوت الله فاما الباقون فيامثال لكيما يبصروا فلا يبصروا ويسمعوا  
فلا يسمعو ولا يفهموا  
11 وهذه هو المثل الزرع هو كلام الله  
12 والذي علي الطريق هم الذين يسمعون الكلمة فياتي الشرير فينزعها من قلوبهم لكيلا يؤمنوا  
فيخلصوا  
13 واما الذي على الصفا فهم الذين يسمعون الكلمة ويقبلونها بفرح وليس لها فيهم اصل الى زمن  
التجربة وفي زمان التجربه يشكون  
14 والذي وقع في الشوك هم الذين يسمعون الكلمة ومن اجل هم الغني وشهوات هذه الدنيا الذاهبين فيها  
تخنقهم فلا ياتون بثمره  
15 واما الذي وقع في الارض الصالحة هم الذين يسمعون الكلمة بقلب جيد فيحفظونها بالصبر

Luke 15:11-20 (fol. 169r-v)

11 وقال كان انسان له ابنان  
12 فقال الاصغر منهما لابيه يا ابتاه اعطني نصيبي من مالك فقسم بينهما ماله  
13 وبعد ايام قلائل جمع الابن الاصغر كل شي له وسافر الى كورة بعيدة وبدد ماله هناك بعيش بذخ  
14 فلما نفذ كل شي له حدث جوع شديد في تلك الكورة فاقتقر

- 15 وانقطع الي رجل من عظماء تلك كورة فارسله الي حقله برعي خنازير  
 16 وكان يشتهي ان يملأ بطنه من الخرنوب الذي كانت الخنازير تاكله فلا يعطي ذلك  
 17 ففكر في نفسه وقال كم من اجراء ابي يفضل عنهم الخبز وانا هاهنا اهلك جو عا  
 18 اقوم وامضي الي ابي واقول له يا ابتاه اخطأت في السماء وقدامك  
 19 ولست مستحق ان ادعي لك ابنا لكن اجعلني كاحد اجرايك  
 20 فقام وجا الي ابيه فنظره من بعيد فتحنن عليه واسرع واعتنقه وقبله

John 6:30-35 (fol. 211r-v)

- 30 قالوا له اي ابيه تصنع لنراها ونومن بك ما الذي تصنع  
 31 اباؤنا اكلوا المن في البرية كما هو مكتوب انه اعطاهم خبزا من السما لياكلوا  
 32 قال لهم يسوع الحق الحق اقول لكم انه ليس موسى اعطاكم الخبز من السماء لكن ابي الذي يعطيكم  
 خبز الحق من السماء  
 33 لان خبز الله هو الذي نزل من السما ويهب الحياه للعالم  
 34 قالوا له يا سيد اعطنا في كل حين من هذا الخبز  
 35 فقال لهم يسوع انا هو خبز الحياه ومن يقبل الي لا يرجع والذي يومن بي لا يعطش الي الابد

John 18:19-27 (fol. 241r-v)

- 19 فاما عظيم الكهنه فسأل يسوع عن تلاميذه وعن تعليمه  
 20 فاجابه يسوع انا كلمت العالم علانيه وعلمت في كل وقت في الهيكل وفي المجامع حيث تجتمع كل  
 اليهود ولم اتكلم بشي في خفيه  
 21 ما بالك تسالني سل اولايك الذين سمعوا ما كلمتهم به فهو لاء هم يعرفون ما قلت انا  
 22 فلما قال يسوع هذا كان واحد من الشرط قابما فطم يسوع على خذه وقال له هكذا تجاوب عظيم  
 الكهنه  
 23 اجابه يسوع ان كنت تكلمت بالردي فاشهد بالردي وان كان جيدا فلم تضربني  
 24 وحنان ارسل يسوع موثقا الي قيافا عظيم الكهنه  
 25 و كان سمعان الصفا واقفا يصطلي فقالوا له لعلك انت من تلاميذه فانكر وقال لست انا  
 26 قال له واحد من عبيد عظيم الكهنه قريب الذي كان سمعان قطع اذنه اليس انا رايتك معه في البستان  
 27 فانكر بطرس وفي ذلك الوقت صاح الديك

#### 12.16.4.2. Family S<sup>B</sup>: Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ms.

Or. 14

Matthew 7:15-20 (fol. 9v)

- 15 احذروا من الانبياء الكذبة الذين ياتونكم بلباس الحملان وداخلهم ذياب خطفه  
 16 ومن ثمارهم فاعرفوهم هل تجمع من الشوك عنب او من الغوش تين  
 17 هكذا كل شجرة صالحة تخرج ثمرة جيدة ولشجرة شريره (sic)  
 18 ولا شجرة رديه تخرج ثمرة جيدة  
 19 وكل شجرة لا تثمر ثمرة جيدة تقطع وتلقي في النار  
 20 فمن ثمارهم اذن تعرفونهم

Matthew 16:1-4 (fol. 20v)

- 1 فجا الاحبار والزنادقه ممتحنين له وسالوه ان يريدهم (sic) ان اية من السما  
 2 فاجب (sic) هو وقال لهم اذا جاءت العشيات تقوون ان السما مصحبة لاحمرارها  
 3 وبالغدوات تقولون اليوم شتا لاحمرار السما بعبوس ايها المراءون اتعرفون وجه السما وايه هذا الزمان  
 لا تعرفونها

4 ثم اجاب هو وقال لهم ان القبيله الخبيثه الفا15 تطلب اية ولن تعطى [لها] ايه لا ية (sic) يونان النبي  
ثم تركهم [جره] ومضي

### 12.16.5. Family T

Family *t*, which only survived in Sinai, Ar. 102, is dependent on a number of Arabic versions, mainly families *a*, *j* and *k*. In order to better perceive this relationship in the test passages below I have assigned the colors violet, red, blue, green and pink to families *a*, *j*<sup>A</sup>, *j*<sup>B</sup>, *j*<sup>C</sup> and *k* respectively.

Matthew 7:15-20 (fol. 14r-v)

- 15 تحزروا من الانبيا الكذبه الذين ياتونكم بلباس الخراف وهم من داخل ذياب خطفه
- 16 من ثمارهم تعرفونهم العلكم تجمعون من الشوك عنبا أم من الحسك تينا
- 17 هكذا كل شجرة طيبه تصنع ثمره جيده والشجرة الرديه تصنع ثمره شريره
- 18 لا يمكن شجرة صالحه ان تصنع ثمره شريره ولا يمكن شجرة رديه ان تصنع ثمره جيده
- 19 كل شجرة لا تصنع ثمره جيده تقطع وتلقى في النار
- 20 فاذا من ثمارهم تعرفونهم.

Matthew 16:1-4 (fol. 33r)

- 1 ودنا الفريسيين والزنادقه ليجربوه ويسلونه ان يريهم ايه من السما
- 2 فاجاب وقال لهم اذا كان المسما قلتم صحو هو لان السماء محمره بعبوسه
- 3 يامرائين تعرفوا تميزون وجد السماء وايات الازمنه لا تستطيعوا
- 4 الجيل خبيث وفاجر يبتغي ايه ولا يعطى ايه الا ايه يونان النبي وتركهم وانصرف.

Mark 6:14-20 (fol. 75r-v)

- 14 وسمع هيرودس الملك بسماع يسوع لان اسمه صار ظاهرا فقال ان يوحنا المعمد قام من الاموات ولاجل هذا القوات تعمل به
- 15 اخرون قالوا ان ايلياس هو اخرين قالوا انه نبي كاحد الانبيا
- 16 ولما سمع هيرودس قال ان يوحنا الذي قطعنا انا راسه هوذا هو قام من الاموات
- 17 لان هيرودس ارسل امسك يوحنا واوثقه في الحبس من اجل هيروديا امراه فيليس اخيه لانه تزوج بها
- 18 لان يوحنا قال لهيرودس انه لا يحل لك ان تاخذ امراه اخيك
- 19 فاما هيروديا فحنقت عليه واراده تقتله فلم تستطيع
- 20 لان هيرودس كان يخاف يوحنا ويعلم انه رجل صديق وقديس ويحفظه ويسمع منه كثيرا ويلذ له ما يسمع منه

Mark 13: 5-11 (fol. 92r-v)

- 5 فاجابهم يسوع وبدا قايلنا انظروا الا يظلمكم احد
- 6 فان كثيرين ياتون على اسمي قايلين انا هو ولكثيرين يطغون
- 7 فاذا سمعتم بحروب واخبار حروب لا تقلقوا لانه لا بد ان يكون ولكن ليس هو الانقضا
- 8 لان تقوم امه على امه ومملكه على مملكه وتكون زلازل في اماكن وسوف يكون جوع واضطراب وهذه بدايه المخاض

9 فانظروا لنفوسكم لانهم سيسلمونكم الى المحافل وفي المجامع يجلدونكم وتقامون بحضره الولاه والملوك من اجلي للشهاده عليهم  
10 وينبغي ان ينادى بالانجيل في كل الامم اولا  
11 فاذا قدموكم يسلمونكم فلا تهتموا بماذا تقولون ولا بماذا تتلون لانكم ستعطون في تلك الساعه ما تتكلمون لانكم لستم المتكلمين بل روح القدس

Luke 8:9-15 (fol. 122r-v)

9 فساله تلاميذه قايلين ما هذا المثل  
10 فقال لهم لكم اعطي علم سراير ملكوت الله والباقيون بامثال ليبصروا ولا ينظرون ويسمعون ولا يفهمون  
11 وهذا هو المثل الزرع هو كلام الله  
12 والذي على قارعه الطريق فهم الذين يسمعون ثم ياتي المحال فينزع الكلام من قلوبهم ليلا يومنوا فيخلصوا  
13 فاما الذي على الصخر فهم الذين اذا سمعوا الكلام يقبلونه بفرح وليس له فيهم اصل وانما يومنون الى زمين وفي اوان الامتحان يتعدون  
14 واما الذي سقط في الشوك فهم هولاي الذين يسمعون ولاجل الاهتمام والغنا ولذات العالم يختنقون ولا ياتون بثمره  
15 واما الذي في الارض الجيده فهم الذين بقلب صالح حسن يسمعون الكلمه ويقبلونها فيثمرن بالصبر  
Luke 15:11-20 (fol. 142v-143r)

11 قال انسان كان له ابنان  
12 فقال اصغرهما لاييه يا ابتاه اعطني الذي جعلته نصيبني من مالك فقسّم النعمه بينهما  
13 وبعد ايام قلايل جمع الابن الشاب كل شي وسافر الى كوره بعيدة هناك بدد ماله اذ عاش يعيش البذخ مفرطا  
14 منفقا كل شي له فصار جوع شديد في تلك المدينه وبدى هو ان يعتاز  
15 فمضى والتصق بمدني واحد من تلك الكوره فارسله الى حقله ليرعى خنازير  
16 وكان يشتهي ان يملأ بطنه من الخرنوب الذي كانت الخنازير تاكله فلم يقدر  
17 فعاد الى كيانه وقال كم من اجرا ابي يفضلون الخبز وانا هاهنا اهلك جوعا  
18 اقوم امضي الى ابي واقول له يا ابتاه اخطأت في السما وامامك  
19 ولست ايضا مستحقا ان ادعا ابنك اجعلني كاحد اجرايك  
20 وقام وجا الى ابيه وايضا اذ هو بعيد نظره ابوه فتحنن عليه واسرع انكب على عنقه وقبله  
John 6:30-35 (fol. 179r)

30 قالوا له اي ايه تصنع انت لنراها ونومن بك ماذا تعمل  
31 اباونا اكلوا المن في البريه كما هو مكتوب انه خبز السما اعطاهم لياكلوا  
32 قال لهم يسوع الحق الحق اقول لكم ليس موسى اعطاكم الخبز من السما لكن ابي الذي اعطاكم خبز الحق من السما

33 لان خبز الله انما هو الذي نزل من السما ويعطي الحياه للعالم  
34 قالوا له يا رب اعطنا كل حين هذا الخبز  
35 قال لهم يسوع انا هو خبز الحياه من ياتي الي لا يجوع ومن يومن بي لا يعطش الى الدهر  
John 18:19-27 (fol. 208r-v)

19 وان راس الكهنه سال يسوع عن تلاميذه وعن تعاليمه  
20 اجاب يسوع انا كلمت العالم علانيه وانا في كل حين كنت اعلم في الجماعه وفي الهيكل حيث كان اليهود ياتون كل وقت في خفيه  
21 لم تساني سل الذين سمعوا ماذا كلمتهم فهو لاي هم يعرفون ما قلت انا

- 22 فلما قال كان واحد من الخدام قايم فلطم يسوع وقال اهكذا تجاوب راس الكهنة
- 23 اجابه يسوع ان كنت تكلمت شرا فاشهد علي باشر وان كنت تكلمت نعماً فلم تضربني
- 24 فارسله حنان موثوقا الى قيافا راس الكهنة
- 25 وكان سمعان بطرس قايم يتسخن فقالوا له لعلك انت من تلاميذه انت فجدد ذاك وقال لست انا
- 26 فقال له واحد من عبيد ربيس الكهنة كان قريب الذي قطع بطرس اذنه اليس انا اريتك في البستان معه
- 27 فجدد بطرس ايضا وللوقت صاح الديك

## 13. Appendix Two: Textual Evidence (1)

### 13.1. Family A

#### 13.1.1. Family a Compared with Unit-Variations as Found in Luke's *Text und Textwert*

1. Lk 2: 14 NPK<sup>1</sup>

وفي الناس المسره

2. Lk 2: 15

فكان لما ذهب عنهم الملائكه الى السما قالت الرعاه بعضهم لبعض 2 / 3

2. οι ποιμνες 01C1 03 032 038 040 1 22 372 565 700 1071 1192T 1210T

1278\* 1582\* 1590C 2193\* 2397 2737

3. ποιμνες 01\*

3. Lk 2:33

و كان يوسف وامه 1

033 038 13 22 56C 69 71 79 114 118 124 152 184 205 209 213 etc. (BYZ

1576 MSS)

4. Lk 4:4

+ لكن بكل كلمه [...] على فم الله 4

10 27C 64 67 71 76 85 86 106 118 121 157 185 188 209 213 282 331 393 401

etc. (120 MSS)

5. Lk 4:44

في مجامع الجليل 1

02 09 033 038 041 0211 33 79 85 114 152 176 179 184 213 22 233 251 313

343 348 370 372 382 413L etc (BYZ 1537 MSS).

6. Lk 5:17

وقوه الرب كانت بروهم 1

02 04 05 022 033 038 041 044 0211 1 13 22 33 69 71 79 85 114 118 124 etc.

(BYZ 1622 MSS)

7. Lk 5:38

وا كليهما يحفظان 1

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1 It stands for "not possible to know".



02 04 09 027 033 038 041 044 0211 22 69 71 79 85 114 118 124 152 179 184  
213 222 233 etc (BYZ 1602 MSS)

8. Lk 6:1

1 وكان في سبت الآخر

02 04 05 033 038 041 044 2C 29C 69C 71 79 85 114 124L 131 152 176 179  
184 213 222 etc. (BYZ 1514 MSS)

9. Lk 6: 26 (1) NPK

10. 6: 26 (2)

الناس كلهم 3

3: οι άνθρωποι παντες 01 51 290 1633

11. Lk 6:38

2 / 3 وبالكيل الذي

01 03 05 019 032 040 1 33 118 131 205 209 892 946 1241 1342 1441 1582  
2193

And also:

033 5 15 16 24 32 36 40 43 53 etc.. (95 MSS).

12. Lk 7:11

1 تلاميذه له معه كثير وجماعه كثيره

αυτου ικανοι 02 04 027 033 038 041 044 0211 13 22 33 69 71 114 124 152  
176 179 184 213 222 233 etc. (BYZ 1623)

13. Lk 8: 27 NTS<sup>2</sup>

كثيره

14. Lk 8: 52

1 لم تموت الجاريه

ουκ 02 027 041 22 79 114 176 179 222 313 362 370 372 379 416 etc. (BYZ  
1464)

15. Lk 9: 2 NPK (ασθενουντας – verb participle (sick); ασθενεις – ad-  
jective (sick))

16. Lk 9: 3 NPK (ανα δυο – δυο)

ولا ثوبين

17. Lk 9: 54

1 and 1F + مثل ما صنع يلباس

02 04 05 032 033 038 041 044 0211 1 22 33 69 79 114 118 124 131 152 165C  
166 176 etc BYZ 1608 and also: 44 71 165\* etc. (29 MSS)

18. Lk 9: 55

1 or 1ZA or 1ZH وزجرهم + وقال ليس تعلموا اي روح انتم

1. αυτοις και ειπεν ουκ οιδατε ολου πνευματος εστε υμεις 041 2C 29C 66T 71  
80L 114 125\* 131 222 226C 227C 264S 283\* etc. (BYZ 764)

1ZA. 1 7 11 22 53 60 75 118 125C 134 142 150 etc. (167 MSS)

2 It stands for “no textual support.”

1ZH. 030 036 038 039 4 13 48 49 67 69 73 78 106 115 124 126 127 132 etc.  
(186 MSS)

19. Lk 9: 56

+ ان بن الانسان لم ياتي ان يهلك انفس الناس ولاكن بخلص 1 or 1B

1. ο γαρ υιος του ανθρωπου ουκ ηλθεν ψυχας ανθρωπων απολεσαι αλλα σωσαι 041 2C 29C 35C 66T 71 80L 114 222 226C 227C 251 264S etc. (BYZ 882)

1B ο υιος του ανθρωπου ουκ ηλθεν ψυχας ανθρωπων απολεσαι αλλα σωσαι 038 039 1 4 7 11 13 16 22 35\* 53 60 69 74 89 (181 MSS) (and also Syriac Curetonian, Peshitta etc.)

20. Lk 10:21

7 and 7B وفي تلك الساعة فرح يسوع بروح القدس

7: ο ιησους εν τω πνευματι τω αγιω 019 033 33

7B: ο ιησους τω πνευματι τω αγιω 038 579 1071 and 04 017 041 1 63 113\* 114 145 178 200 265\* (48 MSS)

21. Lk 10:22

1 فانصرف الى تلاميذه وقال كل شي قد دفع الى من قبل ابي

και στραφεις προς τους μαθητας ειπεν παντα 02 04\* 022 033 038 044 0211 29\* 124 149C 157 166 176 179 183C 196C 233 251 265C 362 370 379 393S 416 etc. (BYZ 1287)

22. Lk 10:38

+ في بيتها 1

02 03C2 05 09 032 038 041 044 070 0211 1 13 22 69 71 79 114 118 124 131 152 154C 157 166 176 etc. (BYZ 1637 MSS)

23. Lk 11:14

3 وكان يسوع يخرج شيطان ابكم

Omit : και αυτο ην P45 P75 01 02\* 03 019 0211 1 22 33 118 131 157 205 209 382 660\* 788 892 1210 1241 1331 1582\* 1627 2193\* 2542

24. Lk 11:48

1 وانتم تبنون مقابرهم

οικοδομειτε αυτων τα μνημεια 02 04 032 033 038 041 044 0211 22 33 71 79 114 118 152 166 176 179 184 213 222 233 251 313 etc. (BYZ 1581)

25. Lk 12:14 NPK (Synonyms)

26. Lk 12:40

1 فكونوا انتم متهيبن فان بن الانسان ياتي في ساعه لا تظنوا

και υμεις ουν γινεσθε ετοιμοι οτι η ωρα ου δοκειτε ο υιος του ανθρωπου ερχεται. 02 011S 022 024 032 033 041 0211 13 22 33 69 71 79 114 124 152 166 176 179 184 213 222 233 (number 2 omits ουν)

27. Lk 12:56

1 فكيف لا تجربوا هذا الزمان

πως ου δοκιμαζετε P45 02 07C 033 041 044 1 2C 13 22 69 71 79 114 118 131  
152 157 166 184 205 209 233 251 343 349C 370 372 379 393S 416 472 475S  
etc. (BYZ 1566)

28. Lk 13:19

1 الى شجره عظيمه

εις δειδρον μεγα P45 02 09 022 032 033 038 041 044 0211 13 22 29C 33 69  
71 79 114 118 124 152 157 166 176 179 184 205 209 213 233 etc. (BYZ  
1520)

29. Lk 13:27

1 فيقول اقول لكم

1 λεγω υμιν P75\* 02 05 019 022 027 032 033 038 041 044 070 1 13 22 69 71  
114 118 124 131 152 157 166 176 179 184 209 213 233 etc. (BYZ 1558)

30. Lk 14:17

1 or 5 لان كل شيء مهيا

1. οτι ηδη ετοιμα εστιν παντα 02 022 024 032 033 041 044 0211 1 13 22 71  
79 114 118S 124 131 152 157 166 176 179 184 205 209 213 222 233 251 343  
346 348 etc. (BYZ 1611 MSS)

5. οτι ηδη παντα ετοιμα εστιν 05 723 827 949 1337 1446 1457 1506 1534  
1593 2766

31. Lk 15:16

1 وكان يشتهي يملأ بطنه من الخروب

γεμισαι της κοιλιας αυτου απο 02 07S 024 026 033 038 041 044 0211 22 71  
79 114 118 152 157 166 176 179 184 205 209 213 248 etc. (BYZ 1576)

32. Lk 15: 21

1/2 ولست باهل ان ادعا لك ابنا

P75 02 019 022 024 026 027 032 038 041 044 etc. (BYZ 1444)

33. Lk 16:14 NPK

فسمعوا الفريسيين هولاي كلهم

34. Lk 16:20

2 ومسكين واحد كان اسمه العازر كان مطروح عند بابه

πρωχος δε τις ονοματι λαζαρος εβελητο προς πυλωνα αυτου (omission of  
ος) P75 01 03 05 019 033 044 4 157 579 1029 1241 1604 1612 2290 2546

35. Lk 16:21

1 وكان يشتهي ان يشبع من الفتات الذي يسقط من مايده الغني

και επιθυμων χορτασθηναι απο των ψιχιων των πιπτοντων απο της τραπεζης  
01C2 02 09 022 024 032 033 038 041 044 0211 13 22 33 69 71 79C 114 124  
131 152 157 166 170S etc. (BYZ 1629 MSS)

36. Lk 17: 9

1 أمر به + ما اظن

τα διαταχθεντα ου δοκω 02 09 022 032 041 044 0135 0211 71 79 85 114 166  
170S 179 233 251 (BYZ 1491)

37. Lk 18:11 NPK but 1/2 are together προς εαυτον ταυτα προσηυχετο

يُصَلِّي فِي نَفْسِهِ 1 / 2

02 022 026 032 033 041 0211 13 22 69 71 114 118S 124 145S 152 157 166 170S 176 179 184 213 222 233 251 etc. (BYZ 1588)

38. Lk 18:24

فَلَمَّا رَأَى يَسُوعُ حَزِينَ قَالَ 1 / 2

1 / 2 αυτον ο ιησους περιλυπον γενομενον ειπεν 02 09 022 024 027 032 033 038 041 044 0211 22 69 71 79 114 118S 124 152 166 170S 176 184 213 222 233 251 etc. (BYZ 1583)

4 αυτον ο ιησους περιλυπον ειπεν 2523\*

39. Lk 19:15 NPK

40. Lk 19:25

فَقَالُوا لَهُ يَا رَبِّ مَعَهُ عَشْرَةٌ وَزَنَاتٌ 1 / 2

και ειπαν αυτω κυριε εχει δεκα μνας 01 02 03C2 09 019 022 027 038 041 044 0211 13 22 33 60C 71 79 114 118 124 131 145S 152 166 170S 176 184 205 209 213 222 233 251 etc. (BYZ 1570 MSS)

41. Lk 19:42

1N or less likely 3

اما [انت] لو علمت بهذا اليوم الذي لسلامتك

1N ει εγνων και συ και γε εν τη ημερα ταυτη τα προς ειρηνην σου 02 044 1 16 71 80\* 107 111 118 119 124 130 131 144 154 180 182 185 188C 191 193 205 209 217 265 281 316 etc. (155 MSS).

3. και συ εν τη ημερα ταυτη 05 038 2542 (but they don't add σου after ειρηνην – Cf. NA<sup>27</sup>).

42. Lk 20:27

فَتَقَدَّمُوا إِلَيْهِ أَنَسُ بْنُ صَدُوقِ بْنِ الْقَائِلِينَ لَيْسَ قِيَامُهُ 3

οι λεγοντες 01 03 04 05 019 022 038 0211 1 7 19C 22 33 60 67 118 131 149 165\* 176 205 209 213 233 267 286 297 331 372 401 etc. (86 MSS).

43. Lk 21:6

حَجَرٌ عَلَى حَجَرٍ 1 / 2

1 / 2 λιθος επι λιθω 02 026 038 041 0102 0211 61T 71 114 145S 152 166 184 233 251 343 348 etc. (BYZ 1069)

1 / 2C λιθος επι λιθον 028 032 044 045 4 17 18 21S 25 30 35 44 45 48 55 56 60 66 70 79 83 100 105 112 113 117 120 122 125 128 141 147 153 154 155 157 160 167 170S 187 189 199 201 204 212 218 222 226 237 etc. (528 MSS)

44. Lk 21:11

وَعَلَامَاتٌ عَظِيمَةٌ تَكُونُ مِنَ السَّمَاءِ 3E or 3 or 1

3E και σημεια μεγαλα εσται απ ουρανου 045 21 1691

3 και σημεια μεγαλα απ ουρανου εσται 01 019 033 64 115 121 122 132 164 185 278 etc. (89 MSS)

1 και σημεια απ ουρανου μεγαλα εσται 02C 031C 032 033 038 041 044 0102 0211 1 19C 22 71 114 118 131 152 157 165C 166 170S 179 184 205 209 213 222 251 etc. (BYZ 1357 MSS)

45. Lk 22:43-44

- 1 or 3 <sup>3</sup>واوري له ملاك.....ينصب على الارض<sup>3</sup>
1. ADD. VSS 43-44 01C2 01\* 05 09 019 026 033 044 1 13C 22 71 79 118 152 157 170S 179 184 205 209 213 222 233 etc. (BYZ 1558 MSS)
3. ADD. VSS 43-44 CUM ASTERISCIS VEL OBELIS 36 114 161 166 176 230 274 292 473 etc. (41 MSS)
46. Lk 22:68
- 1 وان انا سالتكم لم تجيبوني وتحلوني<sup>1</sup>
1. ADD μοι η απολυσητε 02 05 022 032 033 038 041 13 21S 69 71 79 114 124 152 166 170S 176 179 184 213 222. (BYZ 1548 MSS).
47. Lk 23:17
- 4 وكان لا بد له من ان يخلي لهم في كل عيد اسير واحد
- ADD. αναγκην δε ειχεν απολυειν αυτοις κατα εορτην ενα δεσμιον 51 66C 79 106 137 184 187 210C 217 218 229C 232 etc. (81 MSS).<sup>4</sup>
48. Lk 23:23
- 1 فقويت اصواتهم واصوات<sup>5</sup> روس الكهنه
- αυτων και των αρχιερεων 02 05C2 09 022 024 032 033 038 041 044 0211 1 13 21S 22 69 71 79 114 118 124 131 152 157 166 170S 176 179 184 205 209 etc. (BYZ 1625).
49. Lk 23:34
- 1 / 1K / 1R وان يسوع قال يا بته اغفر لهم هذه الخطيه لانهم لا يعلموا ما يصنعوا
1. ο δε ιησους ελεγεν πατηρ αφες αυτοις ου γαρ οιδασιν τι ποιουσιν 01C2 01\* 04 05C2 09 019 022 033 044 0211 1 13 22 29\* 30C 69 71 118 124 131 152 157 166 170S 176 179 184 205. (BYZ 1483) (But it omits هذه الخطيه).
- 1K. ο δε ιησους ειπεν πατηρ αφες αυτοις ου γαρ οιδασιν τι ποιουσιν 017 021 041 6 29C 68 113 114 133 158 175 220 etc. (92 MSS) (But it omits هذه الخطيه).
- 1R. ο δε ιησους ελεγεν αφες πατηρ αυτοις την αμαρτιαν ου γαρ οιδασιν τι ποιουσιν 1399 (it adds την αμαρτιαν but transposes πατηρ).
50. Lk 23:45
- 1 واظلمت الشمس
1. και εσκοτισθη ο ηλιος 02 04C3 026 027 032 033 038 041 044 0135 0211 1 13 69 79 114 118 124 131 152 157 166 170S 176 179 184 205 209 213 222 233 etc. (BYZ 1594).
51. Lk 24:19
- 1 / 1B / 1E / 1F / 3 الناصري

3 Before the expression واوري Sinai, Ar. 74 has the sign ✥ which could indicate that the following verse(s) is (are) controversial. However, this sign is not also found at the end of verse 44. Vatican, Borg. Ar. 95 has no signs.

4 The earliest Greek manuscript which adds δεσμιον is manuscript 51 of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. ܕܝܡܝܘܢ is found in the Syriac Sinaiticus and the Harklean version.

5 اصواتهم is omitted in Greek manuscripts. It is added in Arabic for clarification.

1. ναζω(ο)ραιου 02 05 022 024 032 033 038 041 044 0211 1 13 22 33 69 71 79 114 118 124 131 152 157 170S 176 179 184 205 209 213 222 233 etc. (BYZ 1620)

1B. ναζωρεου 063 1128 2454

1E. ναζιραιου 871

1F. ναζηραιου 1060\*

3. ναζαραίου 346 525 1367 2726

52. Lk 24:42

1 فاعطوه نصيب من حوت مشوي وشهد من العسل

μερος και απο μελισσιου κηριου 07C 022 044 0135 1 33 71 79 90C 118 131 152 170S 179 205 209 222 233 251 etc. (BYZ 1500)

53. Lk 24:47 (1)

1 التوبه ومغفره

1. μετανοιαν εις αφεσιν 02 04 05 09 022 032 033 038 041 044 0211 1 13 22 33 69 71 79 114 118 124 131 152 157 170S 176 184 205 209 213 222 233 251 etc. (BYZ 1605)

54. Lk 24:47 (2)

1 or 4 في كل الامم ميتدي من اورشليم

1. αρξαμενον P75 02 04C3 09 032 037\* 041 0211 1 13 22 66\* 69 71 79 107C 114 118 124 131 152 157 170S 176 184 205 209 222 233 251 etc. (BYZ 1530)

4. αρξαμενος 028 038 44 86 107\* 117 179 225 339 etc. (56 MSS)

### 13.1.2. Family a: Peshitta (or pre-Peshitta) Influence on the Gospel of Matthew?

	Arabic	Greek	Syriac Peshitta
Mt 2:2	ابن ملك اليهود المولود	Ποῦ ἐστὶν ὁ τεχθεὶς βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων	Sy <sup>s.c.p</sup> ܡܬܝ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܗܘܕܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ
Mt 2: 11	ذهب ومرو لوليان	χρυσὸν καὶ λίβανον καὶ σμύρναν	Sy <sup>s.c.p</sup> ܡܬܝ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܗܘܕܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ
Mt 5: 3	ملكوت السما	βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν	Sy <sup>s.c.p</sup> ܡܬܝ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܗܘܕܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ
Mt 5:8	طوبى للنفين قلوبهم	μακάριοι οἱ καθαροὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ	Sy <sup>s.c.p</sup> ܡܬܝ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܗܘܕܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ

	Arabic	Greek	Syriac Peshitta
Mt 5: 10 <sup>6</sup>	ملكوت السما	ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν	Sy <sup>s.c.p</sup> ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ
Mt 6:34	الساعة شدتها	Omit	Sy <sup>Pal</sup> ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ
Mt 12: 31	روح القدس	τοῦ πνεύματος	Sy <sup>c</sup> ܪܘܚܐ ܕܩܕܝܫܐ
Mt 17 :7	وقال لهم	εἶπεν	Sy <sup>c</sup> ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ
Mt 17:21	الا بصوم وصلاه	εἰ μὴ ἐν προσευχῇ καὶ νηστείᾳ	Sy <sup>p</sup> ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ
Mt 20:12	الذي قد احتملنا ثقل النهار وحره	τοῖς βαστάσασιν τὸ βάρος τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ τὸν καύσωνα	Sy <sup>p</sup> ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ
Mt 21: 27	اجابوا قائلين ما ندري	καὶ ἀποκριθέντες τῷ Ἰησοῦ εἶπαν Οὐκ οἶδαμεν.	Sy <sup>p</sup> ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ
Mt 21: 28	فجا الى الاول وقال له <sup>7</sup>	προσελθὼν τῷ πρώτῳ εἶπεν	Sy <sup>p</sup> ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ
Mt 22: 13	اربطوا يديه ورجليه واخرجوه	δήσαντες αὐτοῦ πόδας καὶ Χεῖρας ἐκβάλετε αὐτὸν	Sy <sup>p</sup> : ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ
Mt 28: 19	فأذهبوا الان	πορευθέντες οὖν	Sy <sup>p</sup> : ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ

## 13.2. Family B: Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 8 and 28: Its Contribution to Textual Criticism of the Gospel of Luke

### 13.2.1. A Selection of Textual Variants in the Gospel of Luke

1. Luke 1:9 τον ναον του κυριου] τον ναον του θεου (هيكل الله) *with* C\* D Ψ 0211 179 517 579 726 827 954 1071 1194 1338 1424 1542b 1604 1675 2542 2643 l1642 l1761 Sj (4 mss.) Dtp

2. Luke 1:13 Ελισαβετ γεννησει υιον σου] omit σοι (الاشبع ولد ابن) *with* D Δ 1 579 Dta (1 ms.)

6 However in verses 4:17 and 5:16, 48 the expression السماء is in plural and follows the Greek. Cf. 11:25 where the Greek has السماء in singular and the Peshitta in plural. The Arabic reading follows the Greek.

7 Ms 8 omits this reading.

3. Luke 1:27 ανδρι ω ονομα Ιωσηφ εξ οικου Δαυιδ] ανδρι ω ονομα Ιωσηφ εξ οικου και πατριας Δαυιδ (لرجل اسمه يوسف من بيت وقبيله داود) *with* S C L 0130 1 16 22 27<sup>c</sup> 28 71 131 158 349 443 517 577 700 954 1005 1192 1194 1195 1210 1242 1342 1365 1392 1424 1458 1582 1604 1630 1675 2372 2613 2757 l32 Gg (II. III) OS (1 ms.)
4. Luke 1:28 ευλογημενη συ εν γυναιξιν] omit *with* S B L W Ψ 1 131 565 579 700 1215 1241 1582 Sj (4 mss.) Cs Cb (mss.) Ar Gg (I)
5. Luke 1:50 εις γενεας γενεων] εις γενεαν και γενεαν (الى جيل وجيل) *with* S F M Ψ 028 1 5 6 13 27 28 60 69 71 118 124 131 157 179 205 209 213 343 346 348 399 472 477 (+41 MSS) l253 l547 l1016 Lvt (aur f ff<sup>2</sup> g<sup>1</sup> l q r<sup>1</sup>)
6. Luke 1:60 αλλα κληθησεται Ιωαννης] αλλα κληθησεται το ονομα αυτου Ιωαννης (لكن يدعا اسمه يوحنا) *with* C\* D 213 l211 Lvt (d) Sj (3 mss.) Cb (4 mss.) OS
7. Luke 2:5 συν Μαριαμ τη μεμνηστευμενη αυτω γυναικι] omit γυναικι (مع مريم هذه المخطوبه له) *with* S B C<sup>\*vid</sup> D L W Ξ 0177 1 22 131 565 700 1005 1192 1365 1582\* 2372 Lvt (e β d f r<sup>1</sup>) Sp Sj Dta Dtp Cs Cb Ar Gg Et (Bodl. 40, 41)
8. Luke 2:15 και οι ανθρωποι οι ποιμενες ειπον προς αλληλους] οι ποιμενες ελαλουν προς αλληλους (قالوا الرعاه لبعضهم لبعض) *with* S B L W Θ Ξ 1 22 372 565 700 1071 1192\* 1210 1582\* l253 Lvt (e a aur b β c f ff<sup>2</sup> g<sup>1</sup> gat l r<sup>1</sup>) Lvg Ss Sp Sj Dta Dtp Cs Cb Ar Gg Et (Bodl. 41)
9. Luke 2:40 και εκραταιουτο πνευματι] omit πνευματι (ويثقوا) *with* S B D L N W Lvt (e a b β c d ff<sup>2</sup> g<sup>1</sup> gat l r<sup>1</sup>) (Lvg Ss Cs Cb (mss.)) Ar Gg (1) OS (1 ms.)
10. Luke 2:43 και ουκ εγινω Ιωσηφ και η μητηρ αυτου] και ουκ εγνωσαν οι γονεις αυτου (ولم يعلموا ابويه) *with* S B D L W Θ 1 22 33 118 131 157 205 209 372 472 579 700 788 1005 1009 1210 1220 1241 1365 1582 2372 Lvt (e a aur β d gat) Lvg Ss Sj Sh (268.W) mg Cs Cb (mss.) Ar Gg(I) OS
11. Luke 2:51 και κατεβη μετ αυτων και ηλθεν] omit και ηλθεν (فنزل معهم) *with* C\* D 28 Lvt (d) Cs Cb Et



12. Luke 2:52 σοφια και ηλικια και χαριτι] ηλικια και σοφια και χαριτι (القائه والحكمه والنعمة) *with* D L 579 1012 2096 Lvt (e a aur b c d ff<sup>2</sup> l q r<sup>1</sup>) Ss Sc Sp Sj Dta Cb
13. Luke 3:23 ετων τριακοντα αρχομενος] omit αρχομενος (ثلاثين سنة) *with* 124 1351 Lvt (e f) Ss Sp Dta Dtp Cs Et
14. Luke 3:33 του Αμιναδαβ του Αραμ] του Αμιναδαβ του Αραμ του Αδμ του Αρνι (بن اميناداب بن ارام بن اذمين بن ارنى) *with* Θ 1604 Ar Gg (I) Sj (2 mss.)
15. Luke 4:3 ειπε τω λιθω τουτω ινα γενηται αρτος] ειπε ινα οι λιθοι ουτοι αρτοι γενωνται (فقول لهذه الحجاره ان تكون خبز) *with* D l150 l299 l950 Lvt (aur d r<sup>1</sup>)
16. Luke 4:5a Και αναγαγων αυτον] + παλιν (فأصعده ايضا) *with* Lvt (e c r<sup>1</sup>)
17. Luke 4:5b Και αναγαγων αυτον ο διαβολος] omit ο διαβολος (فأصعده) *with* S D W 1 5 131 700 788 1542<sup>c</sup> 1582 2542 Lvt (e d) Cs Cb (mss.) Ar Gg
18. Luke 4:8 Υπαγε οπισω μου Σατανα] omit *with* S B D W Ξ 1 22 33 118 131 205 209 372 579 700 788 892\* 903 1005 1210 1241 1365 1582\* 2372 2542 l854 Lvt (a aur c d f ff<sup>2</sup> g<sup>1</sup> gat) Lvg Ss Sp Cs Cb(mss.) Ar Gg Et (Par 32. Bodl. 40 PP) Go
19. Luke 4:15 εν ταις συναγωγαις αυτων] omit αυτων (في الجماعات) *with* D Lvt (a b d l)Cs (1 ms.)
20. Luke 4:16 κατα το ειωθος αυτω] omit αυτω (كالعاده) *with* D Lvt (a c d) Sp Cb (7mss.)
21. Luke 4:27a επι ελισσαιου] εν ημεραις ελισσαιου (في ايام الايشع) *with* Or Marcion ap Epiph, id. ad TE HI AM
22. Luke 4:27b ελισσαιου του προφητου εν τω Ισραηλ] omit εν τω Ιδ ραηλ (الايشع النبي) *with* 579.<sup>8</sup>

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8 And also Or Marcion ap Epiph AM (cf. the previous variant).

23. Luke 4:41 Σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ] omit ο Χριστὸς (انت بن الله) *with* P<sup>75vid</sup> S B C D F L R W X Ξ 33 213 579 700 788 1241 2542 1950 Lvt (e a aur b c d ff<sup>2</sup> g<sup>1</sup> gat l r<sup>1</sup>) Lvg Ss Cs Cb (mss.)
24. Luke 4:44 ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς τῆς Γαλιλαίας] ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς τῶν ἰουδαίων *with* W 713 / *or with* ἰουδαίας P<sup>75vid</sup> S B C L Q R 1 22 27 71 118 131 157 205 209 579 892 1005 1210 1241 1365 1458 1582 2372 2613 2643 l10 l12 l70 l80 l150 l184 l950 l1056 l1127 l1642 Ss Sh Cs Cb (mss.)
25. Luke 5:3 καὶ καθίσας ἐδίδασκεν] omit καθίσας (فكان يعلم) *with* Dta (3 mss.)
26. Luke 5:17b καὶ δυνάμεις κυρίου] καὶ δυνάμεις θεοῦ (وقوه الله) *with* 579 Sj Dtp Cb (3 mss.) Gg (I. II 2, 3. III)
27. Luke 5:20 εἶπεν αὐτῷ Ἄνθρωπε, ἀφεωνται] εἶπεν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἀφεῶνται (قال لذلك الانسان) *with* 1 118 131 205 209 1582 Lvt (a b c g<sup>1</sup> l q r<sup>1</sup>) Sh (267)
28. Luke 5:22a ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς] omit ἀποκριθεὶς (قال لهم) *with* C D l32 l1016 Lvt (a aur b c d ff<sup>2</sup> g<sup>1</sup> gat l r<sup>1</sup>) Cs (2 mss.) Et
29. Luke 5:22b Τὶ διαλογιζέσθε ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν] + ποιήρα (لماذا تتفكرون بالشر في قلوبكم) *with* D
30. Luke 5:26 καὶ ἐκστασις ἐλάβεν ἅπαντας καὶ ἐδοξάζον τὸν θεόν] omit *with* D M W X Ψ Ω\* 028 13 69 118 124 157 174 205 209 213 349 544 579 788 903 1194 1195 1200 1210 1216 1241 1443 l184 l211 l253 l524 1950 l1016 l1056 l1127 l1634 l1642 l1663 Lvt (e d)
31. Luke 5:30 καὶ ἐγὼ γυζόν οἱ γραμματεῖς αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι] omit αὐτῶν *with* S D F X 118 205 209 213 788 827 1071 1215 2643 l524 l950 l1627 Lvt (e d f ff<sup>2</sup> l) Sp Dta Dtp Cs Cb Et
32. Luke 5:37 ρηξεί ὁ νεὸς οἶνος τοὺς ἀσκούς] + τοὺς παλαιούς (فان الخمر الجديد يخرق الزقاق والباله) *with* D Lvt(d) Cb (6 mss.) Ar GAU
33. Luke 6:1 Εγένετο δὲ ἐν σαββάτῳ δευτεροπρωτῷ] omit δευτεροπρωτῷ (وكان... في يوم السبت) *with* P<sup>4</sup> P<sup>75vid</sup> S B L W 1 22 33 69\* 118 157 205 209 579 788 1005 1210 1241 1365 2372 2542 Lvt (b c l q r<sup>1</sup>) Sp Sh<sup>mg</sup> Sj Dtp Cs Cb

34. Luke 6:4 ως εισηλθεν εις τον οικον του θεου και τους αρτους της προθεσεως ελαβεν και εφαγεν] omit ελαβεν ( كيف دخل الى بيت الله فاكل خبز ) (التقدمه) *with* S D K W Π 047 1 6 13 16 69 118 124 131 157 174 205 209 265 346 489 543 544 565 579 700 726 788 826 827 828 903 983 1079 1200 1219 1223 1241 1313 1319 1352 1542 1582 2542 2757 l80 l150 l253 l1627 l1642 l1761 Lvt (d) Sj Ar Gg IR
35. Luke 6:8 τω ξηραν εχοντι την χειρα] omit *with* Lvt (e). However, at the end of this verse Lvt (e) adds εις το μεσον which is not found in the Arabic text.
36. Luke 6:9 ψυχην σωσαι η αποκτειναι] + οι δε εσιωπων ( تحيا نفس ام تهلك ) (فسكتوا) *with* D Λ 16 124 161 174 230 262 346 348 399<sup>c</sup> 443 477 489<sup>c</sup> 544 726 827 954 1187 1195 1200 1215 1216 1223 1242<sup>c</sup> 1319 1443 1510 1579 1630 2757 l547 Lvt (d) Cb (7 mss.) Et (Bodl. 41)
37. Luke 6:10a και περιβλεψαμενος παντας αυτους] + εν οργη ( فنظر الى كلهم ) (بغضب) *with* D X Θ Λ 1 16 22 118 131 161 205 209 213 229<sup>c</sup> 230 262 348 443 903 1005 1071 1187 1192 1195 1210 1216 1242\* 1365 1443 1579 1582 1604 2372 l547 Lvt (aur b c d ff<sup>2</sup> l q r<sup>1</sup>) Sh Sj Ar Et
38. Luke 6:10b Εκτεινον την χειρα σου ο δε επολησεν] Εκτεινον την χειρα σου ο δε εξετεινεν (ابسط يدك فيسط [يده]) *with* S D W X 0211 1 13 69 118 131 157 161<sup>c</sup> 205 209 213 346 517 543 788 826 828 903 983 1071 1424 1582 1604 1675 2096 2542 48 184 292 950 1056 1642 Lvt Lvg Sp Sh<sup>ms</sup> Cs Cb Ar Gg Go Et OS
39. Luke 6:11 αυτοι δε επλησθησαν ανοιας] then they were filled with fury and defectiveness and jealousy (ثم انهم امتلوا غضب ودغل وحسد). Greek reads ανοιας; Lvt (aur b f ff<sup>2</sup> g<sup>1</sup> l q r<sup>1</sup>) read *iniquitate(n)*; Lvt (e) *ira*; Dtp “treachery and jealousy”
40. Luke 6:17 και της παραλιου Τυρου] και της παραλιου και [απο] Τυρου (ومن ساحل البحر ومن صور) *with* Ss Sj. The following MSS add only και: 1220\* Lvt (g<sup>1</sup> gat l (lacuna in b)) Lvg (mss.) Gg (II)
41. Luke 6:20a Μακαριοι οι πτωχοι] + τω πνευματι (طوبى للمساكين بالروح) *with* S<sup>c</sup> Q X Θ 028 0211 1 13 16 27 33 69 71 115 118 124 131 161<sup>c</sup> 174 205 209 213 346 348 477 517 543 544 579 713 716 788 826 828 903 954 983 1005 1009 1071 1216 1458 1542 1579 1582 1604 1675 2372 2487 2542 2613 2643 2757 l10 l76 l211 l524 l547 l890 l950 l1016

- l1056 l1127 l1627 l1663* Lvt (a c f gat r<sup>1</sup>) Sj Cb (7mss.) Ar Gg Et (bodl. 41) Go OS
42. Luke 6:20b οτι υμετερα εστιν η βασιλεια του θεου] οτι υμετερα εστιν η βασιλεια του ουρανου/των ουρανων (فان لهم ملكوت السما) *with* Cs Cb (3 mss.) Et (Par 32, Bodl. 41) του ουρανου / *or with* X\* 69 118 157 179 205 209 265 489 517 544 903 954 1200 1219 1241 1342 1424 1654 1675 2487 2757 l10 l12 l70 l76 l211 l253 l299 l854 l890 l1016 l1056 l1127 l1579 l1627 l1634 l1663 Lvt (c f) Ss Sj Gg (II l)Go OS
43. Luke 6:25 οτι πεινησετε και κλαυσετε] *transp.* οτι κλαυσετε και πεινησετε (فانكم ساتبكون وتنوحون) *with* Lvt (d) Ss Sp Dta (1 ms.) Dtp
44. Luke 6:33 και γαρ οι αμαρτωλοι το αυτο ποιουσιν] omit γαρ (والخطاه ايضا هكذا يفعلون) *with* P<sup>75vid</sup> S B W Λ 157 700 892\* 1241 Lvt (r<sup>1</sup>) Sc Cs Cb Et
45. Luke 6:34 και γαρ αμαρτωλοι] omit γαρ (والخطاه) *with* P<sup>75</sup> S B L 157 700 (omit γαρ οι) / *or with* Ξ Ψ 579 892\* 1579 Cs Cb (omit γαρ)
46. Luke 6:42 η πως δυνασαι λεγειν τω αδελφω σου Αδελφε αφες] omit Αδελφε (او كيف تقدر ان تقول لاختك اتركني) *with* D 047 157 l950 Lvt (e a aur b c d ff<sup>2</sup> l q r<sup>1</sup>) Cb (3 mss.)
47. Luke 6:44 εκαστον γαρ δενδρον] omit γαρ (كل شجرة) *with* D Γ 16 205 209 230\* 348 443 700 1194 l211 Lvt (e a aur b c d ff<sup>2</sup> l q r<sup>1</sup>) Ss Cb (2 mss.) Et
48. Luke 6:45a εκ του ποιηρου θησαυρου της καρδιας αυτου προφερει το ποιηρον] omit θησαυρου της καρδιας αυτου (بيدي السيات) *with* P<sup>75</sup> S B D L W Ξ 1 131 579 700 892 1241 1582\* 2542 Lvt (a d ff<sup>2</sup> g<sup>1</sup> l) Lvg Ar AU (the Arabic omits also εκ του ποιηρου).
49. Luke 6:45b προφερει το ποιηρον] τα ποιηρα (بيدي السيات) *with* Lvt (aur b g<sup>1</sup> gat l q) Lvg (mss.) Dta
50. Luke 6:45c λαλει το στομα αυτου] omit αυτου (يتكلم الفم) *with* C 7 16 60 267 348 477 579 827 892 983 1009 1200 1216 1313 1338 1424 1579 1654\* 1675 1685 l10 l12 l48 l70 l150 l184 l211 l299 l950 l1127 l1579 l1642 Lvt (aur g<sup>1</sup> gat r<sup>1</sup>) Lvg Ss Sp Cs (2 mss.) Cb Gg

51. Luke 6:49 ο δε ακουσας] + των λογων μου (ومن يسمع كلامي) Lvt (c) Cb (1 ms.) Ar
52. Luke 7:1a Ἐπει δὲ ἐπλήρωσεν] ἐγένετο δε επει/ και ἐγένετο επει ( فكان (لما ان اكمل) *with* Lvt (a aur b c ff<sup>2</sup> l q) Sh
53. Luke 7:1b παντα τα ρηματα αυτου] omit αυτου (كل الكلام) *with* Lvt (a b c ff<sup>2</sup> l r<sup>1</sup>) Ss Sp Gg
54. Luke 7:6 λεγων αυτω] omit αυτω (وقال) *with* S\* Θ 579 700 2542 Lvt (aur b g<sup>1</sup> gat q) Lvg Cs Cb (1 ms.) Et
55. Luke 7:9a εθαυμασεν αυτον] omit αυτον *with* D R X Θ 66<sup>c</sup> 213 700 983 l253 l1663 Lvt (e a aur b c d f ff<sup>2</sup> g<sup>1</sup> gat l r<sup>1</sup>) Lvg Sp (1ms.) Ar Gg (II)
56. Luke 7:9b ειπεν· λεγω υμιν] ειπεν αμην λεγω υμιν (فقال امين اقول لكم) *with* D X Θ Ψ 13 69 124 346 472 543 788 826 828 903 1009 1604 l150 l1627 Lvt (e a aur c d f g<sup>1</sup> gat l) Lvg Sp (1ms.) Dta Cb (7 mss.) Ar
57. Luke 7:10 τον ασθηνουντα δουλον υγιανουντα] omit ασθηνουντα (الغلام (قد بري) *with* P<sup>75</sup> S B L W 1 131 157 205 209 579 700 716 892\* 1241 1342 1582 2542 Lvt (e a aur b ff<sup>2</sup> g<sup>1</sup> l q r<sup>1</sup>) Ss Sj Cs Cb Et
58. Luke 7:11 οι μαθηται αυτου ικανοι, και οχλος πολυς] omit ικανοι (تلاميذه وجماعه كثيره) *with* P<sup>75vid</sup> S B D F L W Ξ 157 579 1241 1342 1604 l547 l1663 Lvt (e a aur d f ff<sup>2</sup> gat l r<sup>1</sup>) Lvg Ss Sp Sj Dta Dtp Cs Cb Ar Gg Et OS AM (mss.)
59. Luke 7:24 Απελθοντων δε των αγγελων Ιωαννου] Απελθοντων δε των μαθητων Ιωαννου (فلما ان انصرفا تلميذي يحنا) *with* K M<sup>c</sup> X Π 0211 1 6 7 27<sup>c</sup> 60 131 205 209 213 265 267 346 489 565 713 726 827 903 1071 1079 1195 1200 1219 1223 1313 1424 1510 1582 1604 1654 1675 1685 2613 l10 l12 l48 l70 l211 l292 l299 l854 l890 l1056 l1627 Ss Sp Sh (txt) Dta Dtp Et OS
60. Luke 7:28a λεγω γαρ υμιν] αμην λεγω υμιν (امين اقول لكم) *with* S L X Ξ 157 579 892 1342 1604 2542 Sj Dta Ar Et (mss.)
61. Luke 7:28b λεγω γαρ υμιν] omit γαρ (امين اقول لكم) *with* P<sup>75vid</sup> S B L X Ξ Ψ 7 33 60 157 267 579 700 892 1241 1342 1604 1654 1685 2542 l10

*l12 l70 l184 l299 l890 l1056 l1127 l1627 Ss Sp Sj Dta Dtp Cs Cb Ar Gg (I. II) Et*

62. Luke 7:28c *προφητης* *Ιωαννου*] omit *προφητης* (يحنّا) *with* P<sup>75</sup> S B K L M W X Ξ Π 1 6 22 27\* 33 71 131 157 213 265 477 489 544 565 579 726 1005 1012 1079 1200 1210 1215 1219 1220 1223 1242\* 1313 1319 1365 1458 1510 1542<sup>c</sup> 1582 1604 2372 2643 *l890* Lvt (e a b c ff<sup>2</sup> l) Sj Dta Cs Cb
63. Luke 7:28d *Ιωαννου του βαπτιστου*] omit *του βαπτιστου* (يحنّا) *with* P<sup>75</sup> S B L W Ξ Ψ 1 22 131 157 579 700 1192 1210 1365 1582 2372 Ss Sp (3 mss.) Sj Cs Cb (mss.) Ar Gg (I. II)
64. Luke 7:28e *εν τη βασιλεια του θεου*] *εν τη βασιλεια του ουρανου/των ουρανων* (في ملكوت السما) *with* 544 1241 1342 1424 2487 2643 *l48 l211 l1056 l1761* Lvt (d) Dta Dtp Cb (mss.) Gg (I) Et (Bodl. 41)
65. Luke 7:33 *μητε αρτον* *εσθιων* *μητε οινον* *πινων*] omit *αρτον* (لا ياكل ولا يشرب الخمر) *with* D 1 13 22 69 131 543 700 788 826 828 983 1005 1192\* 1200 1210 1365 1582 2372 Lvt (e b c d ff<sup>2</sup> l q) Ss Sc Ar Gg (I. II) Et (Bodl. 40)
66. Luke 7:36 *ινα φαγη μετ αυτου*] + *αρτον* (لكيما ياكل معه خبز) *with* 60 1685 Dta Dtp
67. Luke 7:38 *και ταις θριξιν της κεφαλης* *αυτης* *εξεμασσειν*] omit *της κεφαλης* (وتمسحهن بشعرها) *with* Ψ Lvt (g<sup>1</sup>)
68. Luke 7:44 *και ταις θριξιν της κεφαλης* *αυτης* *εξεμαξεν*] omit *της κεφαλης* (ومسحتهم بشعرها) *with* S A B D K L P W X Θ Ξ Π Ψ 0211 1 16 22 118 131 157 179 205 (+42 MSS) *l32 l292 l854* Lvt Lvg Sp Sh (W) Sj Dta Cs Cb Ar Gg Et (mss.)
69. Luke 8:4 *ειπεν δια παραβολης*] *ειπεν δια παραβολων* (فقال لهم بامثال) *with* Ss Sc Sp (mss.) Dtp
70. Luke 8:9 *Επηρωτων δε αυτον οι μαθηται αυτου λεγοντες*] omit *λεγοντες* (فساله تلاميذه) *with* P<sup>75</sup> S B D L W Ξ 1 33 131 157 579 700 1241 1342 1424 1582 2542 Lvt (e a aur b c d ff<sup>2</sup> g<sup>1</sup> gat) Lvg Ss Sc Sp Dtp Cs Cb Gg

71. Luke 8:14a οὗτοι εἰσιν οἱ ἀκουσαντες] + τὸν λεγον (هم الذين يسمعون) (الكلمه) *with* 157 472 1009 1950 Lvt (a c f g<sup>1</sup> r<sup>1</sup>) Sc Sp Sj (1 ms.) Dtp Cs Cb Ar Gg
72. Luke 8:14b καὶ ἡδονων τοῦ βίου] καὶ ἡδονων τοῦ κοσμοῦ (وشهوات) (العالم) *with* Sp Sh Ar
73. Luke 8:19 οὐκ ἡδυναντο συντυχεῖν αὐτῷ] οὐκ ἡδυναντο συλλαλησαι αὐτῷ (فلم يقدروا ان يكلموه) *with* Lvt (a c) Sp Dtp
74. Luke 8:20 καὶ ἀπηγγελη αὐτῷ λεγοντων] καὶ ἀπηγγελη/ ἀπηγγελη δε αὐτῷ γαρ (فاخبروه بان) *with* S D L Θ Ξ 028 1 33 118 131 157 205 209 343 579 892 954 1241 1342 1582 1675 2487 Lvt (e a aur b c d f ff<sup>2</sup> g<sup>1</sup> l q) Go
75. Luke 8:23 καὶ συνεπληρουντο καὶ ἐκινδυνευον] καὶ ἐκινδυνευον (وكانوا في شدة) *with* Lvt (e). However, Lvt (e) omits εἰς τὴν λιμνην a reading found in the Arabic text. Cf. Luke 6:8 above.
76. Luke 8:24a ἐπιστατα ἐπιστατα, ἀπολλυμεθα] ἐπιστατα, ἀπολλυμεθα (يا معلم انا هالكين) *with* S<sup>c</sup> W X Y Γ 13 66<sup>c</sup> 131 157 213 229 348 349 372 475 489<sup>c</sup> 579 700<sup>c</sup> 716 827 1009 1010 1012 1216 1424 1542 1675 2542 2613 2766 170\* 180 1184 1211 1854 1859 1890 11056 11642 11761 Lvt (e a aur b c f ff<sup>2</sup> g<sup>1</sup> gat l r<sup>1</sup>) Lvg Cs (1 ms.) Cb (mss.) Gg (I. II) Et
77. Luke 8:24b καὶ ἐγενετο γαληνη] + μεγαλη (وكان هذا عظيما) *with* K Δ Θ Π Ψ 1 5 6 28 118 124 131 157 174 179 205 209 229<sup>c</sup> 265 343 348 472 477 489 544 565 716 726 827 903 954 1009 1012 1079 1200 1215 1216 1219 1223 1229 1242 1313 1319 1338 1351 1355 1424 1579 1582 1604 1630 1675 2096 2487 2542 2757 1950 11127 11642 Lvt (aur b f) Sh (sub ast.) Cs (1 ms.) Cb Et Gg
78. Luke 8:31 καὶ παρεκαλει αὐτον] καὶ παρεκαλουν αὐτον (فكانوا يطلبون اليه) *with* P<sup>75vid</sup> S B C F L Ω 028 1 13 28 33 69 118 124 131 157 205 209 343 346 372 543 577 579 713 716 788 826 827 828 892 903 954 983 1005 1012 1071 1195 1200 1220 1229 1241 1338 1342 1365 1424 1443 1582 1604 1675 1691 2372 2487 2542 2757 1253 Lvt Lvg Cs Cb (mss.)
79. Luke 8:32a ἦν δε ἐκεῖ ἀγέλη χοίρων ικανων] omit ικανων (وكان هنالك) (غانه خنازير) *with* D 158 174 579 1203 1542\* 170 1524 Lvt (c d r<sup>1</sup>) Cb (mss.)

80. Luke 8:32b ινα επιτρεψη αυτοις εις εκεινους εισελθειν] ινα εις τους χοιρους εισελθωσιν (لكيما يذهبون الى الخنازير) *with* D Lvt (c d)
81. Luke 8:38 απελυσεν δε αυτον ο Ιησους] omit ο Ιησους (فارسله) *with* P<sup>75vid</sup> S B D L 1 118 131 157 205 209 1241 1342 1579 1582 2542 Lvt (b c d ff<sup>2</sup> l) Cs Cb (mss.) Sj Ar Gg
82. Luke 8:44 του κρασπεδου του ιματιου αυτου] του ιματιου αυτου (ثيابه) *with* D Lvt (a d ff<sup>2</sup> l r<sup>1</sup>)
83. Luke 8:45a οι οχλοι συνεχουσιν σε και αποθλιβουσιν] omit και αποθλιβουσιν *with* 60 1071 Lvt (a b ff<sup>2</sup> g<sup>1</sup> l q r<sup>1</sup>)
84. Luke 8:45b και λεγεις, Τις ο αψαμενος μου] omit *with* P<sup>75vid</sup> S B L 1 22 131 157 205 209 1005 1241 1365 1582\* 2372 Sj (2 mss.) Cs Cb (mss.) Ar
85. Luke 8:48 ο δε ειπεν αυτη Θαρσει, θυγατερ] omit Θαρσει (قال لها يسوع يا بنت) *with* P<sup>75</sup> S B D L Ξ Ψ 1 118 131 157 205 209 579 1241 1342 1582 2643 l1627 Lvt (a aur b c d f ff<sup>2</sup> g<sup>1</sup> gat l r<sup>1</sup>) Lvg Ss Sc Sj Cs Cb Gg (I. II)
86. Luke 8:49 λεγων αυτω] omit αυτω (فقال) *with* P<sup>75vid</sup> S B L X Ξ 1 33 118 131 157 205 213 348 477 700 1216 1241 1579 1582 Sj Cs Cb
87. Luke 8:52a ουκ απεθανεν] ου γαρ απεθανεν (فان الجارية لم تمت) *with* S B C D F L W X Δ Θ Ψ 047 0211 1 13 16 33 69 71 118 124 131 157 174 205 209 213 343 346 348 543 579 716 788 826 828 892 903 954 983 1071 1194 1216 1220 1229 1241 1242 1338 1342 1424 1443 1579 1582 1604 1675 2487 2643 2757 l32 l299 l524 l547 l1579 l1627 l1634 l1642 Lvt (a aur c d f ff<sup>2</sup> g<sup>1</sup> gat l q r<sup>1</sup>) Lvg (mss.) Ss Sc Sp Sh (sub ast.) Sj Cs Sb Gg Go OS
88. Luke 8:52b ουκ απεθανεν] + το κορασιον (فان الجارية لم تمت) *with* F L M X Θ 1 13 22 27 33 66<sup>c</sup> 69 118 131 209 213 903 1005 1012 1071 1195 1210 1220 1241 1342 1365 1424 1582 1675 2096 2372 2613 l524 l547 Lvt (aur c g<sup>1</sup> r<sup>1</sup>) Lvg (mss.) Sc Sh (sub ast.) Sj Gg Et OS
89. Luke 9:1b εδωκεν αυτοις δυναμιν και εξουσιαν] εδωκεν αυτοις εξουσιαν (فاعطاهم سلطان) *with* 229 l184 l299



90. Luke 9:7 τα γινόμενα υπ αυτου] omit υπ αυτου (الذي يفعل) *with* P<sup>75</sup> S B L Ξ 13 69 157 543 788 826 828 983 1241 1342 2542 Lvt (e a b ff<sup>2</sup> l r<sup>1</sup>) Ss Sc Cs Sb Ar
91. Luke 9:10 εις τοπον ερημον πολεως καλουμενης Βηθσαιδαν] εις τοπον ερημον (الى مكان معتزل بري) *with* S\* 69 157 788 1241 Sc
92. Luke 9:22 απο των πρεσβυτερων και αρχιερων και γραμματεων] omit και γραμματεων (من المشيخه وريسا الكهنه) *with* 1 118 131 205 209 1582 l48 Et (Bodl. 41)
93. Luke 9:26a και του πατρος] + αυτου (ابيه) *with* D 544 903 l10 Lvt (d gat) Sc Sp Cs Cb Et
94. Luke 9:26b και των αγιων αγγελων] + αυτου (وملائكته المقدسين) *with* Sc Sp Cs Cb (mss.) Et
95. Luke 9:28 παραλαβων Πετρον και Ιωαννην και Ιακωβον] παραλαβων Πετρον και Ιακωβον και Ιωαννην (اخذ لبطرس ويعقوب ويحنا) *with* P<sup>45</sup> C<sup>c</sup> D L M X Ξ 5 27 33 71 157 213 348 477 892 903 1071 1194 1216 1220 1342 1458 1579 Lvt (d g<sup>1</sup> r<sup>1</sup>) Lvg (mss.) Ss Sc Sp Cs (3 mss.) Cb Ar Gg Et (mss.) Go OS
96. Luke 9:35 εστιν ο υιος μου ο αγαπητος] εστιν ο υιος μου ο εκλελεγμενος/εκλεκτος (هذا هو ابني المنتخب) *with* P<sup>45</sup> P<sup>75</sup> S B L Ξ 892 1241 1342/ or less likely *with* Θ 1 22\* 1005 1365 1582 2372 Lvt (a aur ff<sup>2</sup> gat l) Lvg (ms.) Ss Sh (mg.) Cs Cb Ar Et
97. Luke 9:48 και ος εαν εμε δεξεται δεχεται τον αποστειλαιντα με] και ος εαν εμε δεξεται ουκ εμε δεχεται αλλα τον αποστειλαιντα με (ومن قبلني (ليس لي يقبل ولكن الذي ارسلني) *with* Lvt (a b c ff<sup>2</sup> q)
98. Luke 9:57 Ακολουθησω σοι οπου αν απερχη Κυριε] omit Κυριε (الحقك (حيث ما انطلقت) *with* P<sup>45</sup> P<sup>75</sup> S B D L Ξ 1 118 131 157 205 209 1071 1342 1582 Lvt (e a aur b c d f g<sup>1</sup> gat l r<sup>1</sup>) Lvg Ss Sc Dtp Ar Gg OS
99. Luke 10:1 Μετα δε ταυτα ανεδειξεν ο κυριος] omit ο κυριος (ومن بعد (هذا اورا) *with* D 1424 1675 Lvt (e a c d) Ss Sc
100. Luke 10:14 πλην Τυρω και Σιδωνι ανεκτοτερον εσται εν τη κρισει η υμιν] omit εν τη κρισει (بل انه يكون راحه لصور وصيدا ولا لكن) *with* P<sup>45</sup> D 472 1009 1241 Lvt (e d l) Gg (I)

- 101.Luke 10:20 οτι τα ονοματα υμων εγραφη εν τοις ουρανοις] οτι τα ονοματα υμων εγραφη εν τω ουρανω (ان اسماكم مكتوبه في السم) *with* D Lvt (e a b c f ff<sup>2</sup> i l q r<sup>1</sup>) Lvg (mss.)
- 102.Luke 10:21 Εν αυτη τη ωρα ηγαλλιασατο τω πνευματι ο Ιησους] Εν αυτη τη ωρα ηγαλλιασατο τω πνευματι τω αγιω ο Ιησους (فتهلل الرب يسوع في تلك الساعه بروح القدس) *with* P<sup>75</sup> S B C D K Ξ Π 1 265\* 1079 1219 1241 1582 1604 l253 l524 l547 Lvt (a aur b c d ff<sup>2</sup> g<sup>1</sup> gat i l r<sup>1</sup>) Lvg Ss Sc Sp Sh Sj (2 mss.) Dta Dtp Cs Cb (mss.) Et
- 103.Luke 10:22a (or 10:21b) και στραφεις προς τους μαθητας ειπεν] omit *with* P<sup>45</sup> P<sup>75</sup> S B D L M Ξ Π 0124 1 13 22 27 33 66<sup>c</sup> 69 71 118 131 205 209 265\* 343 348 372 489\* 543 579 700 716 788 826 892 1079 1210 1216 1219 1241 1342 1424 1458 1579 1582 1675 2542 2613 Lvt (e a aur b d gat) Lvg Ss Sc Cs Cb (mss.) Ar Gg (I. III) Et OS (mss.)
- 104.Luke 10:23 ειπεν Μακαριοι οι οφθαλμοι οι βλεποντες α βλεπετε] + και τα ωτα τα ακουοντα α ακουετε (فقال طوبا للعيون التي تنظر ما ترون والاذان التي تسمع ما تسمعون) *with possibly* D Lvt (d) + και ακουοντες α ακουετε/ or (and!) possibly Lvt (e c f) και τα ωτα τα ακουοντα/ or possibly Gg (I. II) και τα ωτα τα ακουοντα α υμεις ακουετε/ or possibly Gg (III) και ακουοντα α υμεις ακουετε
- 105.Luke 10:32 ομοιως δε και Λευιτης γενομενος κατα τον τοπον ελθων] omit γενομενος (وكمثل ذلك ايضا ولوي جاز في ذلك الموضع) *with* P<sup>75</sup> B L X Ξ 0190 1 33 118 131 205 209 213 372 700 892 1012 1241 1342 1582 2096\* Dtp
- 106.Luke 10:34 επιχεων ελαιον και οινον] επιχεων οινον και ελαιον (ونضحهن بخمر وزيت) *with* 579 l1074 Lvt (r<sup>1</sup>) Sc Sp Dta Dtp Et
- 107.Luke 10:35 και επι την αυριον εξελθων, εκβαλων δυο δηναρια] omit εξελθων (فلما ان كان الغد اخرج دينارين اثنين) *with* P<sup>45</sup> P<sup>75</sup> S B D L X Ξ 0190 1 33 118 131 157 205 209 213 372 579 827 892 903 1012 1071 1241 1342 1424 1582 1675 2643 2766 l253 l547 Lvt (e a aur b c d f ff<sup>2</sup> g<sup>1</sup> gat i l r<sup>1</sup>) Lvg Ss Sc Sp Sj Dta Dtp Cb Et
- 108.Luke 10:38 Εγενετο δε Εν τω πορευεσθαι αυτους] Εγενετο δε Εν τω πορευεσθαι αυτον (وفيما هو منطلق) *with* D 1 118 131 157 205 209 713 726 903 1200 1582 Lvt (d gat) Sj (2 mss.) Cs (1 ms.)

109. Luke 10:42 ενος δε εστιν χρεια] ολιγων(ολιγος) δε εστιν χρεια  
(والحاجه فانها قليل) *with* Sj Ar Gg (I. II)
110. Luke 11:29 H γενα αυτη πονηρα εστιν] H γενα αυτη γενεα πονηρα  
εστιν (ان هذا الجيل فانه جيل سو) *with* P<sup>75</sup> S A B D L X Θ Ξ Ψ 0124 1 7 13  
22 33 60 69 118 124 131 157 205 209 267 346 399<sup>c</sup> 543 700 713 788  
826 892 983 1005 1071 1192 1210 1241 1342 1365 1443 1582 1654  
1685 2372 l12 l32 l70 l80 l150 l211 l292 l299 l854 l1056 l1127 l1579  
l1627 l1642 Lvt Lvg Sh (c. asterisco) Sj (1 ms.) Cs Cb Ar Gg Et  
(mss.)
111. Luke 11:37 ηρωτα αυτον Φαρισαιος τις] ηρωτα αυτον τις Φαρισαιος  
(ساله واحد من الاحبار) *with* D X Lvt (a aur d f ff<sup>2</sup> g<sup>1</sup> gat i r<sup>1</sup>) Lvg Gg
112. Luke 11:39a ειπεν δε ο κυριος προς αυτον] ειπεν δε ο ιησους προς  
αυτον (فقال له يسوع) *with* U 16 472 1071 l10 l1642 Lvt (e) Lvg (1 ms.)  
Ss Sp Dta Cb (1 ms.) Et (mss.) OS
113. Luke 11:44 ουαι υμιν γραμματεις και φαρισαιοι, υποκριται, οτι εστε  
ως τα μνημεια] omit γραμματεις και φαρισαιοι, υποκριται (الويل لكم الذي  
(انكم كالقبور) *with* P<sup>45</sup> P<sup>75</sup> S B C L 1 33 118 131 205 209 1241 1582 2542  
Lvt (e a aur c ff<sup>2</sup> g<sup>1</sup> gat l) Lvg Ss Sc Cs Cb Ar Gg (I. II)
114. Luke 11:53 λεγοντος δε αυτου ταυτα προς αυτους] + ενωπιον παντος  
του λαου καταισχυνοντο και (فحين قال لهم هذا تجاه كل الامه [فكانوا خازيين])  
*with* Θ Sh (mg) Ar. It might be of some significance to point out  
that MSS D 16 157 348 477 1216 1579 1604 Lvt (e a b c d f i l q r<sup>1</sup>)  
Ss Sc Et (mss.) add only ενωπιον παντος του λαου
115. Luke 12:11 μη μεριμνατε πως η τι απολογησηθε] omit η τι (لا تهتموا)  
(كيف تجاوبوهم) *with* D 157 l859 Lvt (e a b c d ff<sup>2</sup> i l q) Sc Sp Dta
116. Luke 12:16 Ειπεν δε παραβολην προς αυτους λεγων] omit λεγων (فقال  
(لهم مثل) *with* 1247 Ss Sc Sp Sj Dta Dtp
117. Luke 12:38 μακαριοι εισιν οι δουλοι εκεινοι] omit οι δουλοι (فطوبا  
(اولايك) *with* P<sup>75</sup> S<sup>ca</sup> B D L Lvt (e d) Ss Sc Dta (3 mss.) Cb (10 mss.)  
Gg
118. Luke 12:42a ειπεν δε ο κυριος] ειπεν δε ιησους (فقال يسوع) *with* 13 16  
69 348 472 477 543 788 826 983 1071 1216 1579 Lvt (b) Ss Sp Dta  
Dtp Gg (II. III)

119. Luke 12:42b ο πιστος οικονομος και φρονιμος] omit και φρονιμος (العبد الامين) *with* 21 348 2322 l1579 Ss Gg (I. II)
120. Luke 12:52 εσονται γαρ απο του νυν πεντε εν οικω ενι διαμεμερισμενοι τρεις επι δυσιν και δυο επι τρισιν] εσονται γαρ απο του νυν πεντε εν οικω ενι τρεις διαμεμερισμενοι επι δυσιν και δυο επι τρισιν ( من الان يكون خمسه في بيت فيكونوا ثلثه مفترقين على اثنين والاثنين على اثنين) *with* P<sup>45</sup> D (Cf. NA<sup>27</sup>)
121. Luke 12:53 πατηρ επι υιω και υιος επι πατρι] υιος επι πατρι και πατηρ επι υιω (يفترقون الابن على الاب والاب على الابن) *with* P<sup>45</sup> 157 Dtp
122. Luke 12:56a το προσωπον της γης και του ουρανου] το προσωπον του ουρανου και της γης (وجه السما والارض) *with* P<sup>45</sup> P<sup>75</sup> S<sup>c</sup> D K L N X Π Ψ 070 6 7 28 33 60 66 83 157 158 161 174 213 265 267 443 472 475 477 480 489 713 726 827 1009 1071 1079 1194 1200 1215 1219 1241 1313 1319 1351 1355 1604 1654 1685 2096 2322 2399 2757 2766 l10 l12 l48 l70 l150 l184 l211 l292 l299 l854 l950 l1056 l1127 l1579 l1642 l1761 Lvt Lvg (mss.) Ss Sc Sp (mss.) Dta Cs Cb Ar Gg (I) Et OS
123. Luke 12:56b τον δε καιρον τουτον πως ου δοκιμαζετε] omit πως ( وهذا الزمان ليس تعرفون ان تجربون) *with* D Lvt (e b c d ff<sup>2</sup> i l r<sup>1</sup>) Ss Sc Cs (1 ms.) Cb (2 mss.)
124. Luke 12:56c τον δε καιρον τουτον πως ου δοκιμαζετε] τον δε καιρον τουτον ου οιδατε δοκιμαζειν/δοκιμαζετε ( وهذا الزمان ليس تعرفون ان تجربون) *with* P<sup>75</sup> S B L Θ 070 33 213 892 1215 1241 Sh (267 mg, W mg) Dtp Cs Cb Et
125. Luke 13:3 παντες ωσαυτως απολεισθε] omit παντες (مثلهم تهلكوا) *with* Lvt (ff<sup>2</sup> l r<sup>1vid</sup>)
126. Luke 13:4a ο πυργος εν τω Σιλωαμ] ο πυργος του Σιλωαμ (برج سلوان) *with* D l1056
127. Luke 13:4c τους κατοικουντας εν Ιερουσαλημ] τους κατοικουντας Ιερ<sup>ο</sup> ουσαλημ (اهل بيت المقدس) *with* P<sup>45</sup> P<sup>75vid</sup> B D L X 1 118 131 157 205 209 213 343 477 577 713 716 892 903\* 1071 1194 1215 1216 1229 1313 1582 2487 l10 l184 l299 l1056 l1642 Lvt (e d i) Lvg (2 mss.)
128. Luke 13:5 παντες ομοιως απολεισθε] omit παντες (مثلهم تهلكوا) *with* Lvt (ff<sup>2</sup> i l) Ss Sc Cb (1 ms.)

129. Luke 13:12 ἰδὼν δὲ αὐτὴν ὁ Ἰησοῦς] omit ὁ Ἰησοῦς (فلما ان راها) *with* P<sup>45</sup> Lvt (b i)
130. Luke 13:19a καὶ ἐγένετο εἰς δένδρον μέγα] omit εἰς (وصارت شجره) *with* D 1 131 1582 1859 Lvt (a a<sup>2</sup> b c d f ff<sup>2</sup> i l q r<sup>1</sup>)
131. Luke 13:19b καὶ ἐγένετο εἰς δένδρον μέγα] omit μέγα (وصارت شجره) *with* P<sup>75</sup> S B D L 070 892 1229 1241 2487 2542 Lvt (e a a<sup>2</sup> b d ff<sup>2</sup> i l r<sup>1</sup>) Ss Sc Sj Cs Cb (mss.) Ar Gg
132. Luke 13:23 ὁ δὲ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτοῦς] ὁ δὲ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτὸν (فقال له) *with* 71 827 1194 1313 1458 2766 11663 Ss Sc Cb (1 ms.)
133. Luke 13:25 Κυριε Κυριε, ἀνοιξον ἡμῖν] Κυριε ἀνοιξον ἡμῖν (افتح لنا يا رب) *with* P<sup>75</sup> S B L 157 892 1241 1859 Lvt (e a a<sup>2</sup> aur c g<sup>1</sup> gat l) Lvg Ss Dta (1 ms.) Cs Cb (mss.). However, the Arabic has افتح لنا (ἀνοιξον ἡμῖν) twice.
134. Luke 13:27 καὶ ἐρεῖ λέγων ὑμῖν] omit λέγω (فيقول لكم) *with* S 579 Lvt (e a a<sup>2</sup> aur b c f ff<sup>2</sup> g<sup>1</sup> gat i l q r<sup>1</sup>) Lvg Sp Dta Dtp Cs Cb
135. Luke 13:31 Ἐξέλθε καὶ πορεύου ἐντευθεν] omit καὶ πορεύου (اخرج من ها هنا) *with* Et
136. Luke 13:35 ἕως ἂν ῥῆξῃ ὅτε ἐπιητῇ] omit ῥῆξῃ ὅτε (حتا تقولون) *with* P<sup>45</sup> S M X Θ 1 13 27 69 71 118 131 157 205 209 213 543 713 788 826 828 983 1010 1071 1220 1241 1242\* 1458 1582 1604 2542 148 1292 Lvt (e i) Sp Ar OS
137. Luke 14:1 Καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ἐλθεῖν] Καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ εἰσελθεῖν (فكان فيما قد دخل) *with* D M Θ 13 27 28 69 71 157 346 543 579 716 788 826 828 892 903 983 1010 1071 1194 1215 1223 1242 1247 1458 1630 Lvt Lvg Ss Sc Sp
138. Luke 14:2 καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀνθρώπος τις ἦν ὑδρωπικός] omit τις (وكان انسان احبز قدامه) *with* D 1 124\* 131 205 209 983 1452 1582 Lvt (b c d ff<sup>2</sup> gat i l q) Ss Dta
139. Luke 14:3 Εἰ Ἐξεστὶν τῷ σαββατῷ θεραπευεῖν] + ἡ οὐ (هل يحل ان يداوا في يوم السبت ام لا) *with* P<sup>75</sup> S B D L Θ 1 13 69 124 131 157 205 209 346 543 579 788 826 828 892 983 1012 1071 1241 1582 2542 1547 1890 Lvt (e b d f q r<sup>1</sup>) Lvg (5 mss.) Sc Sh (c. asterisco) Sj Cs Cb (mss.) Et (PP)

140. Luke 14:5 και αποκριθεις προς αυτους ειπεν] και αποκριθεις ειπεν προς αυτους (اجاب فقال لهم) *with* A D K Y Π 5 16 158 265 343 477 489 716 726 827 1077 1079 1200 1216 1219 1223 1229 1241 1313 1319 1355 1365 1579 1604 2487 2766 l32 l890 l950 Lvt (e a b c d f ff<sup>2</sup> i l q r<sup>1</sup>) Gg. However, MSS D K Y Π 5 265 489 726 1077 1079 1200 1219 1223 1241 1313 1319 1355 1365 1604 Lvt (e a b c d ff<sup>2</sup> i l q r<sup>1</sup>) Gg omit αποκριθεις (against the Arabic). Hence only MSS A 16 158 343 477 716 827 1216 1229 1579 2487 2766 l32 l890 l950 Lvt (f) read και αποκριθεις ειπεν προς αυτους and agree with the Arabic text.

141. Luke 14:19-20 interchanged *with* 5 213

142. Luke 14:21 και χωλους και τυφλους] και τυφλους και χωλους (والعمي والمقعدين) *with* P<sup>45</sup> P<sup>75</sup> S B D F K L M P U W Θ Π 0211 6 27 33 66 71 83 115 157 158 179 265 343 349 443 472 480 489 579 713 716 726 827 892 903 1005 1009 1012 1071 1079 1195 1200 1219 1220 1229 1241 1247 1313 1319 1355 1365 1458 1604 1630 2322 2372 2399 2487 2613 2766 l32 l48 l253 l292 l524 l1761 Lvt (a aur b c d ff<sup>2</sup> g<sup>1</sup> i l q r<sup>1</sup>) Lvg Sh Cs Cb (mss.) Go Gg Et

143. Luke 14:35 ουτε εις γην ουτε εις κοπριαν ευθετον εστιν εξω βαλ̃ λουσιν αυτο] ουτε εις γην ουτε εις κοπριαν ευθετον εστιν αλλ̃ εξω βαλλουσιν αυτο (ليس يصلح حينئذ لا للارض ولا للزبل الا ليطح) *with* 213 827 1012 1241 1654 2766 Lvt (e aur b c f ff<sup>2</sup> g<sup>1</sup> gat i q r<sup>1</sup>) Lvg Ss Sc Sp (mss.) Dta Ar Gg

144. Luke 15:14 δαπανησαντος δε αυτου παντα] + that he had (فلما ان انفق كل شيء كان معه) *with* Ss, Sc (لما انفق كل شيء كان معه) and Sp (لما انفق كل شيء كان معه)

145. Luke 15:16 γεμισαι την κοιλιαν αυτου] χορτασθηναι (يشبع) *with* P<sup>75</sup> S B D L R 1 13 69 124 346 788 826 827 828 1220 1229 1241 1582 1604 Lvt (e d f) Sc Sj Cs Go Et OS

146. Luke 15:17 Ποσοι μισθιοι του πατρος μου] Ποσοι μισθιοι εν τη οικια του πατρος μου (كم اجر في بيت ابي) Lvg (2 mss.) Sp Dta Dtp Ar

147. Luke 15:21 και ουκετι ειμι αξιος κληθηναι υιος σου] + ποιησον με ως ενα των μισθιων σου (ولست باهل ان ادعا لك ابنا اجعلني كاحد اجراك) *with* S B D U X 33 213 348 349 443 577 700 983 1194 1195 1215 1216 1241 1630 2643 l80 l253 l890 l950 l1663 l1761 Lvt (d gat) Lvg (3 mss.) Sh Et OS

148. Luke 16:18 και πας ο απολελυμενην απο ανδρος γαμων] omit πας ( فان (هي تزوجت تلك المحلاة من زوجها) *with* B D L 69 157 579 788 983 1194 1241 1604 2542 2757 l1761 Lvt Lvg Ss Cs Cb Gg OS
149. Luke 16:19 Ανθρωπος δε τις ην πλουσιος] + ονοματι Νινευης ( كان (انسان غني اسمه نينويس) P<sup>75</sup> Cs Et (Bold. 41). P<sup>75</sup> reads νευης. The Cs reads *νινευη* (Nineveh). The Arabic is the closest to the Greek and corrects the scribal error in P<sup>75</sup>.
150. Luke 16:27 Ερωτω ουν σε πατερ] + αβρααμ (اطلب اليك يا ايتاه ابراهيم) *with* D N X 213 579 l547 l890 Lvt (d) Lvg (3 mss.) Sj Gg (I) Et
151. Luke 17:4a και επτακις της ημερας επιστρεψη] omit της ημερας ( ويرجع (سبع مرار) *with* S B D L X Ψ 213 892 1241 1604 1630 2542 Lvt (a b c d ff<sup>2</sup> i l l q r<sup>1</sup> s) Lvg (1 ms.) Ss Sc Sj Cb (mss.) Ar Gg
152. Luke 17:6 ειπεν δε ο κυριος] ο δε ειπε(ν) αυτοις (وقال لهم) *with* D Lvt (a d) / *or with* Lvt (b c ff<sup>2</sup> i q) Lvg (1 ms.) (και ειπεν αυτοις).
153. Luke 17:9 ου δοκω] omit *with* P<sup>75</sup> S B L X 1 22 28 118 131 157 205 209 213 1192 1210 1241 1582 2542 Lvt (e a) Ss Sc Sj Cs Cb Ar Gg (I) Et
154. Luke 17:17 αποκριθεις δε ο Ιησους ειπεν] omit αποκριθεις (فقال يسوع) *with* Sc Dtp
155. Luke 17:20 Επερωτηθεις δε υπο των Φαρισαιων] και επερωτηθαν αυτον οι φαρισαιοι (και) ειπον (αυτω) (وسايلوه الاحبار فاليين) *with* Ss Sc (Et?)<sup>9</sup>
156. Luke 17:28 ηγοραζον επωλουν εφυτευον ωκοδομουν] ωκοδομουν και εφυτευον και ηγοραζον και επωλουν (بينون وينصبون ويشترون ويبيعون) *with* Et (mss.)
157. Luke 17:29 εβρεξεν πυρ και θειον απ ουρανου] εβρεξεν ο θεος πυρ και θειον απ ουρανου (امطر اللاه من السما نار وكبريتا) *with possibly* Lvt (c) which adds ο θεος after ουρανου (or possibly a scribal confusion because of θειον in the text. MSS A D K M W Θ Π 0211 etc. transpose πυρ και θειον and read εβρεξεν θειον και πυρ).

9 IGNTP has wrongly presented the Ss Sc and Sp variations. See IGNTP, 2:79.

158.Luke 17:35a δυο εσονται αληθουσαι] + εν ενι μυλωνι (واثنين يكونا يطحنان) (في رحا واحد) *with* Ss Sc Dta Et

159.Luke 17:35b αφεθησεται] + και δυο εσονται εν τω αγρω εις πα̃  
ραληφθησεται και ο ετερος αφεθησεται (ويكونا اثنين في حقل وواحد يوحذ) (والآخر يترك) *with* Sp (1 ms.) Dta / *or with* U 13 115 124 161<sup>c</sup> 174 229<sup>c</sup>  
265<sup>c</sup> 346 489<sup>c</sup> 543 577 700 826 827 828 983 1012 1194 1355 1392  
2096 2757 2766 Ss Sc Sp Sh

160.Luke 18:6 Ειπεν δε ο κυριος] Ειπεν δε ο Ιησους (فقال يسوع) *with* 713  
1524 Ss

161.Luke 18:8 λεγω υμιν] ναι λεγω υμιν (نعم اقول لكم) *with* G M N R Θ Ψ  
13 27 28 71 124 346 543 565 577 713 716 788 826 828 983 1005 1071  
1194 1338 1458 1510 2372 2542 2613 2643 2757 1547 11761 Sj Cb Ar  
Et (Bodl. 41)

162.Luke 18:14a λεγω υμιν] αμην λεγω υμιν (امين اقول لكم) *with* Lvt (aur  
gat) Lvg (mss.)

163.Luke 18:14b η γαρ εκεινος] παρ εκεινον τον φαρισαιον (افضل من ذلك) (الفريسي) D Lvt (a d) Lvg (1 ms.) Sp Dta

164.Luke 18:24 Ιδων δε αυτον ο Ιησους περιλυπον γενομενον ειπεν] omit  
περιλυπον γενομενον (فلما ان راه يسوع قال) *with* S B L 1 131 157 205 209  
579 1241 1582\* 2542 Sj Cs Cb Gg (I. II)

165.Luke 18:28 και ηκολουθησαμεν σοι] + τι αρα εσται ημιν (ولحقناك فماذا) (ترا الان يكون لنا) *with* S<sup>c</sup> X 213 472 1009 1352 Lvt (1 r<sup>1</sup>) Lvg (1ms.)

166.Luke 18:29 αφηκεν οικιαν η γονεις η αδελφους η γυναικα η τεκνα] *transp.* αφηκεν οικιαν η γυναικα η αδελφους η γονεις η τεκνα (ترك (بيوت او مره او اخوه او اهل او بنين) *with* S B L 579 892 1071 Cb OS. However, the Arabic has οικιας (pl.) instead of οικιαν (singl.). Either a coincidental convergence or a variant agreeing with D H 69 157 713 2487 148 170 1292 Lvt (d) Sp

167.Luke 19:3 και ουκ ηδυνατο] + βλεπειν (وليس كان يقدر ان يراه) *with* Gg

168.Luke 19:5 ειδεν αυτον· και ειπεν προς αυτον] omit ειδεν and possibly αυτον και (فقال له) *with* S B L Θ 0139 1 131 205 209 579 1071



- 1241 1582 2542 Ar (omit ειδεν αυτον και) *or with* Cs Cb Gg (omit ειδεν αυτον) *or with* Et (omit ειδεν)
- 169.Luke 19:8 σταθεις δε Ζακχαιος ειπεν προς τον κυριον] omit προς τον κυριον (فقام زكى قدامه فقال) *with* Dta (3 mss.)
- 170.Luke 19:26 λεγω γαρ υμιν] ο δε ειπεν λεγω αυτοις (فقال اقول لكم) *with* Sp Dta (ειπεν αυτοις λεγω) *or with* Lvt (i) (και ειπεν αυτοις λεγω) *or with* Cs (1 ms.) (ειπεν δε αυτοις λεγω) *or with* 1424<sup>c</sup> Et (και ειπεν αυτοις λεγω) *or with* 903 2643 2757 (ο δε ειπεν λεγω)
- 171.Luke 19:31a Δια τι λυετε] omit *with* D Lvt (e c d ff<sup>2</sup> l s)
- 172.Luke 19:31b ερειτε αυτω] omit αυτω (فقلوا) *with* S B D F L R 063 28 213 579 1241 1542 2542 Lvt (e c d ff<sup>2</sup> i l q r<sup>1</sup> s) Cs Cb Gg (II 4) Et (mss.)
- 173.Luke 19:42a λεγων οτι ει εγνωσ και συ και γε εν τη ημερα σου ταυτη] omit και γε (وقال لو كنت تعرفي هذا اليوم) *with* S B D L Θ 5 157 579 892 1012 2542 (Lvt e d f q s) Dta Gg
- 174.Luke 19:42b λεγων οτι ει εγνωσ και συ και γε εν τη ημερα σου ταυτη] omit σου (وقال لو كنت تعرفي هذا اليوم) *with* S A B D L Θ Ψ 1 5 16 71 118 124 131 157 205 209 265 472 565 579 892 1009 1012 1338 1582 2487 2542 l10 l184 Lvt (e d f i q s) Ss Sc Sj Cs
- 175.Luke 19:42c τα προς ειρηνην σου] omit σου (الذي انه للسلام) *with* S B L Θ 213 579 1012 2096 Cs Cb
- 176.Luke 19:45 εκβαλλειν τους πωλουντας εν αυτω Και αγοραζοντας] omit εν αυτω Και αγοραζοντας (يخرج اولائك الذين كانوا يبيعون) *with* S B L 1 22 205 209 579 1210 1241 1582\* Sj Cs Cb Gg OS
- 177.Luke 20:2 η τις] και τις (ومن) *with* D 579 827 903 Lvt (e a d gat) Lvg (2 mss.) Sp OS
- 178.Luke 20:3 Ερωτησω υμας καγω ενα λογον] omit ενα (وانا ايضا اسلكم كلمة) *with* S B L R W 1 33 69 118 131 157 205 209 788 1012 1229 1582 2096 2542 Lvt (c q) Lvg (mss.) Ss Sp Sj (1 ms.) Cs Cb Gg OS
- 179.Luke 20:8 και ο Ιησους ειπεν αυτοις] και αποκριθεις (ο Ιησους) ειπεν αυτοις (فاستجاب يسوع وقال لهم) *with* S\*

- 180.Luke 20:13 ισως τουτον ιδουντες εντραπησουται] omit ιδουντες (لعلهم يستحون منه) *with* S B C D L Q Ψ 0211 1 33 118 131 157 205 209 579 892 1241 1582 2542 2643 Lvt (a c d ff<sup>2</sup> i l q r<sup>1</sup>) Ss Sc Sh (mg.) Sj Cs Cb Ar Gg
- 181.Luke 20:20 Και παρατηρησαντες απεστειλαν εγκαθετους υποκρι  
νομενους εαυτους δικαιους] omit εγκαθετους (فاكمنوا له وارسلوا اليه من يصنعون انفسهم صديقين) *with* Lvt (ff<sup>2</sup> i l q). However these old Latin witnesses read, in the same verse, αποχωρησαντες (to leave, go away) instead of παρατηρησαντες (lie in wait for). The Arabic has اكمنوا له (from كمن to lie in wait).
- 182.Luke 20:23 τι με πειραζετε] omit *with* S B L 0266<sup>vid</sup> 1 118 131 157 205 209 230 579 892 1241 1424 1582 2542 Lvt (e) Cs Cb Ar OS (mss.)
- 183.Luke 20:24a επιδειξατε μοι δηναριον] + οι δε εδειξαν και ειπε/ειπεν/ειπαν (فأوروه فقال) *with* S<sup>\*(c)</sup> C L N<sup>\*</sup> 0211 0266<sup>vid</sup> 1 5 6 13 21 22 27<sup>c</sup> 33 69 71 118 124 131 157 205 209 213 346 349 399<sup>c</sup> 443 475 543 577 726 788 826 827 828 892 903 983 1005 1071 1187<sup>c</sup> 1192 1194 1195 1200 1210 1215 1223 1242 1319 1365 1443 1458 1510 1582 1604 1630 2372 2542 2613 2766 l184 l1761 Sh Ar
- 184.Luke 20:24b αποκριθεντες δε ειπον] οι δε ειπαν (فقالوا) *with* S B L N 21 33 213 579 892 1241 Sp Cs Cb Gg (II. III) OS
- 185.Luke 20:27 οι αντιλεγοντες] οι λεγοντες (الذين يقولون) *with* S B C D L N Θ 0211 1 7 22 33 60 118 131 205 209 213 267 372 565<sup>c</sup> 579 827 892 1005 1071 1192 1210 1241 1319 1365 1582 1604 1654 1685 2372 2542 2766 l10 l12 l70 l80 l150 l184 l211 l299 l854 l950 l1056 l1127 l1579 l1642 Lvt (e d r<sup>1</sup>) Ss Sc Sp Cs Cb Go OS
- 186.Luke 20:28 και ουτος ατεκνος αποθανη] και ουτος ατεκνος η/ην (ولم يكن له ولد) *with* S<sup>c</sup> B L P Ψ 1 16 33 118 131 157 205 209 213 348 372 477 579 713 892 1071 1216 1579 1582 2542 Lvt (aur ff<sup>2</sup> g<sup>1</sup> gat l q r<sup>1</sup>) Lvg Cs Cb Ar Gg OS
- 187.Luke 20:29 επτα ουν αδελφοι ησαν] ησαν παρ ημιν επτα αδελφοι / επτα (ουν) αδελγοι ησαν παρ ημιν (وكانوا عندنا سبعة اخوه) *with* S<sup>c</sup> D 27<sup>c</sup> 71 1242 1458 1510 l950 Lvt (c d ff<sup>2</sup> 1 q) Ss Gg Et

188. Luke 20:30 και ελαβεν ο δευτερος την γυναικα και ουτος απεθανεν ατεκνος] και ο δευτερος (والثاني) *with* S B D L 157 213 892 1012 1241 Lvt (d e) Cs Gg.
189. Luke 20:32 υστερον δε παντων απεθανεν και η γυνη] υστερον και η γυνη απεθανεν (اخريا ماتت المره) *with* S B D 579 Lvt (d ff<sup>2</sup> r<sup>1</sup>) Ss Sc Sp Cs (mss.) Cb
190. Luke 20:34 και αποκριθεις ειπεν αυτοις ο Ιησους] omit αποκριθεις / και αποκριθεις (فقال لهم يسوع) S B D L 124 157 579 892 1241 Lvt (a aur c d f ff<sup>2</sup> g<sup>1</sup> i l r<sup>1</sup>) Lvg Sc Sp Cb Cs(?)
191. Luke 21:25a και επι της γης συνοχη εθνων εν απορια] και επι της γης συνοχη εθνων και απορια ([تعجب] ويكون على الارض شده الامم و) *with* D Lvt (d) Lvg (1 ms.) Sp
192. Luke 21:25b ηχουσης θαλασσης] ηχους Θαλασσης (صوت البحر) *with* S A B\* C L M N R X 669\* 713 788 826 828 983 1071 1079 1195 1219 1241 1582\* 2542 2766 l524 Lvt (e a c f ff<sup>2</sup> g<sup>1</sup> gat i l q r<sup>1</sup>) Lvg Dta Dtp OS
193. Luke 21:25c και σαλου] omit *with* Dtp
194. Luke 21:30a οταν προβαλωσιν] οταν αρξωσι προβαλλειν ( اذا بين يرين ) (ويخرج الورق) *with* Lvt (e f) Ss Sc
195. Luke 21:30b βλεποντες αφ εαυτων] αφ εαυτων τα φυλλα ( ويخرج الورق ) (منهم) *with* Lvt (r<sup>1</sup>)
196. Luke 21:37 εις το ορος το καλουμενον Ελαιων] εις το ορος (των) Ελαιων (في جبل الزيتون) *with* Γ 1 118 131 205 209 669 1005 1365 2372 2542 Dtp (το ορος των Ελαιων) or *with* X\* 1582 l10 Lvt (e l r<sup>1</sup>) (το ορος Ελαιων)
197. Luke 22:14 και οι δωδεκα αποστολοι συν αυτω] και οι δωδεκα συν αυτω (ومعه الاثنا عشر) *with* S<sup>c</sup> L X 213 1012 1071 1194 1223 1241 2757 Cs (2 ms.)
198. Luke 22:16a ουκετι] omit *with* P<sup>75vid</sup> S A B H L Θ 0211 1 579 669 1012 1241 2487 l70 l950 l1016 l1231 l1579 l1663 Lvt (a) Cs Cb

- 199.Luke 22:16b μη φαγω εξ αυτου] μη φαγω αυτο (لا اكله) *with* S B C\*<sup>vid</sup>  
L 1 22 118 131 205 209 1192 1210 1582 l1231 Lvt (e a aur b c ff<sup>2</sup> g<sup>1</sup>  
gat i l q r<sup>1</sup>) Ss Sc Sp Sh (mg.) Dta Cs Cb
- 200.Luke 22:30 και καθισεσθε επι θρονων] και καθισεσθε επι δωδεκα  
θρονων (وتجلسون على اثنا عشر كرسي) *with* S<sup>c</sup> D X 27 71 213 343 443 472  
579 892 mg 903 1005 1009 1071 1195 1203 1220 1229 1338 1365  
1458 1510 2372 2487 2613 l80 l950 l1016 l1579 Lvt (a b d f ff<sup>2</sup> l q r<sup>1</sup>)  
Ss Sc Sh (c. asterisco) Sj Cb (1 ms.) Ar Gg
- 201.Luke 22:31 ειπεν δε ο Κυριος, Σιμων Σιμων] omit ειπεν δε ο Κυριος  
(يا سمعان يا سمعان) *with* P<sup>75</sup> B L T 1241 l1231 Ss Cs Cb (mss.) Gg (I. II)
202. Luke 22:36 και ο μη εχων] + μαχαιραν (ومن ليس له سكين) *with* 2096  
Lvg (4 mss.) Sc Sp Sj (1 ms.) Dta Dtp Cb (8 mss.)
- 203.Luke 22:52 ειπεν δε ο Ιησους] omit ο Ιησους (فقال) *with* D 1 118 131  
205 209 472 1338\* 1582 Lvt (d) Lvg (1 ms.) Ss Sc Ar
- 204.Luke 22:60 και παραχρημα ετι λαλουντος αυτου εφωνησεν αλεκτωρ]  
omit ετι λαλουντος αυτου (ومن ساعته صاح الديك) *with* Ss Sc
- 205.Luke 22:61a και στραφεις ο κυριος] και στραφεις ο ιησους (فالتفت  
يسوع) *with* D 063 0211 1 21 118 124\* 131 205 209 349 472 903 1195  
1241 1582 1604 1630 2613 Lvt (d) Lvg (1 ms.) Ss Sp Sh (txt) Dta  
Dtp Cb (6 mss.) Et (mss.)
- 206.Luke 22:61b του λογου του κυριου] του λογου του ιησου N 13 346  
472 543 826 828 1071 2643 Ss Sp (1 ms.) Et (mss.)
- 207.Luke 22:61c οτι Πριν αλεκτορα φωνησαι] + σημερον (انه قبل يصيح الديك  
اليوم) *with* P<sup>69vid</sup> p<sup>75</sup> S B K L M T X II 0124 6 27 71 157 158 213 265  
443 475 489 1319 1355 1458 1510 Ss Sh (c. asterisco) Cs Cb Et
- 208.Luke 22:64 και επηρωτων αυτον λεγοντες] omit επηρωτων αυτον  
(ويقولون له) *with* D Lvt (d) Ss Sc Sp
- 209.Luke 22:68 εαν δε και ερωτησω] + υμας (وان سالتكم) *with* 13 69 124 343  
346 475 543 579 716 788 826 828 983 1229 2487 2542 l547 Lvt (ff<sup>2</sup>)  
Ss Sc Sp Dta Dtp Gg OS

210. Luke 23:2 το εθνος] + ημων (امتنا) *with* P<sup>75</sup> S B D H K L M N R T Y Π Ψ 0211 6 13 16 60 66<sup>c</sup> 69 118 124 131 158 179 205 209 265 267 346 348 349 372 443 (+ 46 MSS) l48 l184 l211 l292 l299 l524 l547 l950 l1127 Lvt (aur d f g<sup>1</sup>) Lvg Ss Sc Sp Sh Dta Cs Cb Ar Gg Et OS
211. Luke 23:3 ο δε αποκριθεις αυτω εφη] λεγει αυτω (فقال له) *with* Ss Sp
212. Luke 23:6 Πιλατος δε ακουσας Γαλιλαιαν] omit Γαλιλαιαν (فلما ان سمع) (بيلاطس) *with* P<sup>75</sup> S B L T 0124 1241 Cb. NA<sup>27</sup> adds MS 070
213. Luke 23:13 και τους αρχοντας και τον λαον] και τους αρχοντας του λαου (واشراف الامه) *with* 16 348 1216 Lvt (e a b f ff<sup>2</sup> l r<sup>1</sup>) Lvg (1 ms.) Sp (3 mss.) Dta Dtp Cs (mss.) Et
214. Luke 23:15 αλλ ουδε Ηρωδης ανεπεμψα γαρ υμας προς αυτον] αλλ ουδε Ηρωδης ανεπεμψα γαρ αυτον προς ημας (ولا هرودس ايضا كان يرسله) (الينا) *with* P<sup>75</sup> S B K<sup>c</sup> L M T Y Θ Π 0124 27 66<sup>c</sup> 71 157 158 265 348 372 443 489 892 1071 1194 1200 1216 1219 1220 1223 1241 1319 1355 1458 1579 l524<sup>c</sup> Lvt (aur f g<sup>1</sup>) Lvg (3 mss.) Sh (mg.) Cs Cb
215. Luke 23:17 κατα εορτην ενα] + δεσμιον ον ηθελων (اسير واحد في العيد الذي) (يريذون) *with* 472 1009
216. Luke 23:23 και κατισχυον αι φωναι αυτων και των αρχιερων] omit και των αρχιερων (وكانوا يشدوا اصواتهم) *with* P<sup>75</sup> S B L 0124 1241 Lvt (e a aur b ff<sup>2</sup> g<sup>1</sup> gat l) Lvg Cs Cb
217. Luke 23:25 απελυσεν δε (αυτους)] + τον βαραββαν/ τον βαραβον / τον βαρββον (حينئذ ارسل لهم بريان) *with* 1 6 7 13 21 22 27<sup>c</sup> 60 69 71\* 118 124 131 205 209 346 399<sup>c</sup> 726 788 826 828 983 1005 1187<sup>c</sup> 1192 1194 1200 1210 1215 1223 1319 1365 1458 1510 1582 1604 1654 1685\* 2372 l10 l12 l48 l70 l80 l211 l299 l547 l1056 l1127 l1579 l1761 Ar Gg (I. II. III) OS (mss.)
218. Luke 23:27 και γυναικων αι και εκοπτοντο και εθρηγουν αυτον] omit και (ونسوه كن ينحن ويقطعن عليه) *with* P<sup>75</sup> S A B C\* D L N X Ψ 0124 0211 33 213 443 472 475\* 700\* 892 1009 1071 1195 1220 1241 1313 1424 1604 1675 2542 2766 l547 Lvt (e a aur b d f ff<sup>2</sup> g<sup>1</sup> gat l r<sup>1</sup>) Lvg OS Cs (mss.) Cb (mss.) Dta Dtp

219. Luke 23:35 ο Χριστος ο του θεου] ο Χριστος (ο) υιος του θεου (ο)  
(المسيح بن الله) *with* P<sup>75</sup> 0124 5 13 69 131 346 443 472 543 788 826 828  
983 1009 1071 1220 Lvt (l r<sup>1</sup>) Sj Sh Cs Et OS
220. Luke 23:38a ην δε και επιγραφη γεγραμμενη επ αυτω] omit γεγραμ  
μεινη (وكان ايضا كتاب [عليه]) *with* P<sup>75</sup> S B L 0124 372 1241 Cs Cb  
(the occurrence of عليه twice is either because the Greek has επι  
twice, or because of a scribal mistake)
221. Luke 23:38b γραμμασιν Ελληνικοις και Ρωμαιοις και Εβραιοις]  
omit *with* P<sup>75</sup> S<sup>c</sup> B C\* L 0124 1241 (Lvt a) Cs Cb (mss.)
222. Luke 23:42 μνησθητι μου Κυριε] omit Κυριε (اذكرني) *with* P<sup>75</sup> S B C\*  
L M\* Π 158 489\* 669 1079 1219 1241 1355 Lvt (c) Sj (2 mss.) Cs (4  
mss.) Gg (Π 1, 2, 3)
223. Luke 23:50 ανηρ αγαθος Και δικαιος] omit ανηρ (كان شريف وصديق)  
*with* D Γ Lvt (e a b d ff<sup>2</sup> l q)
224. Luke 24:2 απο του μνημειου] απο της θυρας του μνημειου (عن باب القبر)  
*with* X 115 213 348 1200 1215 1604 l253 l1761 Sj Dta (2 mss.) Cb (1  
ms.)
225. Luke 24:13 σταδιους εξηκοντα] σταδιους εκατον εξηκοντα (ميه وستين)  
*with* S K\* N Θ Π 0211 158 265 1604 Lvt (g<sup>1</sup>) Lvg (4 mss.) Sh (267.  
268) Sj
226. Luke 24:15 και αυτος ο Ιησους εγγισας] omit αυτος (فاذا يسوع قد اقترب)  
*with* D 579 Lvt (a d) Ss Sc Sp (1 ms.) Dta Dtp Et
227. Luke 24:19 εν εργω και λογω] εν λαγω και εργω (بالكلام والفعال) *transp.*  
*with* S D 1654 Lvt (d) or *with* Sp Dta (εν λαγω και εργοις)
228. Luke 24:49 εν τη πολει Ιερουσαλημ] omit Ιερουσαλημ *with* P<sup>75</sup> S B C\*  
D L Lvt (e a aur b c d ff<sup>2</sup> g<sup>1</sup> gat l r<sup>1</sup>) Lvg Ss Cs Cb (mss.)
229. Luke 24:50 Εξηγαγεν δε αυτους εξω] omit εξω *with* S B C\* L 1 33 157  
579 1582\* Lvt (e a) Ss Sp Ar Gg (I. II)
230. Luke 24:53 εν τω ιερω ανουντες και ευλογουντες] omit ανουντες  
και (في الهيكل يباركون) *with* P<sup>75</sup> S B C\* L Ss Sj Gg (I. II)

## 13.2.2. A Syriac Influence on the Gospel of Matthew in Family b

## (1) Matthew 1: 18-2:23 (fol. 8r-v)

18. واما مولد يسوع المسيح هكذا كان عندما كانت مريم امه خطبه يوسف من غير ان يتجمعا وجدت حبلا من روح القدس
19. ويوسف زوجها كان رجل<sup>10</sup> صديق ولم يريد ان يكشفها و<sup>11</sup>هم ان يخليها سرا
20. فلما تفكر بهذا تراهيا له ملاك الرب بالمنام وقال له يا يوسف بن داود لا تخشا ان تاخذ مريم خطبتك<sup>12</sup> لان الذي يولد منها<sup>13</sup> فانه من روح القدس
21. وساتلد ابنا ويسما اسمه يسوع هو [بحق] الذي يخلص امته من خطاياهم
22. وذلك كله الذي كان ليتم ما قد اقبل من الرب في النبي اذ قال<sup>14</sup>
23. ان العذرا تحبل وتلد ابنا ويدعا اسمه عمانوئيل الذي ترجمته معنا الله<sup>15</sup>
24. فقام يوسف من النوم وصنع كما امره ملاك الرب واخذ مريم<sup>16</sup>
25. ولم يعرفها حتا ولدت ابنها البكر وسمت اسمه يسوع
- 2:1 فلما ان ولد يسوع المسيح<sup>17</sup> في بيت الحم يهوذا على<sup>18</sup> ايام هرودس الملك قدمت مجوس من المشرق الى اورسليم
2. وقالوا<sup>19</sup> ابن هو "ملك اليهود الذي ولد"<sup>20</sup> لانا قد ابصرنا نجمه<sup>21</sup> في المشرق وقد جينا نسجد له
3. فلما سمع هرودس الملك [انشخس] هو وكل اورشلم معه
4. وجمع روس الكهنه وكتب الامه فسالهم<sup>22</sup> اين يولد المسيح
5. فقالوا له في بيت الحم يهوذا لانه كذلك مكتوب في النبي
6. وانت يا بيت الحم "ارض يهوذا"<sup>23</sup> لست بناقصه في اراكنه<sup>24</sup> يهوذا منك يخرج بحق ملك<sup>25</sup> وهو يرعا امتي اسرائيل.
7. حينئذ دعا هرودس المجوس سرا وتعرف منهم في اي زمان تراهيا لهم<sup>26</sup> الكوكب<sup>27</sup> "الذي ارى لهم في المشرق"<sup>28</sup>

10 Sc = ܠܚܕܝܢܐ. (The sign "=" stands for "agree with").

11 = Ss, Sc, Sp.

12 = Sc ܡܚܬܝܬܐ.

13 = Ss, Sc ܡܚܬܝܬܐ.

14 = Ss, Sc ܡܚܬܝܬܐ (and also Greek λεγοντος).

15 Syriac reads differently. It reads ܡܚܬܝܬܐ.

16 = Sc.

17 NTS.

18 Syriac has ܐ and the Greek εν (which could also mean "on").

19 Syriac has ܡܚܬܝܬܐ and the Greek λέγοντες.

20 It perfectly follows the Syriac; the Greek has ܡܚܬܝܬܐ.

21 = Greek αὐτοῦ τὸν ἑστέρα; Syriac has ܡܚܬܝܬܐ. Cf. verse 7.

22 = Sp ܡܚܬܝܬܐ; Ss, Sc = ܡܚܬܝܬܐ; Greek has ἐπιυνθάνετο (inquire, ask).

23 = Gk γῆ Ἰούδα; Syriac has ܡܚܬܝܬܐ.

24 = Gk ἡγεμόσυ (governor, ruler); Syriac has ܡܚܬܝܬܐ.

25 = Sy ܡܚܬܝܬܐ; Greek has ἡγούμενος (leader, ruler).

26 = Ss, Sc, Sp.

27 = Sy ܡܚܬܝܬܐ; Greek has ἑστέρος.

8. ثم ارسلهم الى بيت الحم و<sup>29</sup>قال لهم انطلقوا فاستبحتوا<sup>30</sup> "عن الغلام بالجد"<sup>31</sup> فاذا وجدتموه تاتوني<sup>32</sup> وتخبروني حتا اتي انا ايضا فاسجد له
9. فلما سمعوا ذلك من الملك انطلقوا فاذا الكوكب<sup>33</sup> الذي راوا في المشرق يسير قدامهم حتا وقف فوق المكان الذي كان فيه الصبي.
10. فلما ان نظروا الى الكوكب<sup>34</sup> فرحوا فرحا كبيرا جدا
11. ودخلوا البيت فبصروا الصبي مع مريم امه فخرؤا وسجدوا له وفتحوا كنوزهم وقربوا له هدايا "ذهب ومرا لوبانا"<sup>35</sup>
12. وترايا<sup>36</sup> لهم في المنام ان لا يرجعون الى هرودس وفي الطريق اخرا انطلقوا الى بلادهم
13. فلما انطلقوا المجوس<sup>37</sup> ترايا ملاك الرب ليوسف في الريا وقال له<sup>38</sup> انهض وخذ الغلام وامه واهرب الى مصر واقيم هنالك حتا اعلمك لان هرودس مستعد بطلب الغلام ليقته
14. فنهض يوسف<sup>39</sup> من ليلته وحمل الغلام وامه وهرب<sup>40</sup> الى مصر
15. وكان هنالك حتا مات هرودس ليتم ما قد قيل من الرب في النبي الذي<sup>41</sup> قال من مصر ناديت ابني.
16. فلما ان را هرودس ان المجوس قد سخروا به غضب جدا والرسل [احسد] وقتل جميع صبيان بيت الحم وما حولها ممن قد اتا عليه سنتين وما دون ذلك على ما كان تبين من المجوس
17. حينئذ تم ما قد اقبل في ارمياس<sup>42</sup> النبي الذي قال
18. صوتا استمع من رمتا<sup>43</sup> "بكا ونوح"<sup>44</sup> كثير راحيل تيكي علي بنيتها ولا تشا بالعزا لانهم ليس بموجودين
19. فلما مات هرودس<sup>45</sup> "فاذا ملاك الرب قد اورى"<sup>46</sup> ليوسف في الريا بمصر
20. وقال له قوم خذ الصبي وامه وانطلق الى ارض اسرائيل لانهم قد ماتوا الذين كانوا يطلبون نفس الصبي
21. فنهض يوسف<sup>47</sup> واخذ الصبي وامه وجا الى ارض اسرائيل

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28 NTS.

29 = Syriac.

30 The addition of ف has NTS.

31 Transpose with the Syriac.

32 = Syriac ܘܗܝ.

33 = Sy ܡܚܬܬܪܬܐ; Greek has ὁ ἀστὴρ.

34 = Sy ܡܚܬܬܪܬܐ; Greek has τὸν ἀστῆρα.

35 = Ss, Sc, Sp.

36 = Ss, Sc, Sp ܡܬܪܝܐ; Greek has χρηματισθέντες (warn, direct, instruct, reveal).

37 This reading is found in the Palestinian Syriac Lectionary Codex A. Cf. *Lectionarium Sanctorum Evangeliorum*, p. 257. And also in C<sup>3</sup> D<sup>3</sup> 248 349 506 517 892 (Cf. Legg, *Novum Testamentum, ad loc*).

38 = Ss, Sc, Sp.

39 = Ss, Sc, Sp.

40 = Sp ܡܚܬܬܪܬܐ (Kiraz, *Comparative Edition*, p. 340).

41 = Syriac ܐ.

42 Syriac, however, has ܡܚܬܬܪܬܐ. The Arabic reading seems to follow the Greek.

43 = Syriac ܡܚܬܬܪܬܐ; Greek has ᾿Ραμὴ.

44 = Sp ܡܚܬܬܪܬܐ ܡܚܬܬܪܬܐ as well as B Z 0250 f<sup>1</sup> I2211 pc lat co.

45 = Greek; Syriac adds ܡܚܬܬܪܬܐ.

46 = Greek A B D Z 0250 f<sup>1-13</sup> I2211 pc; the Peshitta transposes the words and reads ܡܚܬܬܪܬܐ ܡܚܬܬܪܬܐ (ظهر/اورى ملاك الرب). The Arabic seems to follow the Greek.



22 فلما ان سمع بان ارشيلوس<sup>48</sup> قد ملك على يهوذا مكان<sup>49</sup> هردوس ابوه فزع ان ينطلق الى هناك // وترابا له في الربا ان يذهب الى ارض<sup>50</sup> الجليل  
23. وجا فسكن مدينه تسما ناصره ليتم ما اقبل في النبي<sup>51</sup> انه يدعا ناصري

(2) Other important variants from the Gospel of Matthew:

Mt. 3: 3 قايل = Greek, Ss, Sc ; Against Sp.

Mt 3:8 الان = Sy.

Mt 3: 12 خزائنه = Sc, Sp.

Mt 3:17 هذا هو against Sp which omits هو.

Mt 4:17 السما singl. = sy.

Mt 4: 23 وجع ومرض = Sp.

Mt 5: 1 يسوع = sp.

Mt 5: 8 قلوبهم = Sp, Sc, Ss.

Mt 5:44 على الصالحين والاشرار Ss, Sc, Sp.

Mt 6:13 ولكن خلصنا من الخبيث n B D Z 0170<sup>f1</sup> against the Syriac tradition and the Greek Majority Text. (This reading is also found in Sinai, Ar. 70).

Mt 6: 17 فادهن راسك واغسل وجهك = Greek; against Sc, Sp (which transpose).

Mt 7:29 وليس مثل معلمهم ولا مثل الفريسيين = C\* W 33. 1241 pc lat sy.

Mt 8:1 يا رب = Greek.

Mt 8:16 شياطينهم بكلمه Sp.

Mt. 8:32 يسوع = Sp.

Mt 9: 25 الجماعه = Gk, Ss; against Sp.

Mt 9:29 يارب = Gk; against Sp.

Mt 10:8 المرضا فاشفوا والموتا اقيموا والبرص نقوا والشياطين اخرجوا = n B C\* (D) N 0281<sup>f1.33</sup> (sy<sup>s</sup>); against the Majority Text and Sp.

Mt 10:27 اذانكم = Sp.

Mt 11:4 فاجابهم يسوع وقال against Sp which omits the ف.

Mt 12:4 خبز التقدمه against the Sp which adds الرب.

Mt 12:5 ولم تقروا في التوراه ان الكهنه يحلون السبت في الهيكل وهم من غير [لايمه] = Sp; against the Greek.

Mt 12:31 روح القدس = Sc; against all the rest. (it agrees with the Vatican, Ar. 13).

Mt 14:19 تلاميذه الخبز = Greek and Ss, Sc; against Sp which omits الخبز.

Mt 15:1 the succession of words follows the Greek more than the Syriac (compare with the Vatican, Ar. 13).

Mt 15:30 صم وعمي ومقعدين... does not follow the Sp but Greek Mss 33, 892, 1241.

47 = Lvt "q" and Sp.

48 The Greek reads Ἀρχέλαος and the Syriac ܐܪܚܝܠܐܘܫ.

49 =Ss, Sc ܡܕܢܚܐ (in the place); Sp has ܡܕܢܚܐ (instead); Greek reads ἀντὶ.

50 = Ss, Sc, Sp (singl.). Greek has τὰ μέρη (pl.).

51 = Syriac (singl.); Greek has τῶν προφητῶν (pl.).

## (3) Matthew 28:1-20

1. وفي عشية السبت صبح احد السبوت جات مريم المجدلانيه ومريم الاخرى لينظرن القبر
2. فاذا قد كانت رجفه عظيمه لان ملاك الرب نزل من السما فدنا "الى القبر"<sup>52</sup> ودحرج الحجر "عن فم القبر"<sup>53</sup> وجلس عليه
3. وكان منظره كالبرق ولبوسه<sup>54</sup> ابيض كالثلج
4. ومن فزعهم ارتعدوا الحراس وصاروا كالموتا //
5. فاستجاب الملاك وقال<sup>55</sup> للنسوة<sup>56</sup> لا تفزعن انتم قد علمت انكم ليسوع "الذي صلب"<sup>57</sup> تلتسمون
6. ليس هو هنا قد قام كما قال تعالوا انظروا الى الموضع حيث كان<sup>58</sup>
7. وانطلقوا بسرعه و<sup>59</sup>قولوا لتلاميذه بانه قد قام من بين<sup>60</sup> الموتى وهو يسبقكم الى الجليل وهناك تروه //
8. فانطلقن<sup>61</sup> من القبر بفزع وفرح عظيم<sup>62</sup> ليخبروا تلاميذه
9. فاذا يسوع قد لقيهن فقال<sup>63</sup> سلام لكم<sup>64</sup> ثم انهم اقتربن فامسكن رجله وسجدن له
10. عند ذلك قال لهم يسوع لا تفزعن اذهبن فاخبرن اخوتي لكيما ينطلقن الى الجليل هناك يروني
11. فلما ان انصرفن "فاذا اناس من الحراس جاوا"<sup>65</sup> الى المدينه فاخبروا لرئيس<sup>66</sup> الكهنه كل الذي كان
12. فاجتمعوا مع المشيخه "فتشاوروا ثم اخذوا"<sup>67</sup> فضه كثيره فاعطوا الفرسان
13. "وقالوا لهم"<sup>68</sup> قولوا ان تلاميذه جاوا في الليل فسرقة ونحن نيام
14. فان سمع الوالي بهذا فحنن نداهن ولكم بلا هم نصنع<sup>69</sup>
15. فلما ان (fol. 44r) اخذوا الفضه صنعوا كما علموا فاشيعت هذه الكلمه في اليهود حتا اليوم
16. فاما "[الحدا] عشر تلميذ"<sup>70</sup> فانطلقوا الى الجليل الى الجبل الذي اوصاهم يسوع

52 NTS.

53 = L G Q f<sup>1.13</sup>. 33. 565. 1241. 844 pm sy<sup>h</sup> mae bo.

54 = Sy ܐܒܪܗܡ.

55 = Ss, Sp ܐܡܪܐ; Greek εἶπεν.

56 Syriac has ܠܬܡܝܕܐ.

57 Syriac has ܡܪܝܡ.

58 = A B Q 33. 892\*. sy<sup>s</sup> co.; Add. ο κυριος = A C D L W 0148 f<sup>1.13</sup> MT lat sy<sup>(p)</sup>.h.

59 = Ss.

60 = Sp ܡܡܬܐ.

61 The Greek reads either ἐξεληθοῦσαι or ἀπεληθοῦσαι. The Arabic follows the latter and the Sp ܠܬܡܝܕܐ; The Arabic omits ܬܚܕܐ (جحد) and has NTS.

62 The Arabic omits ܕܪܥܡܝܢ (Syriac = ܕܪܥܡܝܢ).

63 The Peshitta adds ܠܡܢܐ against the Arabic.

64 = Sp ܠܡܢܐ; The Greek omits.

65 The word order follows the Greek and not the Syriac version.

66 Normally, the manuscripts translated from Syriac read عظيم.

67 The Greek reads συμβούλιον τε λαβόντες ἀργύρια ἱκανὰ ἔδωκαν (had taken counsel [or counsel, they had taken], they gave a large amount of silver...); The Syriac reads ܬܚܕܐ ܠܥܡܢܐ ܕܥܡܢܐ ܕܥܡܢܐ (and had taken counsel and gave not little amount of silver...). The Arabic reads ܬܚܕܐ ܠܥܡܢܐ ܕܥܡܢܐ ܕܥܡܢܐ...واعطوا. The occurrence of ܬܚܕܐ (Greek συμβούλιον τε λαβόντες – Syriac ܬܚܕܐ) and the addition of اخذوا (once more translating the verb λαβόντες) shows that Greek is behind the Arabic here. It is not possible to have this confusion unless the scribe is translating from Greek and not Syriac.

68 = Sp. ܠܥܡܢܐ ܕܥܡܢܐ; Greek has λέγοντες.

69 Sp. adds ܡܡܬܐ.

17. فلما ان راوه سجدوا<sup>71</sup> ومنهم من شكك  
 18. فجا الرب<sup>72</sup> يسوع فكلمهم وقال<sup>73</sup> قد اعطيت كل سلطان "السما والارض"<sup>74 75</sup>  
 19. انطلقوا الان<sup>76</sup> فتلمذوا<sup>77</sup> كل الامم و<sup>78</sup> اعمدوهم باسم الاب والابن وروح القدس  
 20. و<sup>79</sup> علموهم ان يحفظون كلما اوصيتكم وهذا انا معكم كل الايام حتا انقضا الدهر امين

### 13.3. Family C

#### 13.3.1. Variants Extracted from the Gospel of John

Generally speaking, the Gospel of John of family *c* is translated from a Greek *Vorlage* of a Byzantine text-type. However, a number of *textual* variants seem to have diverged from the Byzantine text-type. In the Synoptic Gospels, there is clear Peshitta influence. The exercise below aims to show that, unlike the Synoptic Gospels, the Gospel of John has not been corrected against the Peshitta version.

A number of sources have been consulted to achieve the objectives set above: For the Peshitta, I have used Pusey's *Tetraevangelium Sanctum*, and for the Byzantine text, *Robinson-Pierpont Majority Text* 1995. If an Arabic reading was not supported by either Pusey's or Robinson's, it was checked against Kiraz, *Comparative Edition* (for the Sinaiticus and Curetonian) and NA<sup>27</sup>. The expression *singular* means that the Arabic reading in question has no textual support in the sources mentioned above.

The variants below are divided into three groups: The first group contains readings which differ from the Byzantine text (of Robinson-Pierpont Majority Text 1995) and follow the Peshitta; the second group contains variants which differ from both the Byzantine and Peshitta texts, but agree with other Greek or Syriac witnesses; the third group contains singular readings.

70 = Gk Οἱ δὲ ἑνδεκα μαθηταί; Sp has ܡܬܝܬܐ ܕܥܝܠܐܝܬܐ.

71 The omission of ܠܐ agrees with A B D 33 1844 12211 lat.

72 NTS.

73 Sp adds ܠܡܠܝܚܐ.

74 Sp reads ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ; Gk ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ [τῆς] γῆς. The Arabic text as it stands, with the omission of the prepositions, lacks textual support.

75 Sp (as well as MS Q) adds ܠܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ.

76 Gk MS D has a similar reading. It might have come from the Syriac ܡܠܟܐ.

77 The addition of ܐ might reflect the Greek οὐν.

78 The addition of ܐ is also found in Sp.

79 = Sp.

First Group: Differ from the Byzantine text and agree with the Peshitta

- (1) John 1: 4 reads *نور الحياه هي* نور الناس = Possibly Peshitta.
- (2) John 1:28 *بيت عنيا* = Peshitta, Harklean, NA<sup>27</sup>.
- (3) John 2:22 *الكتب* pl. = Peshitta and Sinaiticus.
- (4) John 4:1 reads *يسوع* instead of *الرب* = Peshitta and also  $\aleph$  D  $\Theta$  086  $\text{f}^1$  565 1241 *al lat sy<sup>ch</sup> bo*.
- (5) John 6:40 *ابي* = Peshitta, Curetonian and Harklean.
- (6) John 7:53-8:11 omit = Syriac, P<sup>66,75</sup>  $\aleph$  A<sup>vid</sup> B C<sup>vid</sup> L N T W  $\Delta$   $\Theta$   $\Psi$  0141 0211 33 565 1241 1333<sup>txt</sup> 1424\* 2768*al a f l q sa ac<sup>2</sup> pbo bo<sup>pt</sup>*.
- (7) John 8:21 *خطاياهم* pl. = Peshitta and Sinaiticus.
- (8) John 9:8 reads *يستطعم* = Syriac and NA<sup>27</sup>.
- (9) John 9:17 adds *وانا اقول* = Peshitta and Sinaiticus.
- (10) John 10:17 reads *ابي* = Peshitta and Sinaiticus.
- (11) John 12:1 adds *يسوع* = Peshitta and Harklean.
- (12) John 13:31 adds *يهودا* = Peshitta and Sinaiticus.
- (13) John 14:31 reads *ابي* = Peshitta and Sinaiticus.
- (14) John 16:3 reads *ابي* = Peshitta.
- (15) John 16:2 adds *هم* in *مجامعهم* = Peshitta and Sinaiticus.
- (16) John 16:4 adds *هم* in *ساعتهم* = Peshitta.
- (17) John 20:15 *يا سيدي* = Peshitta.
- (18) John 20:22 adds *فيهم* = Peshitta.
- (19) John 21:25 omit  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\eta\nu$  = Peshitta,  $\aleph$  A B C\*<sup>3</sup> D W 1 33 12211 *pc it sy<sup>s</sup> co*.

Most, if not all, the Arabic variants mentioned above need not to be genetic (the addition of attached pronoun (seven out of fourteen), the use of singular instead of plural or vice versa (three readings), addition of a proper noun (two readings), one reading has *هي* (possibly Peshitta) and one reading adds *فيهم* for the verb *نفخ*). It is more likely that the readings of *c*<sup>1</sup> and the Syriac have converged independently or due to coincidentally similar tendencies.

List Two: variants which differ from the Byzantine text and the Peshitta, but agree with other Greek MSS or Syriac versions.

- (1) John 1:28 *بيت عنيا* NA<sup>27</sup>.
- (2) John 1:29 omits *يحننا* NA<sup>27</sup>.
- (3) John 1:43 omits *يسوع* NA<sup>27</sup>.
- (4) John 3:3 reads *فقال له* Sinaiticus.
- (5) John 3:20 adds *الرديه* P<sup>66</sup> (L) N  $\Theta$  ( $\Psi$ )  $\text{f}^1$  33 (892<sup>c</sup>, 1241) *al r<sup>1</sup> co*.
- (6) John 5:4 adds *الرب* A K L  $\Delta$   $\text{f}^1$  3 (1241) *al it vg<sup>cl</sup>*.
- (7) John 6:39 omits *الاب* NA<sup>27</sup>.
- (8) John 8:33 adds *اليهود* Harklean.

- (9) John 8:35 omits ὁ υἱὸς μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα & W Γ 33 1241 *al* vg<sup>ms</sup> bo<sup>ms</sup>
- (10) John 8:43 reads الحق D\* *pc*.
- (11) John 9:25 omits وقال Harklean NA<sup>27</sup>.
- (12) John 12:28 reads ابنك instead of اسمك with L X f<sup>1.13</sup> 33 579 1241 l2211 *pc* vg<sup>mss</sup> sy<sup>hmg</sup> bo.
- (13) John 14:4 اذهب تعرفوا الطريق P<sup>66c</sup> & B C\* L Q W 33. 579 *pc* a sa<sup>ms</sup> pbo bo.
- (14) John 15:13 حبيبه singl. Syriac Sinaiticus.
- (15) John 15:20 كلمتي instead of الكلمه Harklean.
- (16) John 16:15 omits the whole verse P<sup>66</sup> &\* bo<sup>mss</sup> (homoeoteleuton).
- (17) John 18:8a omits يسوع Syriac Sinaiticus.
- (18) John 18:14 omits Καὶ ἄφας with Sinaiticus.
- (19) John 19:3 adds واتوا اليه P<sup>66.90</sup> & B L N W Θ f<sup>13</sup> 33 565 579 700 l844 *pc* lat sy<sup>h</sup> co.
- (20) John 20:1 adds باب & W (f<sup>1</sup> 565) 579 *al* d f r<sup>1</sup> vg<sup>ms</sup> sy<sup>s</sup> pbo bo.
- (21) John 21:16 adds يسوع ان كنت تحبني Harklean.

In general these variants seem to be textual, and reflect traces of pre-Byzantine readings. Some variants might have agreed with the Greek or Syriac accidentally. (For instance, the addition of the attached pronoun for كلمتي and the homoeoteleuton omission of John 16:5).

#### List Three: Singular readings

- (1) John 2:11 reads المسيح instead of يسوع *singular*.
- (2) John 2:15 adds الحمام واصحاب المعاليق *singular*.
- (3) John 4:45 omits καὶ αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἦλθον εἰς τὴν ἑορτήν *singular* (homoeoteleuton).
- (4) John 5:19 الابن instead of الاب *singular* (scribal error).
- (5) John 6:11 وبارك فناول المتكئين ومن الحوتين *singular*.
- (6) John 6:21 reads وشكروا (3<sup>rd</sup> pl. plural) *singular*.
- (7) John 6:23 omits εἰς ἣν ὑπήγον *singular*.
- (8) John 6:32 omits ἀλλ' ὁ πατήρ μου δίδωσιν ὑμῖν τὸν ἄρτον ἐκ τοῦ οὐ 'ρανοῦ τὸν ἀληθινόν *singular* (homoeoteleuton).
- (9) John 6:61 reads الله instead of ابي *singular*.
- (10) John 6:66 reads يسمعون منه instead of يمشون *singular*.
- (11) John 7:22 adds الختان *singular*.
- (12) John 7:26 omits الحق *singular*.
- (13) John 7:33 omits يسوع *singular*.
- (14) John 8:20 omits الخزانه *singular*.
- (15) John 8:45 adds جيت *singular*.
- (16) John 8:47 adds مني *singular*.
- (17) John 9:9 reads اخرين قالوا لا ولكن هذا شبيه به *singular*.
- (18) John 9:19 omits the whole verse *singular*.

- (19) John 9:31 خاطي *singl. singular.*
- (20) John 1:12 omits الخراف *singular.*
- (21) John 11:1 adds يقول له *singular.*
- (22) John 11:3 reads المسيح *singular.*
- (23) John 11:19 adds اختها *singular.*
- (24) John 11:21 omits ليسوع *singular.*
- (25) John 11:28 omits سر *singular.*
- (26) John 11:47 transp. الاحبار وروس الكهنه *singular.*
- (27) John 12:21 reads سيدنا *singular.*
- (28) John 13:34 omits καθὼς ἡγάπησα ὑμᾶς ἵνα καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀγαπᾶτε ἀλλήλους *singular (homoeoteleuton).*
- (29) John 17:4 الاعمال *pl. singular.*
- (30) John 18:12 omits جند *singular.*
- (31) John 18:15 adds الآخر *singular.*
- (32) John 19:19a adds راس *singular.*
- (33) John 19:19b adds بالعبرانيه واليونانيه والروميه (transp from verse 20) *singular.*
- (34) John 19:25 transp. مريم المجدلانيه ومريم ام اقليوبا *singular.*
- (35) John 19:31b omits اليهود *singular.*
- (36) John 19:33 omits ἐλθόντες *singular.*
- (37) John 20:25a adds ثوما *singular.*
- (38) John 20:25b adds رجله *singular.*
- (39) John 20:25c reads يدي *singular.*
- (40) John 21:21 omits يا رب *singular.*
- (41) John 21:25 omits καθ' ἑν οὐδὲ αὐτὸν οἶμαι *singular.*

The majority of the forty-one singular variants are unlikely to be *textual*. There are a number of unintentional omissions and also additions for clarity and linguistic purposes.

### 13.3.2. Variants Extracted from the Gospel of Mark

The exercise below examines chapters 2-10 of the Gospel of Mark (chapter 1 is studied in §13.3.3). The text is compared against the Byzantine text type (TR). Whenever the Arabic text disagrees with the TR, the readings are checked against the Peshitta, old Syriac (Kiraz, *Comparative Edition*) and S. C. E. Legg, *Novum Testamentum Graece*. The result is listed below and grouped into two sections: First, the readings corrected against (or influenced by) the Peshitta; and secondly, the readings which follow neither the TR nor the Peshitta.

I have tried to avoid some obvious variants which are purely stylistic, however, the reader should not expect that all the variants below

are necessarily textual. Some might have converged coincidentally. The key factor which determines whether there is a Peshitta influence is *consistency* in agreement. This consistency is present in the text of the Synoptic Gospels but absent in the Gospel of John (see below).

Finally, there is a list with a number of *singular* variants (omissions and additions) which seems to have diverged from their *Vorlage* because of internal linguistic demands.

### 13.3.2.1. Readings which agree with the Peshitta

#### Fol. 32r

1. Mark 2:1 adds يسوع.
2. Mark 2:4 adds فصعدوا به على ظهر (البيت).
3. Mark 2:4 adds يسوع.
4. Mark 2:6 adds الفريسيين.

#### Fol. 32v

5. Mark 2:23 adds يسوع.
6. Mark 2:25 adds يسوع.
7. Mark 2:26 reads فاثور بيت الله (ܦܬܪ ܒܝܬ ܕܐܠܗܐ).
8. Mark 3:1 adds يسوع.

#### Fol. 33r

9. Mark 3:14 فاختار اثنا عشر.
10. Mark 3:20 adds كثير.
11. Mark 3:23 adds يسوع.

#### Fol. 33v

12. Mark 3:28 adds والجدف.
13. Mark 3:31 transp امه واخوته.
14. Mark 3:33 adds لهم.
15. Mark 4:11 adds يسوع.

#### Fol. 34r

16. Mark 4:15 adds الذي زرع فيهم.
17. Mark 4:33 adds يسوع.

#### Fol. 34v

18. Mark 4:34 pl. امثال.
19. Mark 4:38 adds يسوع.
20. Mark 4:38 adds فجاءوا.
21. Mark 4:38 reads ربنا.

#### Fol. 35r

22. Mark 5:24 adds يسوع.
23. Mark 5:31 pl. الجموع.

#### Fol. 35v

24. Mark 5:37 reads سمعان الصفا.

25. Mark 5:41 omits ὁ ἐστὶν μεθερμηνεύμενον τὸ κοράσιον, σοὶ λέγω, ἔγειρε.
26. Mark 6:7 adds ان يخرجوهم.
- Fol. 36r
27. Mark 6:14 adds يسوع.
28. Mark 6:27 adds يحنا.
29. Mark 6:37 reads فقال لهم.
30. Mark 6:38 adds ارغفه.
- Fol. 36v
31. Mark 6:41 adds يسوع (2 Peshitta MSS).
- Fol. 37r
32. Mark 6:48 adds يسوع.
33. Mark 6:54 adds اهل تلك البلد.
- Fol. 38r
34. Mark 7: 30 transp مضجعه في السرير والشيطان قد خرج منها.
- Fol. 38v
35. Mark 8:28 adds يسوع.
- Fol. 39r
36. Mark 8:29 reads سمعان الصفا (fusion of the Peshitta and the Sinaiticus. See also v. 33).
37. Mark 9:8 adds التلاميذ.
- Fol. 39v
38. Mark 9:19 adds يسوع.
39. Mark 9:24 adds ربي.
40. Mark 9:26 adds الشيطان.
- Fol. 40r
41. Mark 9:29 transp يصوم وصلاه.
42. Mark 9:38 omits ὃς οὐκ ἀκολουθεῖ ἡμῖν.
- Fol. 41r
43. Mark 10:30 adds ابا with one Peshitta MS.
- Fol. 41v
44. Mark 10:46 adds يسوع.
45. Mark 10:48 adds ويقول.
46. Mark 10:51 reads فقال له.

#### 13.3.2.2. Readings which do not agree with either the Majority Text or the Peshitta

- Fol. 32r
1. Mark 2:2 الله يكلمهم *singular*.
- Fol. 32v



2. Mark 2:16 transp الخطابين والعشارين with P<sup>88</sup> B D L\* Θ 33 565 892 2427 (l2211) *pc* it *vg*<sup>st</sup> *sa*<sup>mss</sup> *bo*<sup>pt</sup>.
  3. Mark 2:17 pl. الاطبا *singular*.
  4. Mark 2:18 adds كثير *singular*.
  5. Mark 2:23 adds وياكلون (cf. Sinaiticus ٥٥٥ ٥٥٥ ٥٥٥).
- Fol. 33r
6. Mark 3:22 read الكهنه instead of الكتبه *singular*.
- Fol. 34r
7. Mark 3:35 reads ابي instead of الله *singular*.
  8. Mark 4:3 adds ايها الناس *singular*.
  9. Mark 4:12 omits بعينه with W a.
- Fol. 34v
10. Mark 5:8 adds يسوع with D ff q r<sup>1</sup> vg (2 MSS) co<sup>sa</sup> Geo<sup>2</sup>.
  11. Mark 5:12 adds يسوع.
- Fol. 35r
12. Mark 5:22 adds من اكابر اليهود *singular*.
  13. Mark 5:33 adds قدام يسوع *singular*.
  14. Mark 5:34 adds يسوع with C D M<sup>mg</sup> Θ Φ f<sup>1</sup>(exc.131) f<sup>13</sup> 543 28 234 235 238 271 565 700 l20 l44 l47 l48 l50 l183 it (exc. e l) vg (5 mss.) Sy<sup>ht\*</sup> hler. Geo<sup>1</sup> et A Arm.
  15. Mark 5:34 adds the attached pronoun to يا بنتي *singular*.
- Fol. 36r
16. Mark 6:12 reads بنادون ويكرزون Greek and Syriac have one word.
  17. Mark 6:24 adds الملك *singular*.
- Fol. 37r
18. Mark 6:47 adds يسوع with ff aur.
- Fol. 38v
19. Mark 8:19 omits حلج (πλήρεις) *singular*.
- Fol. 39r
20. Mark 8: 32 reads سمعان *singular* (the Sinaiticus reads ٥٥٥ ٥٥٥ ٥٥٥).
  21. Mark 8:33 reads تلميذه *singular*.
  22. Mark 9:2 adds سمعان (10:28) *singular*.
- Fol. 39v
23. Mark 9:20 adds السو with (565) b f Cop.<sup>sa</sup>.
- Fol. 40v
24. Mark 10:15 adds امين with 52 59 73.
  25. Mark 10:20 adds ذلك الرجل *singular*.
  26. Mark 10:29 adds امين *singular*.
- Fol. 41r.
27. Mark 10: 36 adds يسوع with Z Φ 517.

### 13.3.3. Mark Chapter One: A Collation of C<sup>1</sup> and C<sup>2</sup> against the Byzantine Text and the Peshitta

#### 13.3.3.1. c<sup>1</sup> and c<sup>2</sup> against the Byzantine Text

V.1 ἔμπροσθέν σου] omits with the Peshitta (MSS c<sup>1</sup> and c<sup>2</sup>)

V.3 εὐθείας ποιεῖτε] وسهلوا with the Peshitta (ܡܫܝܚܐ) (MSS c<sup>1</sup> and c<sup>2</sup>)

V.5 καὶ οἱ Ἱεροσολυμίται] وكل اهل اورشليم (ܡܠܚܡܐ ܕܗܝܠܐ) (MSS c<sup>1</sup> and c<sup>2</sup>).

V.6a ἐνδευμένους] كان لايس لباسا with the Peshitta (ܠܚܡܐ ܠܚܡܐ) (MS c<sup>1</sup> ; Ms c<sup>2</sup> read كان لايس and follows the Greek).

V.6b καὶ ζώνην δερματίνην] ومشقت بمشقه من جلد with the Peshitta (ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܠܒܢܐ) (MSS c<sup>1</sup> ; c<sup>2</sup> reads ونطاقه من جلد with the Greek).

V.6c καὶ ἐσθίω] وكان طعامه with the Peshitta (ܡܠܚܡܐ ܡܠܚܡܐ) (MSS c<sup>1</sup> and c<sup>2</sup>).

V.11 ἐν ᾧ εὐδόκησα] بك سررت (ܡܫܝܚܐ) (MS c<sup>1</sup> ; Ms c<sup>2</sup> reads به سررت with the Greek).

V.20 καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκάλεσεν αὐτούς καὶ ἀφέντες τὸν πατέρα αὐτῶν Ζεβὲ δαῖον] فدعاهما فمن ساعتها تركا اباهما ربدي.. (ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܠܒܢܐ) (MS c<sup>1</sup>; Ms c<sup>2</sup> reads فدعاهما فمن ساعتها تركا زبدا اباهما (ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܠܒܢܐ)).

V.21 Καὶ εἰσπορεύονται εἰς Καφαρναούμ· καὶ εὐθὺς τοῖς σάββασιν εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν ἐδίδασκεν] فدخلوا كفرتحوهم فمن مكانه كان في الاسبات يعلم (ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܠܒܢܐ) (MS c<sup>1</sup>; MS c<sup>2</sup> follows the Peshitta closely. It reads فلما دخلوا كفرتحوهم مكانه كان يعلم في الاسبات في مجامعهم).

V.22 καὶ οὐχ ὥς οἱ γραμματεῖς] وليس كالكتاب in singl. with possible Peshitta influence (MS c<sup>1</sup>; MS c<sup>2</sup> reads وليس مثل كتابهم).

V.29a Καὶ εὐθέως ἐκ τῆς συναγωγῆς ἐξελθόντες] ثم خرج من مجمع اليهود (ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܠܒܢܐ) (MSS c<sup>1</sup> and c<sup>2</sup>).

V.29b Καὶ εὐθέως ἐκ τῆς συναγωγῆς ἐξελθόντες] ثم خرج من مجمع اليهود (ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܠܒܢܐ) (MSS c<sup>1</sup> and c<sup>2</sup>).

V.30 omits εὐθὺς with the Peshitta (MSS c<sup>1</sup> and c<sup>2</sup>).

V.35 Καὶ πρωτὶ ἔννυχον λίαν ἀναστὰς ἐξῆλθεν καὶ ἀπῆλθεν εἰς ἔρημον τόπον] [فباكر بغلس] كبير فخرج الى مكان بريه (ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܠܒܢܐ) (MS c<sup>1</sup> ; MS c<sup>2</sup> follows also the Peshitta and reads (فابتكر بسحر كبير وخرج الى مكان قفر).

V. 45 ἐπ' ἐρήμοις τόποις] في ارض بريه (ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܠܒܢܐ) (MSS c<sup>1</sup> and c<sup>2</sup> with بريه instead of قفر).

#### 13.3.3.2. MSS c<sup>1</sup> and c<sup>2</sup> Against the Peshitta

V.2 ἐν τοῖς προφήταις] في الانبياء (ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܠܒܢܐ) (MSS c<sup>1</sup> and c<sup>2</sup>).

V.5a فكان يعبد كلهم [και ἐβαπτίζοντο πάντες]. It is worth noting that the expression كل occurs three times in Arabic in this verse (where it appears only twice in Greek and Syriac and in different locations). The Arabic reads وكان يخرج اليه كل كوره يهوذا وكل اهل اورشليم فكان يعبد كلهم. The first كل is supported by the Greek and Syriac, the second by the Peshitta only and the third by the Byzantine text. Hence, the Arabic has a fusion of both Greek and Syriac readings. (MSS *c*<sup>1</sup> and *c*<sup>2</sup>).

V.5b في نهر الاردن [ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ ποταμῷ] (MSS *c*<sup>1</sup> and *c*<sup>2</sup>).

V.16a واندريا [Ἀνδρέαν] (and also in 29) (MSS *c*<sup>1</sup> and *c*<sup>2</sup>).

V.16b اخا سمعان [Ἀνδρέαν τὸν ἀδελφὸν [αὐτοῦ τοῦ Σίμωνος] (MS *c*<sup>1</sup>; but MS *c*<sup>2</sup> reads اخاه only and follows the Syriac Peshitta).

V.40 يرغب اليه ويسقط على رجليه وقال [μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἡμέραν, μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἡμέραν] (MSS *c*<sup>1</sup> and *c*<sup>2</sup> reads παρκαλῶν αὐτὸν καὶ γονυπετῶν αὐτὸν καὶ λέγων αὐτῷ) (MSS *c*<sup>1</sup> and *c*<sup>2</sup> with some minor variants).

V.42 فلما قال هذا من ساعته ذهب عنه برصه [καὶ εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ εὐθὺς ἀπῆλθεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἡ λέπρα] (MSS *c*<sup>1</sup> and *c*<sup>2</sup>).

V.45 لم يكن يستطيع ان يدخل في مدينه [καὶ οὐκ ἔκασκεν εἰσελθεῖν εἰς πόλιν] (MS *c*<sup>1</sup>; MS *c*<sup>2</sup> follows the Peshitta, it reads لم يكن يسوع يقدر يدخل مدينه علانيه (ὥστε μηκέτι αὐτὸν δύνασθαι φανερώς εἰς πόλιν εἰσελθεῖν) (MS *c*<sup>1</sup>; MS *c*<sup>2</sup> follows the Peshitta, it reads لم يكن يسوع يقدر يدخل مدينه علانيه).

On a number of occasions, the word order points to the *Vorlage*. Here are a few examples (bearing in mind that the convergence could be accidental):

V.9 فاعتمد من يحنا بالاردن (MSS *c*<sup>1</sup> and *c*<sup>2</sup>) follows the Byzantine Text.

V. 13 والملايكه تخدمه (MSS *c*<sup>1</sup> and *c*<sup>2</sup>) with the Byzantine Text.

V. 20 تركا اباهما زبدي (MS *c*<sup>1</sup> with the Greek; Ms *c*<sup>2</sup> transposes with the Peshitta تركا زيدا اباهما).

### 13.4. Family D: The variants in Luke Chapters 10-19

(1) Transposition: There are four variants where the Arabic transposes against the Peshitta:

(a) Lk 12:42 reads الحكيم الامين (fol. 73v) against the Peshitta المسحوقين (The Arabic agrees with the Greek Lectionary l292 only).

(b) Lk 12:56 reads يا مراين وجه السما والارض (fol. 74r) with one Peshitta manuscript (Mas. 1. Codex Add. 12138 A.D. 899 which reads هنا هو against the majority Peshitta MSS which have هنا هو (The Arabic agrees also with P<sup>45</sup> P<sup>75</sup>  $\aleph^2$  D K L N 070 33 1241 *pm* it vg<sup>cl</sup> Sy<sup>s.c.</sup> co).

(c) Lk 18:7 reads بالليل والنهار (fol. 79r) with one Peshitta manuscript (Cod. Add. 14470 of the 5<sup>th</sup>/6<sup>th</sup> century) against the Majority Peshitta MSS.

(The Arabic also agrees with D 472 954 1009 1194 1241 1675 1211 11074 Lvt (d) Dta Dtp).

(d) Lk 19:3 زكى صغيرا (fol. 80r) against the Peshitta ܡܚܠܕܐ ܕܡܚܠܕܐ ܕܡܚܠܕܐ ܕܡܚܠܕܐ. The Arabic transposes with no textual support. (it is worth noting that all *Vorlagen* except The Peshitta, Curetonian, the Arabic Diatessaron and possibly the Greek MS 0139<sup>vid</sup> omit ܡܚܠܕܐ (ζαῖος)).

(2) Additions:

(a) In Lk 11:14 عندما اخرج يسوع شيطانا (fol. 71v). The Arabic adds يسوع with the Greek MS F and three Latin Vulgate MSS. The Peshitta omits ܡܚܠܕܐ and reads ܡܚܠܕܐ ܡܚܠܕܐ.

(b) Lk 11:39 reads فهو ممتلى كل ظلم وغدر وشر (fol. 72r) against the Peshitta ܡܚܠܕܐ ܡܚܠܕܐ (the Arabic has no textual support).

(c) Lk 11:52 reads ويل لكم معشر المعلمين والفريسين (fol. 72r) The Addition of ويل and الفريسين has no textual support. It is however found in some patristic quotations.<sup>80</sup>

(d) Lk 13:23 reads فساله انسان ربي قليل اوليك الذين يخلصون (fol. 75r). The expression ربي is omitted in the Syriac Peshitta. The Arabic follows the Sinaiticus and the Curetonian (ܐܰܕܰܡ).

(e) Lk 17:20 reads ليس ياتي ملك الله بالاحتفاظ ولا انتظار ايام معلومه (fol. 78v). The addition of the phrase ولا انتظار ايام معلومه seems to be purely explanatory and not textual.

(f) Lk 18:11 reads وكان فريسي قابما يصلي بينه وبين نفسه هكذا كان يصلي (fol. 79r). The addition of the first يصلي has no textual support. The Peshitta reads ܡܚܠܕܐ ܡܚܠܕܐ ܡܚܠܕܐ ܡܚܠܕܐ. The addition is purely stylistic.

(g) Lk 18:14 reads امين اقول لكم... (fol. 79r). The addition of امين is supported by Lvt (aur gat) and some Latin Vulgate manuscripts.

(h) Lk 18:18 reads فساله احد رويس الفريسين وقال له (fol. 79r). The addition of الفريسين is supported by a few Peshitta manuscripts (MSS 11 13 23 26 36 39).<sup>81</sup>

(i) Lk 19:7 adds اليهود after جميع (fol. 80r). This reading has no textual support, it seems to be stylistic. The addition of اليهود defines جميع.

(j) Lk 18:35 reads وعندما كان يسوع قريبا الى اريحا (fol. 79v) with three Peshitta MSS (MSS. 8 21 40).

(k) Lk 19:29 reads بعث تلميذين من تلاميذه (fol. 80v). The addition of the expression تلميذين is stylistic and not textual.

80 In: AM AU Ad MAX RUF Gn. (for the sigla used here see, *The Gospel according to St. Luke*, vol. 1, xii.)

81 See Pusey and Gwilliam, *Tetraevangelium*, ad loc.

## (3) Singular/Plural:

(a) Lk 18:29 reads ليس احد يترك بيت او اياه (fol. 79v). The use of the singular in both expressions بيت او اياه has no textual support. (This variant is common among manuscripts translated from the Syriac as the plural is formed by the addition of the two dots above the noun). (see also Lk 11:7 ولدي معي في السرير (fol. 71v)).

## (4) Omissions:

(a) يا رب and يا رب: Lk 10:17 reads يا رب instead of يا رب (fol. 70v). The omission of the attached pronoun (1<sup>st</sup> person plural and sometimes 1<sup>st</sup> person singular, يا رب) is purely stylistic and does not necessarily reflect a *textual* variant. (see also Lk 10:40 (fol. 71r); 11:1 (fol. 71r); 12:41 (fol. 73v); 13:8 يا سيد (fol. 74v); 17:5 (fol. 78r); 17:13 (fol. 78r); 17:37 (fol. 78v); 18:41 (fol. 80r); 19:8 (fol. 80r); 19:16, 18, 20, 25 (fol. 80v).

(b) In Lk 10:24 the Arabic text omits يا رب (fol. 70v) with no textual support. It might be a scribal error.

(c) Lk 11:2 reads قال له يسوع (fol. 71r) instead of يا رب. This variant might also be a scribal error (omission of the letter م).

(d) Lk 19:29 يدع الزيتون (fol. 80v). The Arabic text omits يا رب with the Syriac Sinaiticus. This omission of يا رب is stylistic and not textual (see also 19:37).

## 13.5. Family E: Variants from Matthew 1-15

The following variants are found in the first fifteen chapters of the Gospel of Matthew. Whenever the Arabic disagrees with the Syriac Peshitta in parallel it is mentioned below:

(1) يا رب: In Mt 2:8 (fol. 16v) and 2:20 (fol. 17r), the Arabic reads قايلا while the Syriac reads يا رب. Both readings agree with the Greek *Vorlage*. However, in 4:3 (fol. 20r), 8:19 (fol. 34r) and 14:31 (fol. 57v), the Arabic reads قايلا and omits يا رب with no Greek textual support. This shows that the addition and omission of يا رب does not seem to reflect a *textual* variant but a *stylistic* preference. A similar omission is found in Mt 8:25 (fol. 34r); 9:14 (fol. 36v), 13:36 (fol. 53r) but with the third person pl. قايلين.

(2) سموات: In Mt 3:16 (fol. 20r), 5:20 (fol. 24r) and 6:9 (fol. 27v), the Arabic has السموات (pl.) and the Syriac سماء (singl.). In the three cases above, the Arabic seems to follow the Greek which has *οὐρανός* in plural. However, in one case, in Mt 6:20 (fol. 29r), both Greek and Syriac have *οὐρανός* in the singular but the Arabic in the plural. This suggests that the Arabic might have come to agree with the Greek independently. Moreover, it is worth mentioning that the plural in Syriac is only distinguished by two dots on the word—thus the consonants do not change. Given that

the textual analysis of chapters 1-15 was made based on scans of the manuscript, and hence some dots might not be observed, any conclusion, specifically when it comes to the *number* of a noun, is merely tentative.

(3) Mt 7:21-22 (fol. 31v): In verse 21 the Arabic reads with the Syriac *يا سيدي يا سيدي* (ܝܐ ܣܝܕܝ, ܝܐ ܣܝܕܝ), but in verse 22 the Arabic omits the possessive pronouns and reads with the Greek *يا رب يا رب* (κύριε κύριε) against the Syriac. Does this reading reflect a *textual* variant or is it simply a scribal linguistic preference? It is certainly difficult to know, but since this exercise shows that there is rarely any agreement with the Greek, it could possibly be that the Arabic has come to agree with the Greek *Vorlage* independently.

(4) Mt 8:15 (fol. 33v) reads *وجعلت تخدمهم*... (καὶ διηκόνει αὐτοῖς) with the Greek MSS  $\aleph^1$  L  $\Delta$   $\mathcal{A}^{13}$  33. 565 892 1424 1844 12211 *pm* lat sy<sup>s.c</sup> bo. The Peshitta parallel to the Arabic text reads *ܠܡ* instead of *ܠܡܠܟܐ* (καὶ διηκόνει αὐτῷ). This is hardly a textual variant. The scribe might have inserted *هم* (pl.) since the immediate context refers to both Jesus and Peter (verse 14).

(5) Mt 10:5 (fol. 38v) *ولمدينه السامره*: the expression *مدينه* is in singular and follows the Greek *πόλιν* against the Syriac. Cf. the variant in number two above.

(6) Mt 11:1 (fol. 42r) *ليكرز ويعلم*: the Arabic transposes with one Syriac Peshitta manuscript, Old Latin *k* (*praedicaret et doceret*), and the Armenian version. This reading might reflect a *textual* variant. It is possible to suggest here that since codex Vatican, Syr. 269 is a copy of an earlier exemplar, the Syriac *Vorlage* from which the Arabic Archetype was translated might have had this transposed variant, and later found its way in this codex.

(7) In Mt 12:11 (fol. 45r) the Arabic text reads *ثم انه اجاب وقال لهم*. According to Legg, the addition of *اجاب* (he answered) has no textual support. The context suggests a possible scribal addition to the original text. In verse ten Jesus was asked a question, and the addition of “he answered” flows perfectly well with the context.

(8) In Mt 13:4 (fol. 49r) the Arabic text reads *وانت الطيور واكلته*. The expression *الطيور* is in plural and follows the Greek *τὰ πετεηνὰ* against the Syriac which has it in singular. (See the discussion over the variant in number 2 above).

## 13.6. Family G

## 13.6.1. Sixty-Nine Readings in John which Follow the Peshitta against the Greek Majority Text:

No.	Refr.	Beirut, B.O., Or. 430	Peshitta	Greek – Majority Text
1	1:4	به كانت الحياه والحياء هي نور الناس	ܠܗ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ	ἐν αὐτῷ ζωὴ ἦν καὶ ἡ ζωὴ ἦν τὸ φῶς τῶν ἀνθρώπων
2	1:17	فاما الحق النعمة	ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ	ἡ χάρις καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια
3	1:18	الله لم يره انسان قط الوحيد الله	ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ	ὁ μονογενὴς υἱός
4	1:21	فقال كلا	ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ	καὶ ἀπεκρίθη Οὐ
5	1:28	هذه الامور كانت في عبر الاردن	ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ	Ταῦτα ἐν Βηθανίᾳ ἐγένετο πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου
6	1:38	يا معلمنا	ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ	ῥαββί
7	1:40	وان واحد اوليك الذي سمعا من يوحنا وتبعنا ايشوع كان اندر اوس اخو شمعون	ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ	Ὦν Ἀνδρέας ὁ ἀδελφὸς Σίμωνος Πέτρου εἰς ἐκ τῶν δύο τῶν ἀκουσάντων παρὰ Ἰωάννου καὶ ἀκολουθησάντων αὐτῷ
8	1:41	قد وجدنا المسيح	ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ	Εὐρήκαμεν τὸν Μεσίαν ὃ ἐστὶν μεθερμηνεύόμενον Χριστός
9	1:42	انت تدعى الصفاء	ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ	σὺ κληθήσῃ Κηφᾶς ὃ ἐρμηνεύεται Πέτρος
10	1:50	قال له ايشوع	ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ	ἀπεκρίθη Ἰησοῦς καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ
11	2:1	في قاطني مدينه الجليل	ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ	ἐν Κανὰ τῆς Γαλιλαίας
12	2:23	واذ كان يشوع	ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ	Ὡς δὲ ἦν ἐν τοῖς

No.	Refr.	Beirut, B.O., Or. 430	Peshitta	Greek – Majority Text
		في اورشليم	ܡܥܕ ܕܟܝܪܝܐܠܝܡ	Ἱεροσολύμοις
13	3:5	اجاب ايشوع وقال له	ܟܬܝܒ ܡܥܕ ܕܝܫܘܥ	ἀπεκρίθη Ἰησοῦς
14	4:1	وان ايشوع علم ان الاحبار قد سمعوا...	ܡܥܕ ܕܝܫܘܥ ܥܠܡ ܐܢ ܕܠܝܬܝܢ ܕܥܠܡܐ...	Ὡς οὖν ἔγνω ὁ Κύριος ὅτι ἤκουσαν οἱ φαρισαῖοι
15	4:17	قالت له	ܡܠ ܕܝܫܘܥ	ἀπεκρίθη ἡ γυνὴ καὶ εἶπεν
16	4:22	لان الحياه انما هي من اليهود	ܕܝܫܘܥ ܕܡܥܕ ܕܝܫܘܥ	ὅτι ἡ σωτηρία ἐκ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐστίν
17	4:23	بالحق والروح	ܕܝܫܘܥ ܕܡܥܕ ܕܝܫܘܥ	ἐν πνεύματι καὶ ἀληθείᾳ
18	4:25	ان مسيا ياتي	ܕܝܫܘܥ ܕܡܥܕ ܕܝܫܘܥ	ὅτι Μεσίας ἔρχεται ὁ λεγόμενος Χριστός:
19	4:27	فبينما هو يتكلم جاء تلاميذه	ܡܥܕ ܕܝܫܘܥ ܕܡܥܕ ܕܝܫܘܥ	Καὶ ἐπὶ Τοῦτῳ ἦλθαν οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ
20	4:43	خرج ايشوع	ܡܥܕ ܕܝܫܘܥ	ἔξηλθεν
21	5:13	لان يسوع كان قد استتر في الجمع الكثير الذي كان في ذلك الموضع	ܡܥܕ ܕܝܫܘܥ ܕܡܥܕ ܕܝܫܘܥ ܕܝܫܘܥ ܕܡܥܕ ܕܝܫܘܥ ܕܝܫܘܥ ܕܡܥܕ ܕܝܫܘܥ	ὁ γὰρ Ἰησοῦς ἐξένευσεν ὄχλου ὄντος ἐν τῷ τόπῳ
22	5:14	لعله ان يصيبك شي شر من الاول	ܡܥܕ ܕܝܫܘܥ ܕܡܥܕ ܕܝܫܘܥ ܡܥܕ ܕܝܫܘܥ ܕܡܥܕ ܕܝܫܘܥ	ἵνα μὴ χεῖρόν τι σοὶ γένηται
23	5:17	فاما ايشوع فقال لهم	ܡܥܕ ܕܝܫܘܥ ܕܡܥܕ ܕܝܫܘܥ	ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτοῖς
24	5:30	من ارسلني	ܡܥܕ ܕܝܫܘܥ ܕܡܥܕ ܕܝܫܘܥ	τοῦ πέμψαντός με πατρός
25	6:7	قال له فيلفوس	ܡܥܕ ܕܝܫܘܥ ܕܡܥܕ ܕܝܫܘܥ	ἀπεκρίθη αὐτῷ Φίλιππος
26	6:11a	فبارك	ܡܥܕ ܕܝܫܘܥ ܕܡܥܕ ܕܝܫܘܥ	καὶ εὐχαριστήσας



No.	Refr.	Beirut, B.O., Or. 430	Peshitta	Greek – Majority Text
27	6:11b	وقسمه بينهم	ܩܨܠܐ ܠܡܬܐܬܝܬܝܗܘܢ	διδόσκεν τοῖς μαθηταῖς, οἱ δέ μαθηταὶ τοῖς ἄ νακειμένοις
28	6:20	فقال لهم إيشوع	ܩܬܠ ܐܝܬܘܥ ܠܗܘܢ	δὲ λέγει αὐτοῖς
29	6:22	ان ايشوع لم يدخلها مع الحواريون	ܩܬܠ ܐܝܬܘܥ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܥܡܐ ܡܥܡܐ ܡܥܡܐ	ὅτι οὐ συνεισῆλθεν τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἰς τὸ πλοιάριον <u>ἀλλὰ</u> <u>μόνοι οἱ μαθηταὶ</u> <u>αὐτοῦ, ἀπῆλθον</u>
30	6:23	الذي بارك عليه اشوع	ܡܥܡܐ ܡܥܡܐ ܡܥܡܐ	εὐχαριστήσαντος τοῦ κυρίου
31	6:66	من اجل هذه الكلمه	ܡܥܡܐ ܡܥܡܐ ܡܥܡܐ	Ἐκ τούτου
32	6:71	يهوذا ابن شمعون	ܡܥܡܐ ܡܥܡܐ ܡܥܡܐ	τὸν Ἰούδαν Σίμωνος
33	7:3	فقال اخوه إيشوع له	ܩܬܠ ܐܝܬܘܥ ܠܗܘܢ	εἶπον οὖν πρὸς αὐ τὸν οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐ τοῦ
34	7:35	الى بلدان الشعوب ليعلم الوثنيين	ܩܬܠ ܐܝܬܘܥ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܥܡܐ ܡܥܡܐ ܡܥܡܐ	εἰς τὴν διασποράν <u>τῶν Ἑλλήνων</u> [...] <u>καὶ</u> <u>διδάσκειν τοὺς</u> <u>Ἑλληνας</u>
35	7:45	فقال لهم الكهنه	ܩܬܠ ܐܝܬܘܥ ܠܗܘܢ	καὶ εἶπον αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖνοι
36	7:46	قال لهم الشرط	ܩܬܠ ܐܝܬܘܥ ܠܗܘܢ	<u>ἀπεκρίθησαν</u> οἱ ὑπηρεταί
37	7:47	قال لهم الاحبار	ܩܬܠ ܐܝܬܘܥ ܠܗܘܢ	<u>ἀπεκρίθησαν</u> οὖν αὐτοῖς οἱ Φαρισαῖοι
38	7:50	الذي كان اقبل الى ايشوع ليلا	ܩܬܠ ܐܝܬܘܥ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܥܡܐ ܡܥܡܐ ܡܥܡܐ	ὁ ἐλθὼν νυκτὸς πρὸς αὐτὸν
39	8:29	ولم يدعني ابي وحدي	ܩܬܠ ܐܝܬܘܥ ܠܗܘܢ	οὐκ ἀφήκέν με μόνον ὁ πατήρ
40	9:7	شيلوحا	ܩܬܠ ܐܝܬܘܥ ܠܗܘܢ	τοῦ Σιλωάμ <u>ὃ</u> <u>ἐρμηνεύεται</u>

No.	Refr.	Beirut, B.O., Or. 430	Peshitta	Greek – Majority Text
				<u>Ἀπεσταλμένος</u>
41	9:8	والذين كانوا يروونه من قبل <u>يسل الصدقه</u>	ܟܪܫܬܐ ܕܠܡܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ	καὶ οἱ θεωροῦντες αὐτὸν τὸ πρότερον ὅτι <u>τυφλὸς</u> ἦν
42	9:21	فاما كيف صار الان بصيرا	ܟܠܡܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ	πῶς δὲ νῦν βλέπει <u>οὐκ οἶδαμεν</u> ,
43	10:38	ان ابي في وانا في ابي	ܐܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ	ὅτι ἐν ἐμοὶ ὁ πατὴρ καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ
44	11:4a	فاما ايشوع فقال	ܐܡܪ ܝܫܘܥ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ	<u>ἀκούσας</u> δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν
45	11:29	فاما مريم لما استمعت	ܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ	ἐκείνη ὡς ἤκουσεν
46	11:31	انطلقوا معها <u>لأنهم ظنوا</u>	ܐܡܪ ܝܫܘܥ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ	ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῇ <u>λέγοντες</u>
47	11:38	صار الى المقبره وكانت <u>المقبره مغاره</u>	ܐܡܪ ܝܫܘܥ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ	ἔρχεται εἰς τὸ μνημεῖον· ἦν δὲ <u>σπήλαιον</u>
48	12:4a	فقال يهوذا السخرىوطى	ܐܡܪ ܝܫܘܥ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ	λέγει οὖν [...] Ἰούδας <u>Σίμωνος</u> <u>Ἰσκαριώτης</u>
49	12:20	وكان فيهم اناس من <u>الشعوب</u>	ܐܡܪ ܝܫܘܥ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ	Ἦσαν δὲ <u>τινες</u> Ἑλλή- νηρές
50	13:25	فخر ذاك التلميذ على صدر ايشوع	ܐܡܪ ܝܫܘܥ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ	ἐπιπescών δὲ ἐκεῖνος οὕτως ἐπὶ τὸ στῆθος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ
51	13:30	وكان الليل إذ خرج	ܐܡܪ ܝܫܘܥ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ	ἦν δὲ νύξ
52	13:31	وقال ايشوع	ܐܡܪ ܝܫܘܥ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ	<u>Ὅτε ἐξηλθεν</u> λέγει ὁ Ἰησοῦς
53	13:37	قال له <u>شمعون</u> الصفا	ܐܡܪ ܝܫܘܥ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ	λέγει αὐτῷ <u>Πέτρος</u>
54	17:17	يا ايها الاب قدسهم بحقك	ܐܡܪ ܝܫܘܥ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ	ἀγίασον αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ· σου·
55	18:15	فدخل مع ايشوع الى الدار	ܐܡܪ ܝܫܘܥ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ	καὶ συνεισηλθεν τῷ Ἰησοῦ εἰς τὴν αὐλήν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως



No.	Refr.	Beirut, B.O., Or. 430	Peshitta	Greek – Majority Text
64	21:3	انا انطلق فاصطاد سمكا	ܐܢܐ ܢܬܬܠܩ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ	Ὑπάγω ἀλιεύειν
65	21:6	من كثرة الحيات التي ضبطت	ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ	ἀπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἰχθύων
66	21:7a	واما شمعون لما سمع	ܐܡܐ ܫܡܥܘܢ ܠܡܐ ܫܡܥ	Σίμων οὖν Πέτρος ἀκούσας
67	21:7b	فقفذ نفسه في البحر ليسير الى ايشوع	ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ	καὶ ἔβαλεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν
68	21:20	فالتفت شمعون الصفاء	ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ	Επιστραφεὶς δέ ὁ Πέτρος
69	21:25b	التي كانت تكتب	ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ	τὰ γραφόμενα [...] ἁμὴν

### 13.6.2. Eleven Readings in John's Gospel which Follow neither the Peshitta nor the Greek Majority Text

#### 13.6.2.1. The Table with the Eleven Readings

1	4:10	كيف انت وانتي يهودي تستقي الماء	ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ	πῶς σὺ Ἰουδαῖος ὢν παρ' ἐμοῦ πίνει αἰτεῖς
2	5:11	فاما هو فقال لهم	ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ	ἀπεκρίθη αὐτοῖς
3	11:2	الرب ايشوع	ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ	τὸν κύριον
4	11:4b	ليمجد الله من اجله	ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ	ἵνα δοξασθῇ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ δι' αὐτῆς
5	11:28	فدعت اختها سرا	ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ	καὶ ἐφώνησεν Μαρίαν τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτῆς
6	12:4b	احد تلاميذه	ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ	εἰς ἐκ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ [...] ὁ μέλλων αὐτὸν παραδιδόναι
7	16:27	اني انا من عند الاب خرجت	ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ	ὅτι ἐγὼ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐξηλθον
8	18:37a	فانت اذا ملك	ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ	Οὐκοῦν βασιλεὺς εἶ

		اليهود		سۇ
9	20:6b	فدخل	ܘܠܠܚܡܬܡܚܝܬܐ	καὶ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸ μνημεῖον
10	20:12	حيث كان جسد ربنا موضوعا	ܟܝܬ ܕܡܝܬܬܐ ܕܪܒܢܐ ܕܡܘܨܥܐ	ὅπου ἔκειτο τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ
11	21:25a	ما كان العالم تلقى الكتب التي كانت تكتب	ܡܐ ܠܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܝܬܬܐ ܕܡܘܨܥܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܝܬܬܐ ܕܡܘܨܥܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܝܬܬܐ ܕܡܘܨܥܐ	οὐδὲ αὐτὸν οἶμαι τὸν κόσμον χωρῆσαι τὰ γραφόμενα βιβλία

### 13.6.2.2.A Reflection on the Eleven Readings

(1) John 4:10 كيف انت وانت يهودي تستقي الماء: The addition of الماء is not found in the Peshitta or Greek MSS but in the Syriac Sinaiticus version (ܕܡܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܝܬܬܐ ܕܡܘܨܥܐ). However, since in Arabic the verb استقى requires an object, one should not expect a genetic relationship between the Arabic variant and the Sinaiticus version. The converging could simply be coincidental.

(2) John 5:11 فاما هو فقال لهم: The Peshitta reads ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܝܬܬܐ ܕܡܘܨܥܐ. The *Vetus Syra* reads ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܝܬܬܐ[ܐ]. The Arabic omits ܡܠܟܐ with the *Vetus Syra*.

(3) John 11:2 الرب ايشوع: The Syriac reads ܡܠܟܐ and the Greek τὸν κύριον. The Arabic has both readings. The converging (and/or assimilation) could also be coincidental and not necessary textual.

(4-6). John 11:4b ليمجد الله من اجله: the Peshitta, as well as most Greek manuscripts, read ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ. The omission of ὁ υἱὸς might be a scribal error. A similar mistake is repeated in John 11:28 (with the omission of ܡܠܟܐ) and John 12:4b (with the omission of ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܝܬܬܐ ܕܡܘܨܥܐ).<sup>82</sup>

(7) John 16:27 اني انا من عند الاب خرجت: the Syriac versions and most of the surviving Greek manuscripts read [τοῦ] θεοῦ instead of [τοῦ] πατρός. The Arabic seems to follow, according to NA<sup>27</sup>, the following manuscripts: Ⳉ<sup>1</sup> B C\* D L 1844 pc (ff<sup>2</sup>) co. The fact that πατήρ occurs in verse 26 and 28 increases the possibility of a scribal error instead of a textual dependency.

(8) John 18:37 فانئت اذا ملك اليهود: the addition of اليهود has no textual support. It appears to be a scribal error. The same phrase is found in verse 34: Σὺ εἶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων.

82 See also the omission in John 8:24 caused by homoioteleuton; and also in John 13:32. In John 18:2 the scribe omits مسلمه and in John 20:28 وقال له.

(9) John 20:6b فدخل: The omission of ܠܠܚܡܝܢ (εἰς τὸ μνημεῖον) has no textual support.

(10) John 20:12 حيث كان جسد ربنا موضوعا: the substitution of ܡܥܡܐ with ربنا should not necessarily be considered textual.

(11) John 21:25 ما كان العالم تلقى الكتب التي كانت تكتب ܡܡܝܢ ܡܡܝܢ might reflect a pre-Peshitta or Old Syriac *Vorlage*. Neither the Greek manuscripts nor the Peshitta and Coptic versions omit this reading.

### 13.6.3. The *Vorlage* of the Story of the Woman Caught in Adultery in G<sup>5</sup>

When the Arabic text is compared with the Palestinian Syriac text, it becomes obvious that the Arabic is not translated from Syriac. The Arabic text agrees with the Majority Text (Greek Byzantine text) with a few exceptions:

(1) In verse 53 of John 7 the Majority Text read οικον αυτου (his house). The Arabic text reads موضعه (his place) and agrees, according to NA<sup>27</sup>, with 1. 892 *pc*. And the Coptic Bohairic version (επερμαα (his place)).

(2) In verse 9 of John 8 the Arabic reads بدوا يخرجون واحد واحد الى ان خرج الشيوخ جميعهم. The expression ἀρχόμενοι ἀπὸ (beginning with...) is omitted, and agrees with D *pc* ωστε παντας εξελθειν.

(3) In verse 10a the Arabic text omits καὶ μηδένα θεασάμενος πλὴν τῆς γυναικὸς with D Γ 1. 892 *pm* latt bo<sup>Pt</sup>.

(4) In verse 10b the Arabic omits οὐδεὶς σε κατέκρινεν with no textual support.

(5) In verse 11, manuscript g<sup>5</sup> has من (without the conjunction) and k<sup>1</sup> has ومن. MSS D *pc* ff<sup>2</sup> bo<sup>Pt</sup> omit the conjunction as in g<sup>5</sup>.

This pericope is translated from Greek of a Byzantine text type. However, the inclusion of ωστε παντας εξελθειν in verse nine and the omission of καὶ μηδένα θεασάμενος πλὴν τῆς γυναικὸς in verse ten shows a Western influence.

The *Vorlage* of this pericope is unlikely to be Coptic. Most Coptic manuscripts omit it, although a few later manuscripts insert it with a gloss showing that this passage was translated from Arabic into Coptic and not vice versa.<sup>83</sup> A comparison of the Coptic manuscript B (copied in

83 The Coptic manuscript which has the sigla B is closer to Arabic than manuscript A. See the text in Horner, *The Coptic Version*, vol. 2, 420-430.

1179 A.D.) with the texts of  $g^5$  and  $k^1$  demonstrates that  $g^5$  (Beirut, B.O., Or. 430) is closer to the Coptic manuscript B than the Arabic manuscript  $k^1$  (Sinai, Ar. 101 copied in the 12<sup>th</sup> century). In verse nine  $g^5$  retains *متفهمي التبكيت* with the Coptic manuscript B against  $k^1$  which omits it. This might show that the pericope as found in  $g^5$  (Beirut, B.O., Or. 430) was in circulation before the twelfth century.

### 13.7. Family H (Vatican, Ar. 13)

#### 13.7.1. Three Chapters from Matthew 1, Mark 5 and Luke 3, and their Syriac Peshitta Parallel

##### 1Matthew 1:1-24 (fol. 1r-v)

1 ܕܡܝܠܕ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚ ܒܢ ܕܐܘܕ ܒܢ ܐܒܪܗܝܡ  
1 ܕܡܝܠܕ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚ ܒܢ ܕܐܘܕ ܒܢ ܐܒܪܗܝܡ

2 ܕܡܝܠܕ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚ ܒܢ ܕܐܘܕ ܒܢ ܐܒܪܗܝܡ  
2 ܕܡܝܠܕ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚ ܒܢ ܕܐܘܕ ܒܢ ܐܒܪܗܝܡ  
2 ܕܡܝܠܕ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚ ܒܢ ܕܐܘܕ ܒܢ ܐܒܪܗܝܡ  
2 ܕܡܝܠܕ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚ ܒܢ ܕܐܘܕ ܒܢ ܐܒܪܗܝܡ

3 ܕܡܝܠܕ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚ ܒܢ ܕܐܘܕ ܒܢ ܐܒܪܗܝܡ  
3 ܕܡܝܠܕ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚ ܒܢ ܕܐܘܕ ܒܢ ܐܒܪܗܝܡ  
3 ܕܡܝܠܕ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚ ܒܢ ܕܐܘܕ ܒܢ ܐܒܪܗܝܡ  
3 ܕܡܝܠܕ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚ ܒܢ ܕܐܘܕ ܒܢ ܐܒܪܗܝܡ

4 ܕܡܝܠܕ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚ ܒܢ ܕܐܘܕ ܒܢ ܐܒܪܗܝܡ  
4 ܕܡܝܠܕ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚ ܒܢ ܕܐܘܕ ܒܢ ܐܒܪܗܝܡ  
4 ܕܡܝܠܕ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚ ܒܢ ܕܐܘܕ ܒܢ ܐܒܪܗܝܡ  
4 ܕܡܝܠܕ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚ ܒܢ ܕܐܘܕ ܒܢ ܐܒܪܗܝܡ

5 ܕܡܝܠܕ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚ ܒܢ ܕܐܘܕ ܒܢ ܐܒܪܗܝܡ  
5 ܕܡܝܠܕ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚ ܒܢ ܕܐܘܕ ܒܢ ܐܒܪܗܝܡ  
5 ܕܡܝܠܕ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚ ܒܢ ܕܐܘܕ ܒܢ ܐܒܪܗܝܡ  
5 ܕܡܝܠܕ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚ ܒܢ ܕܐܘܕ ܒܢ ܐܒܪܗܝܡ

6 ܕܡܝܠܕ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚ ܒܢ ܕܐܘܕ ܒܢ ܐܒܪܗܝܡ  
6 ܕܡܝܠܕ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚ ܒܢ ܕܐܘܕ ܒܢ ܐܒܪܗܝܡ  
6 ܕܡܝܠܕ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚ ܒܢ ܕܐܘܕ ܒܢ ܐܒܪܗܝܡ  
6 ܕܡܝܠܕ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚ ܒܢ ܕܐܘܕ ܒܢ ܐܒܪܗܝܡ

7 ܕܡܝܠܕ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚ ܒܢ ܕܐܘܕ ܒܢ ܐܒܪܗܝܡ  
7 ܕܡܝܠܕ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚ ܒܢ ܕܐܘܕ ܒܢ ܐܒܪܗܝܡ  
7 ܕܡܝܠܕ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚ ܒܢ ܕܐܘܕ ܒܢ ܐܒܪܗܝܡ  
7 ܕܡܝܠܕ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚ ܒܢ ܕܐܘܕ ܒܢ ܐܒܪܗܝܡ

84 The Greek, however, adds δε. This addition is found 38 times in verses 1-17. It is omitted in the Peshitta as well as in the Arabic text.

85 The Greek, however, reads Ζαρα.

86 The Greek, however, reads Ερωμ.

87 The Arabic differs from the Majority Peshitta MSS. It follows two Peshitta MSS (2 and 3) which read ܡܫܝܚ (with also the Syriac Curetonian). The Greek reads differently (Πουθ).

88 The Greek, however, reads εκ της του Ουριου.

- 7 سُلَيْمَن وَلَد \*رَجَبَاب ارجيعاب\*<sup>89</sup> وَلَد ابيا ابيا وَلَد اسَا<sup>90</sup>
- 8 رَمَضَ رَمَلْ لَمَضَمَعْلَ نَمَضَمَعْلَ رَمَلْ لَمَعُزْ نَمِزْ رَمَلْ لَمَعُزْ  
8 اسَا وَلَد ياهوسفاط<sup>91</sup> ياهوسفاط وَلَد يورام يورام وَلَد عوريا<sup>92</sup>
- 9 عَمَتَمَ رَمَلْ لَمَعُزْ نَمَعُزْ رَمَلْ لَمِزْ رَمَلْ لَمَعُزْ  
9 عوزيا وَلَد يوثام يوثام وَلَد اخاز اخاز وَلَد حزقيا
- 10 شَامَمَ رَمَلْ لَمَعُزْ حَمَمَ رَمَلْ لَمَعُزْ رَمَلْ لَمَعُزْ  
10 حزقيا وَلَد ميسي ميسي وَلَد امون امون وَلَد يوسيا
- 11 نَمَعُزْ رَمَلْ لَمَعُزْ مَلَمَعُزْ تَمَلَمَعُزْ  
11 يوسيا وَلَد يوكنيا واخوته فى زمان النقلة الى بابل
- 12 حَمَ شَمِزْ مَلَمَعُزْ تَمَ تَمَلَمَعُزْ نَمَعُزْ رَمَلْ لَمَعُزْ مَلَمَعُزْ لَمَعُزْ  
12 ومن بعد النقلة الى بابل يوكنيا وَلَد سالتيل سالتيل وَلَد زرنبايل<sup>93</sup>
- 13 اَمِزْشَل رَمَلْ لَمَعُزْ رَمَعُزْ رَمَلْ لَمَعُزْ رَمَعُزْ رَمَلْ لَمَعُزْ  
13 زرنبايل وَلَد ابيود ابيود وَلَد الياقيم الياقيم وَلَد عازور
- 14 خَمِزْ رَمَلْ لَمَعُزْ اَمَمَ رَمَلْ لَمَعُزْ رَمَعُزْ رَمَلْ لَمَعُزْ  
14 عازور وَلَد زادوق زادوق وَلَد اخيم اخيم وَلَد اليود
- 15 مَلَمَعُزْ رَمَلْ لَمَعُزْ مَلَمَعُزْ رَمَلْ لَمَعُزْ مَلَمَعُزْ رَمَلْ لَمَعُزْ  
15 اليود وَلَد اليعازر اليعازر وَلَد ماثان ماثان وَلَد يعقوب
- 16 مَلَمَعُزْ رَمَلْ لَمَعُزْ مَلَمَعُزْ رَمَلْ لَمَعُزْ مَلَمَعُزْ رَمَلْ لَمَعُزْ  
16 يعقوب وَلَد يوسف زوج مريم التي منها وَلَد يسوع الذى يدعى المسيح
- 17 اُ مَلَمَعُزْ مَلَمَعُزْ مَلَمَعُزْ مَلَمَعُزْ مَلَمَعُزْ مَلَمَعُزْ  
حَمَمَ لَمَعُزْ تَمَلَمَعُزْ

89 The Greek, however, reads Ροβοαμ. The Arabic follows neither the Syriac nor the Greek. How do we explain the Arabic divergence? It might be that the scribe is copying his Arabic text from an archaic text which (1) does not have the dotting and (2) the final م is so archaic that the tail of the م does not go under the line (vertically) but has a horizontal tail similar to the archaic ب (without the final upper stroke). This shape of م is found in the late 7<sup>th</sup> early 8<sup>th</sup> century MSS (Cf. Grohmann, *Arabische Paläographie*, 691 A.D., 712 A.D., 715 A.D., 720-1 A.D.).

90 The Greek, however, reads Ασαφ.

91 The Greek, however, reads Ιωσαφατ.

92 But should be read عوزيا (with a dot above the ر). When this version was prepared the dotting system was not yet fully used.

93 The addition of ن to زربابل is possibly a misreading of the exemplar. This might also suggest that the scribe was not correcting his text against the Syriac or Greek.





23 [ها ذو] العذرى ستحب وتلد ابنا ويدعون اسمه عمانوال تاويله معنا [الها]<sup>101</sup>

24 خذ فم ابي نهف في عذرا حبه ربحك اقبه لم مخلصه وتكنه عذرا  
لربها

24 فلما انتبه يوسف من نومه<sup>102</sup> فصنع كما امره ملك الرب وانطلق<sup>103</sup> [...]ته.

25 هلم نخلص حبه تملنا لحيه كحيه دمنا عمن نعد  
25 ولم يعرفها حتى ولدت ابنها البكر ودعت اسمه يسوع

## 2. Mark 5:19-43 (fol. 55r-v)

19 [...] لحيه له ربحه ربحك لسه خمر اخبه لي تكنه عذرا  
حلي.

19 [...] الى منزلك واهلك فقص عليهم ما افاض وانعم به عليك ربك من رافه ورحمته

20 انا عذرا حبه تملنا لحيه خمر اخبه لم نعد هلمنا  
مه

20 فانطلق عند ذلك فجعل ينادى في العشره المداين ما صنع ايسوع وانعم به عليه وجميع من سمع  
ذلك كانوا متعجبين

21 حبه حبه نعد تصعبه لسه خمر اخبه حله خمر  
خمر ربحه خمر

21 فلما جاز ايسوع المجرع في القارب اجتمع اليه ايضا<sup>104</sup> جموع كثيره اذ كان على ساحل البحر

22 انا حبه نعد نهف في آخر حله خمر ساهي بقا له اكله  
22 فاتاه \*رجل يقال له يواراش<sup>105</sup> من بعض روسا الجماعه\*<sup>106</sup> فلما نظر اليه خر له ساجدا بين يديه

23 انا حبه نعد حله خمر اخبه حله خمر حبه خمر  
23 انا جعل يطلب اليه مطلبا حثيثا \*وقال له\*<sup>107</sup> ان ابنتي مريضه مدنفه شديده الحال مجهوده قد  
اشرفت على الموت

23ب انا حله خمر حله خمر حله خمر

23ب ولكن اقبل معي فضع يدك عليها فتبرا وتحيا

101 The Greek, however, reads ο Θεος.

102 The Greek, however, reads του υπνου.

103 The Greek, however, reads παραλαβειν.

104 The location of ايضا reflects a Syriac translation. In Greek πάλιν belongs to the previous clause. The Peshitta, however, transposes انا to after حبه. This Syriac transposition justifies the occurrence of ايضا in the second clause.

105 The Greek, however, reads Ἰαίρος.

106 The Greek however reads Καὶ ἔρχεται εἰς τῶν ἀρχισυναγῶγων, ὀνόματι Ἰαίρος. This is another indication of a Syriac origin.

107 The Greek reads λέγων (قائلا).



32 فجعل يلتفت لينظر من الذي فعل هذا المفعول

33 ثم ان المره اذ كانت فزعه مذعوره قلقه لمعرفتها بما رزقت من البروا والشفـا

33ب جات فخرت ساجده بين يديه واخبرته بجميع امرها على حقه وصدقہ

34 أ فقال لها هو عند ذلك يابنه ان ايمانك هو الذي احياك<sup>113</sup>

34ب انطلق، \*يا سيده<sup>114</sup> سلام فقد يرات من ضربتك \* [ووجعك] و عاهاك<sup>115</sup>

35 أًفينا هو يتكلم بهذا اذ انت رسل من بيت<sup>116</sup> ريس الجماعة فقالوا ان انتك قد توفيت

35ب فما حاجتك ان تشخص المودب وتغنيه وتتعبه<sup>117</sup>

പ്രകൃതി

ကလေးကလေးကလေး

[illegible]

38 فاتوا منزل ريس الجماعه فאלقاهم [مكتنين]<sup>119</sup> وهم يرنون ويكون

119 مکیین؟

39 هَلْ دَرَسْتَ لَمْ تَكُنْ تَسْمَعُ رِبَاةً هَجَبٌ لِلْعَلَمِ لَمْ تَكُنْ رِبَاةً  
تَمَكُّرٌ

39 فدخل فقال لهم ما بالكم جزعون باكيون الجارية لم تمت بل هي راقده

40 هَلْ تَسْمَعُ رِبَاةً حَلَمٌ رِبَاةً رِبَاةً لَخَلَمٌ دَرَسَتْ لَخَلَمٌ تَلَمٌ هَلْ تَكُنْ  
40 أفعولوا يضحكون منه \* ويتهزون به \*<sup>120</sup> ثم ان ايسوع<sup>121</sup> اخرجهم باجمعهم فانطلق بابي الجارية  
وامها

40 هَلْ تَكُنْ تَكُنْ هَلْ تَكُنْ تَكُنْ هَلْ تَكُنْ تَكُنْ

40 والذين اتوا معه فدخل الموضع الذي كانت الجارية فيه مسجاة<sup>122</sup>

41 هَلْ تَكُنْ تَكُنْ تَكُنْ تَكُنْ تَكُنْ تَكُنْ

41 فاخذ بيدي الجارية فاقامها وقال لها \* يايتها الجارية انبعثي \*<sup>123</sup>

42 هَلْ تَكُنْ تَكُنْ تَكُنْ تَكُنْ تَكُنْ تَكُنْ

42 فانبعثت الجارية ساعتئذ وجعلت يتمشا<sup>124</sup> وكان قد اتا عليها من السنين نحو من اثنتى عشرة سنة

42 هَلْ تَكُنْ تَكُنْ تَكُنْ تَكُنْ تَكُنْ تَكُنْ

42 ففعلوا بتعجبون تعجبا عظيما

43 هَلْ تَكُنْ تَكُنْ تَكُنْ تَكُنْ تَكُنْ تَكُنْ

43 فتقدم اليهم واوصاهم الا يعلموا بهذا احدا وامرهم ان يطعموها

### 3. Luke 3:31-4:30 (fol. 75r-76v)

31 هَلْ تَكُنْ تَكُنْ تَكُنْ تَكُنْ تَكُنْ تَكُنْ

31 ابن مالي<sup>125</sup> ابن مطتا ابن ناثان ابن داود

32 هَلْ تَكُنْ تَكُنْ تَكُنْ تَكُنْ تَكُنْ تَكُنْ

32 ابن ايشي ابن عوبيد ابن باعاز ابن سلمون ابن نحشون

33 هَلْ تَكُنْ تَكُنْ تَكُنْ تَكُنْ تَكُنْ تَكُنْ

33 ابن عاميناداب ابن ارام ابن حصرون<sup>126</sup> ابن فرس ابن يهودا

120 Added above the line.

121 With some Peshitta manuscripts (MSS 7, 12, 16, 40), Greek F<sup>1</sup> pc and the Sy<sup>h</sup>.

122 B.O., Or. 430 has مسحاه.

123 The Greek, however, reads Ταλιθα κουμ̃ι ὃ ἐστὶν μεθερμηνευόμενον Τὸ κοράσιον σοὶ λέγω ἔγειραι.

124 A scribal error for يتمشا.

125 The Arabic text omits تَكُنْ and agrees, most probably coincidentally, with the Greek MS A. The omission is most probably due to homoeoteleuton omission.

34 ܕܐܝܢ ܕܥܩܘܒ ܐܝܢ ܐܫܚܩ ܐܝܢ ܐܒܪܗܝܡ ܐܝܢ ܬܐܪܝܚ<sup>127</sup> ܐܝܢ ܢܚܘܪ  
34 ܕܐܝܢ ܕܥܩܘܒ ܐܝܢ ܐܫܚܩ ܐܝܢ ܐܒܪܗܝܡ ܐܝܢ ܬܐܪܝܚ<sup>127</sup> ܐܝܢ ܢܚܘܪ

35 ܕܐܝܢ ܕܫܐܪܘܥ ܐܝܢ ܐܪܥܘܐ<sup>128</sup> ܐܝܢ ܦܠܐܝܬ ܕܐܝܢ ܕܥܝܢ ܕܐܝܢ ܕܥܝܢ  
35 ܐܝܢ ܕܫܐܪܘܥ ܐܝܢ ܐܪܥܘܐ<sup>128</sup> ܐܝܢ ܦܠܐܝܬ ܕܐܝܢ ܕܥܝܢ ܕܐܝܢ ܕܥܝܢ<sup>129</sup>

36 ܕܐܝܢ ܕܩܝܢܐܢ ܐܝܢ ܐܪܦܚܫܐܕ<sup>130</sup> ܐܝܢ ܫܐܡ ܐܝܢ ܢܘܢ ܐܝܢ ܠܡܟ  
36 ܕܐܝܢ ܕܩܝܢܐܢ ܐܝܢ ܐܪܦܚܫܐܕ<sup>130</sup> ܐܝܢ ܫܐܡ ܐܝܢ ܢܘܢ ܐܝܢ ܠܡܟ

37 ܕܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ ܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ ܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ ܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ ܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ  
37 ܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ ܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ ܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ ܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ ܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ<sup>131</sup> ܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ

38 ܕܐܝܢ ܕܢܘܨ ܐܝܢ ܫܝܬ ܐܝܢ ܐܕܡ \*ܕܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ ܐܝܢ ܐܕܡ \*ܕܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ  
38 ܕܐܝܢ ܕܢܘܨ ܐܝܢ ܫܝܬ ܐܝܢ ܐܕܡ \*ܕܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ ܐܝܢ ܐܕܡ \*ܕܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ<sup>132</sup>

1:4 ܕܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ ܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ ܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ ܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ ܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ  
1 ܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ ܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ ܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ ܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ ܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ<sup>133</sup> ܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ

2 ܕܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ ܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ ܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ ܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ ܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ  
2 ܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ ܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ ܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ ܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ ܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ ܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ

2 ܕܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ ܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ ܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ ܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ ܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ  
2 ܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ ܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ ܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ ܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ ܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ ܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ

3 ܕܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ ܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ ܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ ܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ ܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ  
3 ܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ ܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ ܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ ܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ ܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ ܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ

4 ܕܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ ܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ ܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ ܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ ܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ  
4 ܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ ܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ ܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ ܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ ܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ ܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ<sup>134</sup>  
4 ܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ ܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ ܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ ܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ ܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ ܐܝܢ ܕܡܫܐܠܝܬ<sup>135</sup>

126 The Greek, however, reads Εσρωμ.

127 The Greek, however, reads Θαρα.

128 The Greek, however, reads Παγαυ.

129 The Greek, however, reads Ζαλα.

130 Many Peshitta MSS, the Sinaiticus, [the Curetonian] and the Greek read ܐܪܦܚܫܐܕ with the Arabic text. Kiraz has ܐܪܦܚܫܐܕ and Pusey ܐܪܦܚܫܐܕ.

131 The Greek, however, reads Μαλελεηλ.

132 This addition has no textual support.

133 With the Sinaiticus and possibly the Curetonian.



- 14 ثم رجع يسوع بقوة روح القدس<sup>140</sup> الى الجليل فذاع خبره في جميع البلدان<sup>141</sup> المحيطه بهم
- 15 وانه مخلصهم وانه قد جاءهم من جميع الناس<sup>142</sup>
- 16 وانه قد جاءهم من جميع الناس<sup>142</sup>
- 17 وانه قد جاءهم من جميع الناس<sup>142</sup>
- 18 وانه قد جاءهم من جميع الناس<sup>142</sup>
- 19 وانه قد جاءهم من جميع الناس<sup>142</sup>
- 20 وانه قد جاءهم من جميع الناس<sup>142</sup>
- 21 وانه قد جاءهم من جميع الناس<sup>142</sup>
- 22 وانه قد جاءهم من جميع الناس<sup>142</sup>
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- 30 وانه قد جاءهم من جميع الناس<sup>142</sup>
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- 32 وانه قد جاءهم من جميع الناس<sup>142</sup>
- 33 وانه قد جاءهم من جميع الناس<sup>142</sup>
- 34 وانه قد جاءهم من جميع الناس<sup>142</sup>
- 35 وانه قد جاءهم من جميع الناس<sup>142</sup>
- 36 وانه قد جاءهم من جميع الناس<sup>142</sup>
- 37 وانه قد جاءهم من جميع الناس<sup>142</sup>
- 38 وانه قد جاءهم من جميع الناس<sup>142</sup>
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- 40 وانه قد جاءهم من جميع الناس<sup>142</sup>
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- 46 وانه قد جاءهم من جميع الناس<sup>142</sup>
- 47 وانه قد جاءهم من جميع الناس<sup>142</sup>
- 48 وانه قد جاءهم من جميع الناس<sup>142</sup>
- 49 وانه قد جاءهم من جميع الناس<sup>142</sup>
- 50 وانه قد جاءهم من جميع الناس<sup>142</sup>
- 51 وانه قد جاءهم من جميع الناس<sup>142</sup>
- 52 وانه قد جاءهم من جميع الناس<sup>142</sup>
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- 59 وانه قد جاءهم من جميع الناس<sup>142</sup>
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- 63 وانه قد جاءهم من جميع الناس<sup>142</sup>
- 64 وانه قد جاءهم من جميع الناس<sup>142</sup>
- 65 وانه قد جاءهم من جميع الناس<sup>142</sup>
- 66 وانه قد جاءهم من جميع الناس<sup>142</sup>
- 67 وانه قد جاءهم من جميع الناس<sup>142</sup>
- 68 وانه قد جاءهم من جميع الناس<sup>142</sup>
- 69 وانه قد جاءهم من جميع الناس<sup>142</sup>
- 70 وانه قد جاءهم من جميع الناس<sup>142</sup>
- 71 وانه قد جاءهم من جميع الناس<sup>142</sup>
- 72 وانه قد جاءهم من جميع الناس<sup>142</sup>
- 73 وانه قد جاءهم من جميع الناس<sup>142</sup>
- 74 وانه قد جاءهم من جميع الناس<sup>142</sup>
- 75 وانه قد جاءهم من جميع الناس<sup>142</sup>
- 76 وانه قد جاءهم من جميع الناس<sup>142</sup>
- 77 وانه قد جاءهم من جميع الناس<sup>142</sup>
- 78 وانه قد جاءهم من جميع الناس<sup>142</sup>
- 79 وانه قد جاءهم من جميع الناس<sup>142</sup>
- 80 وانه قد جاءهم من جميع الناس<sup>142</sup>
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- 82 وانه قد جاءهم من جميع الناس<sup>142</sup>
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- 87 وانه قد جاءهم من جميع الناس<sup>142</sup>
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- 89 وانه قد جاءهم من جميع الناس<sup>142</sup>
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- 96 وانه قد جاءهم من جميع الناس<sup>142</sup>
- 97 وانه قد جاءهم من جميع الناس<sup>142</sup>
- 98 وانه قد جاءهم من جميع الناس<sup>142</sup>
- 99 وانه قد جاءهم من جميع الناس<sup>142</sup>
- 100 وانه قد جاءهم من جميع الناس<sup>142</sup>

140 The addition of القدس is also found in Gg and Et. It is most probably that the Arabic text has converged with these versions coincidentally (this can also be said about the addition of المقدس in verse 1 above).

141 In plural as in the Peshitta.

142 The Greek omits.

143 The Greek, however, transposes and reads ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν σαββάτων εἰς τὴν σὺ ναγωγήν.

144 The Greek omits.

145 The Greek, however, transposes and reads κυρίου δεκτόν.



22 מִשְׁמָחִים הָיוּ לָם חֲלָמִים מִחֲמַתְּמֵי הָהָם שֶׁכָּל תִּלְשָׁהֶם יִנְעֻף הָהָם, וְ  
 פָּעֻחַ מִכַּתְּמֵי הָהָם לֵךְ הָהָם רָכָה כִּי נִשְׁפָּח  
 22 فجعلوا يشهدون له باجمعهم ويتعجبون من كلام النعمة الذي يخرج من فيه وجعلوا يقولون اليس هذا  
 ابن يوسف

23 אֲבִי בָרְכָה לְהָם נִעְמַד חֲכֵי אֲלֵהֶם לֵךְ מִכָּל רָכָה רִמְמָה רָכָה יִנְעֻף  
 23 أقال لهم ايسوع<sup>146</sup> لعلكم تضربون لي هذا المثل وتقولون يايبها الطبيب اشف نفسك

23 בְּהַל אֶעֱמֵךְ תַּחֲבֹתַי תַּחֲבֹתֵיךָ חֲכֵי בָרְכָה רָכָה תַּחֲבֹתֵיךָ  
 23 وب كل ما بلغنا انك عملت وجرحت بكفرناحوم اظهر مثل تلك الايات هاهنا ايضا في مدينتك

24 הָהָם אֲבִי בָרְכָה רָכָה רָכָה לָהֶם אֲלֵהֶם בָּרְכָה תַּחֲבֹתֵיךָ  
 24 ثم قال ايضا الحق اقول لكم انه ليس نبي يقبل نبوته اهل مدينته

25 אֲבִי כֵן בָּרְכָה רָכָה לָהֶם אֲלֵהֶם רָכָה רָכָה רָכָה רָכָה  
 25 الحق اقول لكم انه قد كان ارامل كثير \*في ال اسرائيل على عهد الياسين النبي\*<sup>147</sup>

25 בְּכֵן בָּרְכָה רָכָה עָלֶיךָ אֲלֵהֶם מִשְׁמָחִים הָיוּ לָם חֲלָמִים מִחֲמַתְּמֵי הָהָם, וְ  
 25 اب اجدبت السما ثلثة سنين وسته اشهر فكان الجوع والهقم في الارض كلها

26 הָלָהּ בָּרְכָה רָכָה לֵךְ מִכָּל רָכָה רָכָה לֵךְ אֲלֵהֶם לֵךְ אֲלֵהֶם  
 26 فلم يرسل الياسين الى واحده منهم الا الى صرفت صيدان الى امراه ارملة

27 מִשְׁמָחִים הָיוּ לָם חֲלָמִים מִחֲמַתְּמֵי הָהָם שֶׁכָּל תִּלְשָׁהֶם יִנְעֻף הָהָם, וְ  
 27 ولقد كان ايضا على عهد اليسع النبي برص كثير فلم يطهر منهم احدا ما خلا نعمان الارماني<sup>148</sup>

28 הָהָם אֲבִי בָרְכָה רָכָה רָכָה לָהֶם אֲלֵהֶם בָּרְכָה תַּחֲבֹתֵיךָ  
 28 فلما سمع الذين كانوا في الجماعة هذا الكلام استشاطوا باجمعهم وامتلوا غيظا وحنقا

29 מִשְׁמָחִים הָיוּ לָם חֲלָמִים מִחֲמַתְּמֵי הָהָם שֶׁכָּל תִּלְשָׁהֶם יִנְעֻף הָהָם, וְ  
 29 فاجمعهم رفقهم, لحي في مدينتهم دسائسهم, حركهم لاجلهم اهلهم

146 The Greek omits it.

147 The Greek, however, transposes and reads *ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἑλίου ἐν τῷ Ἰσραήλ*.

148 The Greek, however, reads *ὁ Σύρος*.

29 فوثبوا اليه فاخرجوه عن المدينة حتى انتهوا به الى [فدا وقه] الجبل الذي كانت مدينتهم مبنية عليه وارادوا ان يلقوه من الهضبة

30 ܡܗ ܕܡܗ ܚܝܬܐ ܕܡܡܝܢܐ ܕܡܡܝܢܐ ܕܡܡܝܢܐ  
30 ثم انه جاز بينهم منطلقا

### 13.7.2. Pre-Peshitta Readings

While codex Vatican, Ar. 13 is an Arabic translation of the Syriac Peshitta, it has, however, preserved some Vetus Syra readings. These *pre-Peshitta readings* not only reflect the archaic nature of the *Vorlage* but also the antiquity of the Arabic text. The list below gives fifty-eight such readings, most of which can only be explained *textually*. There seems to be a genetic relation between the text of Vatican, Ar. 13 and the Vetus Syra in general, and the Curetonian text in particular. It is likely that the Scribe of Vatican, Ar. 13 has used an intermediate Syriac text (between the Curetonian and Standard Peshitta versions). Some of the readings mentioned below show that occasionally the scribe assimilated variants from both the Curetonian and Peshitta versions. This might suggest that the scribe has used more than one version of the Peshitta anytime prior to its standardization.

Finally, it is possible to argue that the autographed text of Vatican, Ar. 13 was originally translated from the Vetus Syra, and later corrected against the Peshitta. The variants in the list below show where the corrector has overlooked some of the Old Syriac readings in his text.

A meticulous examination (which includes *weighing* of each reading) of Matthew, Mark and the few chapters of Luke is beyond the scope of this study. Such readings could demonstrate that the Peshitta was not as standardized as we thought it to be. Finally, C. Peters referred to a handful of variants which follow the Diatessaron. In my opinion these readings are less likely to be textual; they merely reflect the scribe's acquaintance with biblical texts. Some of these "Diatessaron" variants are referred to in the examination of Matthew twenty-six in §5.1.5.6.2, sixth paragraph.

- (1) 1:5 ܐܪܥܘܬ ܐܪܥܘܬ (Sy<sup>c</sup> ܐܪܥܘܬ) + Peshitta MSS 1 and 2 read ܐܪܥܘܬ
- (2) 1:22 ܥܠܝ ܠܣܢ ܐܫܥܝܐ ܐܠܝܝ ܥܠܝ ܠܣܢ ܐܫܥܝܐ ܐܠܝܝ (Sy<sup>c</sup> ܥܠܝ ܠܣܢ ܐܫܥܝܐ ܐܠܝܝ)
- (3) 4:21 ܕܡܡܝܢܐ ܕܡܡܝܢܐ ܕܡܡܝܢܐ ܕܡܡܝܢܐ (Sy<sup>c</sup> ܕܡܡܝܢܐ ܕܡܡܝܢܐ) + Peshitta MSS 7 12 19
- (4) 4:22 ܡܡܝܢܐ ܡܡܝܢܐ (Sy<sup>c</sup> ܡܡܝܢܐ ܡܡܝܢܐ)
- (5) 5:11 ܡܡܝܢܐ ܡܡܝܢܐ ܡܡܝܢܐ ܡܡܝܢܐ (Sy<sup>c</sup> ܡܡܝܢܐ ܡܡܝܢܐ ܡܡܝܢܐ ܡܡܝܢܐ)

- (6) 5:15 [ܐܠܗܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܠܡܢ ܠܗܘܐ ܥܠܝ ܡܢܐܪܗ] (Sy<sup>c</sup>)
- (7) 5:17a [ܡܠܟܐ ܡܬܬܬܝܚܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܬܬܬܝܚܐ] (Sy<sup>s.c.</sup>)
- (8) 5:17b [ܡܠܟܐ ܡܬܬܬܝܚܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܬܬܬܝܚܐ] (Sy<sup>c</sup>)
- (9) 5:22a [ܡܠܟܐ ܡܬܬܬܝܚܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܬܬܬܝܚܐ] (Sy<sup>c</sup>)
- (10) 5:22b [ܡܠܟܐ ܡܬܬܬܝܚܐ] (Sy<sup>c</sup>) + Peshitta MS 2
- (11) 5:22c [ܡܠܟܐ ܡܬܬܬܝܚܐ] (Sy<sup>s.c.</sup>). It seems that we have a conflation of readings in this verse—the scribe has included both readings in his text.
- (12) 6:31a [ܡܠܟܐ ܡܬܬܬܝܚܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܬܬܬܝܚܐ] (Sy<sup>c</sup>)
- (13) 6:31b [ܡܠܟܐ ܡܬܬܬܝܚܐ] (Sy<sup>c</sup>)
- (14) 7:4 [ܡܠܟܐ ܡܬܬܬܝܚܐ] (Sy<sup>c</sup>)
- (15) 8:3 [ܡܠܟܐ ܡܬܬܬܝܚܐ] (Sy<sup>s.c.</sup>)
- (16) 8:6a [ܡܠܟܐ ܡܬܬܬܝܚܐ] (Sy<sup>c</sup>)
- (17) 8:6b [ܡܠܟܐ ܡܬܬܬܝܚܐ] (Sy<sup>s.c.</sup>)
- (18) 8:8 [ܡܠܟܐ ܡܬܬܬܝܚܐ] (Sy<sup>s.c.</sup>)
- (19) 8:9 [ܡܠܟܐ ܡܬܬܬܝܚܐ] (Sy<sup>s.c.</sup>)
- (20) 8:10 [ܡܠܟܐ ܡܬܬܬܝܚܐ] (Sy<sup>s.c.</sup>)
- (21) 8:15 [ܡܠܟܐ ܡܬܬܬܝܚܐ] (Sy<sup>s.c.</sup>)
- (22) 8:20 [ܡܠܟܐ ܡܬܬܬܝܚܐ] (Sy<sup>s.c.</sup>)
- (23) 9:30 [ܡܠܟܐ ܡܬܬܬܝܚܐ] (Sy<sup>s.c.</sup>)
- (24) 9:35a [ܡܠܟܐ ܡܬܬܬܝܚܐ] (Sy<sup>s.c.</sup>) + Peshitta MS 20
- (25) 9:35b [ܡܠܟܐ ܡܬܬܬܝܚܐ] (Sy<sup>s.c.</sup>)
- (26) 10:1 [ܡܠܟܐ ܡܬܬܬܝܚܐ] (Sy<sup>s.c.</sup>)
- (27) 10:5 [ܡܠܟܐ ܡܬܬܬܝܚܐ] (Sy<sup>s.c.</sup>) + Peshitta MSS 1 10 25 40
- (28) 10:18 [ܡܠܟܐ ܡܬܬܬܝܚܐ] (Sy<sup>s.c.</sup>)
- (29) 10:34 [ܡܠܟܐ ܡܬܬܬܝܚܐ] (Sy<sup>c</sup>)
- (30) 10:42 [ܡܠܟܐ ܡܬܬܬܝܚܐ] (Sy<sup>c</sup>)
- (31) 11:4 [ܡܠܟܐ ܡܬܬܬܝܚܐ] (Sy<sup>s.c.</sup>)
- (32) 12:10a [ܡܠܟܐ ܡܬܬܬܝܚܐ] (Sy<sup>c</sup>)
- (33) 12:31 [ܡܠܟܐ ܡܬܬܬܝܚܐ] (Sy<sup>c</sup>)

149 On more than one occasion the scribe translates ܡܠܟܐ with امر instead of قال. See for example Mark 5:43.

150 The expression جميع is added later.

151 It is not clear whether the text reads وجع or مرض.

- (34) 13:3 [ܠܚܝܬ ܙܪܥܝܬܐ] (Sy<sup>s</sup>)  
 (35) 13:55 [ܡܚܡܬ ܡܚܡܬܐ] (Sy<sup>s.c.</sup>)  
 (36) 15:5 [ܠܐܒܝܬܐ ܠܐܒܝܬܐ] (Sy<sup>s.c.</sup>)  
 (37) 15:19 [ܡܚܡܬܐ ܡܚܡܬܐ] (Sy<sup>s</sup>)  
 (38) 16:10 [ܡܚܡܬܐ ܡܚܡܬܐ] (Sy<sup>s</sup>)  
 (39) 16:14a [ܡܚܡܬܐ ܡܚܡܬܐ] (Sy<sup>s.c.</sup>)  
 (40) 16:14b [ܡܚܡܬܐ ܡܚܡܬܐ] (Sy<sup>s.c.</sup>)  
 (41) 17:7 [ܡܚܡܬܐ ܡܚܡܬܐ] (Sy<sup>c</sup>)  
 (42) 17:25 [ܡܚܡܬܐ ܡܚܡܬܐ] (Sy<sup>c</sup>)  
 (43) 18:21 [ܡܚܡܬܐ ܡܚܡܬܐ] (Sy<sup>c</sup>)  
 (44) 18:27 [ܡܚܡܬܐ ܡܚܡܬܐ] (Sy<sup>c</sup>)  
 (45) 18:34 [ܡܚܡܬܐ ܡܚܡܬܐ] (Sy<sup>s.c.</sup>)  
 (46) 19:7 [ܡܚܡܬܐ ܡܚܡܬܐ] (Sy<sup>s.c.</sup>)  
 (47) 20:22 [ܡܚܡܬܐ ܡܚܡܬܐ] (Sy<sup>c</sup>)  
 (48) 20:23 [ܡܚܡܬܐ ܡܚܡܬܐ] (Sy<sup>s.c.</sup>)  
 (49) 21:25 [ܡܚܡܬܐ ܡܚܡܬܐ] (Sy<sup>c</sup>)  
 (50) 22:7 [ܡܚܡܬܐ ܡܚܡܬܐ] (Sy<sup>s.c.</sup>)  
 (51) 22:34 [ܡܚܡܬܐ ܡܚܡܬܐ] (Sy<sup>s.c.</sup>)  
 (52) 22:35 [ܡܚܡܬܐ ܡܚܡܬܐ] (Sy<sup>s.c.</sup>)  
 (53) 24:2 [ܡܚܡܬܐ ܡܚܡܬܐ] (Sy<sup>s[c]</sup>)  
 (54) 26:3 [ܡܚܡܬܐ ܡܚܡܬܐ] (Sy<sup>s[c]</sup>)  
 (55) 26:24 [ܡܚܡܬܐ ܡܚܡܬܐ] (Sy<sup>s</sup>)  
 (56) 26:33 [ܡܚܡܬܐ ܡܚܡܬܐ] (Sy<sup>s[c]</sup>)  
 (57) 27:44 [ܡܚܡܬܐ ܡܚܡܬܐ] (Sy<sup>s[c]</sup>)  
 (58) 27:57 [ܡܚܡܬܐ ܡܚܡܬܐ] (Sy<sup>s[c]</sup>)

152 Originally omitted then added above the line.

### 13.8. Family I: A Comparative Study of the Ten Chapters of Mark: The Arabic Text and its Syriac Parallel

The Arabic text follows closely the Harklean version found in the first column except in the following places<sup>153</sup>:

1. *i*<sup>1</sup> adds المخلص (saviour) and agrees with the Peshitta (ܡܥܕ) against the Harklean version (which omits ܡܥܕ): Mk 2:23 (fol. 24r); 2:25 (fol. 24v); 3:1 (fol. 24v); 3:23 (fol. 25r); 4:11 (fol. 26v); 4:33 (fol. 27v); 4:38 (fol. 27v.); 5:24 (fol. 28v); 6:14 (fol. 30r); 7:17 (fol. 35r); 8:29 (fol. 38r); 8:34 (fol. 38r); 9:19 (fol. 39v); 9:21 (fol. 40r); 10:46 (fol. 46r).
2. *i*<sup>1</sup> adds المخلص against both the Peshitta and Harklean versions: Mk 3:3 (fol. 24v); 5:22 (fol. 28v); 6:1 (fol. 29r); 6:34 (fol. 32r); 10:17 المخلص (fol. 43r).
3. Addition of a synonymous/similar expression: On various occasions the scribe gives two different renderings to a single Syriac word. This might be because of a Peshitta influence.

#### (a) A Possible Peshitta Influence

- (1) Mk 1:3 وقوموا او سهلوا سبله (fol. 23r). The Harklean version reads ܡܥܕܝܢܝܐ ܡܥܕܝܢܝܐ and the Peshitta ܡܥܕܝܢܝܐ.
- (2) Mk 6:14 ظهر وعرف (fol. 30r). The Harklean version has ܡܥܕܝܢܝܐ and Peshitta ܡܥܕܝܢܝܐ.
- (3) Mk 6:19 متواعدة له وغضبانه عليه (fol. 30v). The Harklean version has ܡܥܕܝܢܝܐ and Peshitta ܡܥܕܝܢܝܐ.
- (4) Mk 9:24 صاح والد الصبي يدموع وهو يبكي (fol. 40r). The Harklean version has ܡܥܕܝܢܝܐ and the Peshitta ܡܥܕܝܢܝܐ.
- (5) Mk 6:48 لان كانت الريح ضدهم ومقابلهم (fol. 33r). The Harklean version reads ܡܥܕܝܢܝܐ (adj.) and the Peshitta ܡܥܕܝܢܝܐ (verb).
- (6) Mk 9: 50 بماذا تطيبنها او تصلحنها (fol. 42r). The Harklean version has ܡܥܕܝܢܝܐ and the Peshitta ܡܥܕܝܢܝܐ.
- (7) Mk 9:14 يفاوضونهم وينظرونهم (fol. 39v). The Harklean version has ܡܥܕܝܢܝܐ and the Peshitta ܡܥܕܝܢܝܐ.

#### (b) A non-Peshitta Influence

- (1) Mk 2:23 يقطفون...وياكلون (fol. 24r). Both the Harklean and Peshitta versions read ܡܥܕܝܢܝܐ.
- (2) Mk 3:2 حتى يذمونه ويلومونه (fol. 24r). Both the Harklean and the Peshitta versions read ܡܥܕܝܢܝܐ.
- (3) Mk 6:14 الجراح والقوات (fol. 30r). Both the Harklean and the Peshitta versions read ܡܥܕܝܢܝܐ.
- (4) Mk 9:4 وهما يناجيان ويخاطبان (fol. 38v). Both the Harklean and Peshitta versions read ܡܥܕܝܢܝܐ.

153 "Jesus" is almost always referred to as "saviour" in this manuscript.

- (5) Mk 9:12 يسوي ويتقن كل شي (fol. 39r). Both the Harklean and Peshitta versions read  $\text{ܠܗܡܗ ܠܗ ܡܕܡ}$ .
- (6) Mk 9:28 على انفراد ووحدهم (fol. 40v) Both the Harklean and Peshitta versions read similarly  $\text{ܠܗܡܗ ܠܗܡܗ}$  and  $\text{ܠܗܡܗ ܠܗܡܗ}$ .
- (7) Mk 9:32 يهابون ويخافون منه (fol. 40v-41r). Both the Harklean and the Peshitta versions read  $\text{ܡܢܗܡܗ (ܡܡܗ)}$ .
- (8) Mk 6:18 امراه زوجه اخيك (fol. 30v) Both the Harklean and the Peshitta versions read  $\text{ܡܪܝܬܗ ܡܪܝܬܗ}$ .
4. The use of the plural instead of the singular: In Mk 2:23,  $\text{ܦܝ}$  reads في (fol. 24r). The expression سبت is singular and follows the Peshitta ( $\text{ܥܕܬܐ}$ ) against the Harklean which has it as plural ( $\text{ܥܕܬܐ}$ ).
5. Transposed with the Peshitta: Mk 9:25 reads الاخرس الغير ناطق (Fol. 40r) and follow the Peshitta  $\text{ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ}$  against the Harklean  $\text{ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ}$ .
6. Miscellaneous variants which agree with the Peshitta against the Harklean.
  - (a) Mk 2:27 reads من اجل الانسان خلق (fol. 24v), with the Peshitta  $\text{ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ}$  against the Harklean  $\text{ܡܠܟܐ}$ .
  - (b) Mk 3:21 قم انتقل من هاهنا (fol. 25r) with the Peshitta  $\text{ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ}$ .
  - (c) Mk 8:28 فهم اجابوا وقالوا (fol. 37v). The Harklean version has  $\text{ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ}$  and the Peshitta  $\text{ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ}$ . The Arabic text assimilates both readings.
  - (d) Mk 8:29 انت هو المسيح ابن الله الحي (fol. 37v). The Harklean reads only  $\text{ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ}$  and the Peshitta agrees with the Arabic and reads  $\text{ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ}$ .
  - (e) Mk 8:32 الصفا (fol. 37v) with the Peshitta  $\text{ܡܠܟܐ}$  against the Harklean  $\text{ܡܠܟܐ}$ . In all other occurrences (in Mark chapter 1-10),  $\text{ܡܠܟܐ}$  is translated فطرس except here. (see for instance Mk 8:33 (fol. 37v) and 9:2 (fol. 38v)).
  - (f) Mk 9:10b ماذا هي هذه الكلمة ان من بين الاموات يقوم (Fol. 39r). The Harklean reads  $\text{ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ}$  and the Peshitta  $\text{ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ}$ .
  - (g) Mk 9:26 ثم صرخ الشيطان كثيرا (fol. 40r) with the Peshitta  $\text{ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ}$  against the Harklean  $\text{ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ}$ .
7. Miscellaneous additions disagreeing with both the Harklean and the Peshitta versions (mainly for clarification)
  - (a) Mt 1:11 addition of يقول (fol. 23v).
  - (b) Mk 2:22 addition of ليسلمان كلاهما (fol. 24r). Cf. Matthew 9:17.
  - (c) Mk 2:27b addition of جعل in لاجل السبت جعل (fol. 24r).
  - (d) Mk 3:27 addition of ماله after يخطف (fol. 25v).
  - (e) Mk 6:3 ابن النجار instead of  $\text{ܡܠܟܐ}$  (fol. 29r).
  - (f) Mk 6:12 addition of ليتوبون الناس in الناس (fol. 30r).

- (g) Mk 6:20 addition of *ويفعل طاعته* in *طاعته* (fol. 30v).
- (h) Mk 8:26 addition of *له* in *وقال له* (fol. 37r).
- (i) Mk 9:1 addition of *عظيمه* in *حتى يرون ملكوت الله قد انت بقوه عظيمه*
- (j) Mk 9:25 addition of *اني امرك واقول لك* in *واقول لك* (fol. 40r).

## 13.9. Family J

### 13.9.1. A Comparative Study of Matthew 9:9:17

The first line contains the text of  $h^5$  (Vatican, Ar. 13), the second  $f^{A1}$ , the third  $f^{C1}$ , the fourth  $f^{B40}$  and the fifth  $f^{B1}$  (see next page).





Matthew 9: 11

	والعشارين*	الخطاة*	مع			ياكل	ومعلمكم	عظيمكم	بال	ما	لأربابه	قالوا	ذاك	الاحبار		راي	فلما
والخطايين	العشارين		مع		معلمكم	ياكل			انما	لم	لتلاميذه	قالوا		الاحبار	ذلك	لحظ	وعندما
والخطاه	العشارون		مع	ويشرب	معلمكم	ياكل				لم	لتلاميذه	قالوا		الفريسيين	ذلك	لحظ	وعندما
	والعشارين	الخطاه	مع		معلمكم	ياكل				لماذا	لتلاميذه	قالوا	ذاك	الفريسيين		راوا	فلما
	والعشارين	الخطاه	مع		معلمكم	ياكل				لماذا	لتلاميذه	قالوا		الفريسيين	ذاك	راوا	فلما

\* Gk = μετὰ τῶν τελωνῶν καὶ ἁμαρτωλῶν and Sy = حمر مختفنه قوبله

Matthew 9: 12

	بالاوجاع	مدنقون		الشديده أمر اضهم والذين هو	المرضى	بل	الى طبيب	الاصحا*	ليس يحتاج	لهم	قال	يسوع ذاك	سمع	فلما
					المرضى	ولكن	الى الطبيب	للاقوياء	لا حاجه	لهم	وقال	ايسوع	سمع	ف
يحتاجونه	بالامراض	المضنوكين			المرضى	ولكن	الى طبيب	الاقويا	لا حاجه	لهم	قال	ايسوع	سمع	فلما
					المرضى	ولكن	الى طبيب	الاصحا	ليس يحتاجون	لهم	قال	ايسوع	سمع	فلما
					المرض	ولكن	الى طبيب	الاصحا	يحتاجون	لهم	قال	ايسوع	سمع	فحين

\* Gk = οἱ ἰσχυρότερες and Sy = تلمحه

## Matthew 9: 13

فاحينهم*	الخطاه	جيت لطلب الصلال	بل	الاتقيا	البره	لادعوا	لم آت	الذبايح	ولست اريد		الرحمه والرافه	اريد	انما	اتي	قتعلموا	انطلقوا
للتوبه	الخطاين		بل		الصديقين	لادعو	لاني لم آت	الذبيحه	لا	اريد	الرحمه		هو	ما	قتعلموا	اذهبوا
الى التوبه	الخطاين		بل		الصديقين	لادعوا	لاني لم آت	الذبيحه	لا	اريد	الرحمه		هو	ما	قتعلموا	اذهبوا
الى التوبه	الخطاه		اكن	والابرار	الصديقين	ادعوا	لم آت	الذبيحه	ولا		الرحمه	اريد	معنى	مانا	فاطعلموا	اذهبوا
الى التوبه	الخطاه		اكن		الصديقين	ادعوا	لاني ما جيت	ذبيحه	ولا		رحمه	اريد	انما	ما	قتعلموا	اذهبوا

\* Gk = εις μετάνοιαν (CL 0281<sup>13</sup> MT), Sy Sinaiticus = ܡܬܬܬܝܬܐ, and Peshitta omit.

## Matthew 9: 14

يصومون	لا	واربوك انت	دايماً	كثيرا	نصوم	والاحبار	لم نحن	وقالوا له	وتلاميذه	يوحنا	اربا	منه	دنا	عند ذلك
يصومون	ليس	وتلاميذك		كثيرا	نصوم	والاحبار	لما نحن	قايين		يوحنا	تلاميذ	منه	فدنا	
يصومون	ما	وتلاميذك		كثيرا	نصوم	والفريسيين	لم نحن	قايين		يوحنا	تلاميذ	منه	دنا	حينئذ
يصومون	لا	وتلاميذك		كثير	نصوم	والفريسيين	لماذا نحن	وقالوا له		يوحنا	تلاميذ	اليه	دنوا	حينئذ
يصومون	ليس	وتلاميذك		كثيرا	نصوم	والفريسيين	لماذا نحن	قايين		يوحنا	تلاميذ	منه	دنوا	عند ذلك

\* Gk = λέγοντες and Sy = ܡܬܬܬܝܬܐ

Matthew 9: 15

يصومون	حينئذٍ	الخنن	ارتفع عنهم	اذا	ستاتي أيام وقد اقتربت	الخنن معهم	ما دام	يصوموا*	الخنن والتجاذان	لابناء	يستطاع	هل	يسوع	لهم	فقال
يصومون	وحينئذٍ	الخنن	ارتفع عنهم	اذا	لكن تأتي أيام	الخنن معهم	ما دام	أن ينوحوا	الخنن	بنو	يقدر	هل	يسوع	لهم	فقال
يصومون	حينئذٍ		رفع عنهم	اذا	لكن ستاتي أيام	الخنن حاضر معهم	ما دام	أن ينوحوا	الخنن	بنو	يمكن	هل	يسوع	لهم	فقال
يصومون	حينئذٍ	الخنن عنهم	ارتفع عنهم	اذا	ستاتي أيام	الخنن معهم	ما دام	أن يصومون		للمعترسين	يصلح		يسوع	لهم	فقال
يصومون	حينئذٍ	الخنن	ارتفع عنهم	اذا	لكن تجي أيام	الخنن معهم	ما دام	ينوحوا	الخنن	بنو	يقدر	هل	يسوع	لهم	قال

\* Gk = πενθεῖν; Sy Peshitta = ܡܠܚܝ

Matthew 9: 16

وينسج	الخرق فيه	ويكبر	الثوب	من أخلاق ذلك	جنتها	تجذب	ليلا	جديده	بخرقه	بالي النسل	ثوباً		يرقع	ليس احد
[يسع]	الخرق	فيصبر	الثوب	من	ملاها	يجذب	لان		بال	ثوب	ثوب	من	يرقع	وما من احد
اوسع	الخرق	فيصبر	الثوب	من	ملاها	تجذب	لانها		عقيق	ثوب	ثوب	من	يرقع	وما من احد
									بالي	ثوب	ثوب	من	يرقع	ليس احد
اوسع	الخرق	ويصبر	الثوب	من	ملاها	تجذب	لانها		بالي	ثوب	ثوب	من	يرقع	وما من احد

## Matthew 9: 17

كلاهما	ويحفظان	زقاق	حديث	يلقى	بل	الزقاق	ويهاك	فيهرق الخمر	الزقاق	ليلا	باليه	زقاق	الحديثه	الخمرة	ولا تلقى
كلاهما	فيحفظان	زقاق	بصون الشراب	خمر	ولكنهم	الزقاق	[وتلهاك]	واهرقت الخمر	الزقاق	والا تفزرت	عنى	زقاق	جديدا	خمرا	ولا يصوبون
جميعا	فيحفظان	ضروف	الجديد	يغطون الشراب	ولكنهم			وتفراق الخمر	الزقاق	الا وتفزرت	عتيق	زقاق	جديده	خمرة	ولا يصوبون
كلاهما	ويسلم	زقاق	الجديد	يضع الخمر	بل	الزقاق	[وتهاك]	فيذهب الخمر		ليلا ينشق	عتيق	زقاق	جديدا	خمرا	ولا يجعل
كلاهما	فيسلمان	زقاق	الجديد	يضع الخمر	لكن			وانهرق الخمر	الزقاق	والا تفزرت	عنى	زقاق	جديدا	خمرا	ولا يجعل

The textual study of family  $k$  is placed in a separate appendix (see appendix three below).

### 13.11.1. John Chapter One

Below is a selection of variants from John's Gospel Chapter One which argue in favour of a Peshitta origin for  $p^{(l)}$ :

- (1) V.4 نور البشر هي (ܢܘܪ ܒܝܬܪܐ ܚܝܐ) به كانت الحياه والحيوه هي نور البشر (ܢܘܪ ܒܝܬܪܐ ܚܝܐ), against εν αυτω ζωη ην και η ζωη ην το φως των ανθρωπων.
- (2) V.8-9 ان نور الحق (ܐܢ ܢܘܪ ܚܕܐ ܚܝܐ) ولكن يشهد على النور من اجل ان نور الحق (ܠܟܢ ܝܫܗܕ ܥܠ ܢܘܪ ܡܢ ܐܝܠܐ ܐܢ ܢܘܪ ܚܕܐ ܚܝܐ), against ἀλλ' ινα μαρτυρηση περι τωο φωτος 9 Ην το φως το αληθινον....
- (3) V.14 والكله كان لحما (ܐܠܟܠܗ ܕܚܝܐ ܕܠܡܐ) against και ο λογος σαρξ εγενετο (and also v.17).
- (4) V.15 يحا شهد عليه (ܚܝܐ ܫܗܕ ܥܠܝܗ) against Ιωαννης μαρτυρει περι αυτου.
- (5) V.19 وانت من انت (ܐܢܬ ܡܢ ܐܢܬ) against συ τις ει.
- (6) V.21 ثم عادوا فسالوه (ܬܡ ܥܕܐ ܦܫܠܘܗ) against και ηρωτησαν αυτον (x W<sup>s</sup> it add also παλιν).
- (7) V.26 اجابه يحنا وقال لهم (ܐܝܬܒܐ ܚܝܐ ܕܠܡܐ) against απεκριθη αυτοις ο Ιωαννης λεγων. (however اجابه follows the Greek).
- (8) V.29 راى يحنا يسوع (ܪܝ ܚܝܐ ܝܫܘܥ) against βλέπει τον Ιησουν.
- (9) V.29 الذي يرفع خطايا (ܕܝܐ ܝܪܦܥ ܚܬܝܐ) against ο αιρων την αμαρτιαν του κοσμου (singl.).
- (10) V.38 ايها المعلم (ܝܗܐ ܡܠܝܡ) against ραββι ο λεγεται μεθερμηνευομενον δι δασκαλε.
- (11) V.40 سماعان الصفا (ܫܡܥܐܢ ܫܠܘܫܐ) واما احد ذنك الذين سماعا من يحنا فاتبع يسوع (ܐܡܐ ܐܚܕ ܕܢܝܚܐ ܕܠܕܝܢ ܫܡܥܐ ܡܢ ܚܝܐ ܫܠܘܫܐ ܫܡܥܐ ܝܫܘܥ) against Ην Ανδρεας ο αδελφος Σιμωνος Πητρου εις εκ των δυο των ακουσαντων παρα Ιωαννου και ακολουθησαντων αυτω (however, the Syriac does not have the verb سمع, and the Arabic text does not have the Syriac ܫܡܥܐܢ).

- (12) V.41 الوسيط قد وجدنا المعسر, المعسر against ευρηκαμεν τον Μετ̄  
 σιαν ο εστιν μεθερμηνηνομενον χριστος.  
 (13) V.43 ولما كان في الغد اراد يسوع يخرج ( ܠܡܐ ܕܠܝܬ ܕܝܥܬܐ ܕܝܫܥ ܝܬܝܐ ܕܝܬܝܐ ), Greek omits.  
 (14) V.44-45 من مدينه اندريا وسمعان وفيلبس وجد ناثانائيل ( ܡܢ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܢܕܪܝܐ ܘܫܡܥܐܢ ܘܦܝܠܝܦܫ ܘܝܕܢ ܢܬܢܐܝܝܠ ) against εκ της πολεως Ανδρεου και  
 Πέτρου 45 ευρισκει Φίλιππος τον Ναθαναηλ.

### 13.11.1.2. Variants which disagree with the Peshitta

Below is a selection of variants which do not follow the Peshitta:

- (1) V.14 مجد بن وحيد (possible from the Greek μονογενους), against the Peshitta ܡܥܕܢ ܒܢ ܚܝܕ.  
 (2) V.17 فاما النعمة والحق (η χαρις και η αληθεια) or the Harklean version: ܠܡܥܡܐ ܘܠܚܩܝܬܐ.  
 (3) V.23 كما قال سعيًا the omission of ο προφητης has no textual support.  
 (4) V.26 اجابهم يحيى وقال لهم (απεκριθη αυτοις...) or the Harklean version ( ܝܚܝܝܐ ܐܝܬܝܗܡ ܘܩܐܠ ܠܗܡ ).  
 (5) V.32 الروح القدس with the Syriac Sinaiticus ( ܕܪܘܚܐ ܕܩܕܝܫܐ ).  
 (6) V.33 الروح القدس with the Greek manuscripts X and 33.  
 (7) V.42 انت تدعا بطرس الذي ترجمته الصفا (συ κληθηση Κηθας ο ερμηνευεται Πετρος) or the Harklean version which reads ܐܢܬ ܕܥܕܐ ܒܬܪܫܐ ܕܕܝܬܝܐ ܕܩܕܝܫܐ, against the Syriac Peshitta which simply reads ܕܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܬܪܝܡܐ ܕܬܪܫܐ (it is worth noting that the Arabic transposes بطرس and الصفا).  
 (8) V.45 ذلك الذي كتب موسى في التوراه (ον εγραψεν Μωυσης εν τω νομω), the Harklean is even closer ܕܠܕܐ ܕܕܝܬܐ ܕܡܘܨܝܐ ܕܬܪܝܡܐ. The Peshitta adds ܕܬܪܝܡܐ after ܕܬܪܝܡܐ.  
 (9) V.48 اجابه يسوع وقال له (απεκριθη Ιησους και ειπεν αυτω), the Peshitta simply reads ܐܝܬܝܗ ܝܫܥ ܘܩܐܠ ܠܗ.  
 (10) V.50 اجابه يسوع وقال له (απεκριθη Ιησους και ειπεν αυτω). The Arabic text follows also the Harklean version: ܝܫܥ ܐܝܬܝܗ ܘܩܐܠ ܠܗ. The Peshitta has simply ܐܝܬܝܗ ܝܫܥ.  
 (11) V.51 وقال له (και λεγει αυτω) and the Harklean ܘܩܐܠ ܠܗ. The Peshitta omits the conjunction.

### 13.11.2. John Chapter 19:10-33

Whenever the text differs from the Peshitta version, it is noted below. I have also mentioned whether or not the reading in question agrees with the Greek and Ancient Versions.

- 154 Originally the scribe was writing **ريسا الكهنه** and then crossed out the definite article **ال** to be able to add **اليهود** after it.

## 14. Appendix Three: Textual Evidence(2): Family K

### 14.1. A Selection of Textual Variants from the Four Gospels of Sinai, Ar. 101

The Gospel of Matthew:

1:16\*

ويعقوب اولد يوسف خطيب مريم المولود منها يسوع الذي يدعا fol. 6v المسيح

Coptic: And Jacob begat Joseph the husband of Mary, who *bare* Jesus who *is called* Christ.<sup>1</sup>

Supported by: unknown *Vorlage*

*Comment:* Since this verse has no textual support, the best way to treat it is to divide it into four segments and comment on each separately:

ويعقوب اولد يوسف (and Jacob begat Joseph):

The verb اولد (*awlada*) is a transliteration of the Sy<sup>s.c.p.</sup> ⲁⲓⲗⲁⲃⲁ (*awlada*).

The use of اولد instead of e.g. ولد shows linguistic (and possibly textual) relationship with the Syriac. This segment is supported by all witnesses.

خطيب مريم (the fiancée of Mary):

A similar expression to خطيب (fiancée) is found in Sy<sup>s.c.</sup>, Gk θ *f*<sup>3</sup>, and Old Latin MS (q).

The Old Latin MS q reads [Ϝ̄ μνηστευθεῖσα Μαριαμ] (to whom Mary was engaged -particle aorist nominative feminine). The participle μνηστευθεῖσα qualifies Μαριαμ and Μαριαμ is in the nominative case. If the Arabic is translated from the MS (q), we should have: التي مريم خطيبته. The closest reading to the Arabic is the Sy<sup>s.c.</sup>. The *Vetus Syra* reads ܡܚܡܬܐ (fiancée) and this reading is closer to the Arabic than the Old Latin (q) (or Gk θ *f*<sup>3</sup>). However, the Sy<sup>s.c.</sup>, as well as Gk θ *f*<sup>3</sup>, add ܡܪܝܡ (the virgin), an expression which is neither found in the Arabic version nor the Old Latin (q).

المولود منها يسوع (of whom Jesus was born – ἐξ ἧς ἐγεννήθη Ἰησοῦς). This reading is supported by all witnesses with the exception of θ *f*<sup>3</sup> q sy<sup>s.c.</sup> and co.

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1 The English translation is from Horner, *The Coptic Version*.



الذي يدعا المسيح (who is called the Christ): The expression يدعا follows closely the sy<sup>s.p.</sup> ܕܥܐܡܝܬܐ. The Greek, Coptic and sy<sup>h</sup> read λεγόμενος (sy<sup>r</sup>. ܕܥܐܡܝܬܐ). It is better translated as يقال. The sy<sup>c</sup> omits ܕܥܐܡܝܬܐ.

As far as the *Vorlage* of this verse is concerned, two possible hypotheses present themselves: (a) the *Vorlage* used for translating this verse is from an unknown Syriac source, which could be half way between the Curetonian and the Peshitta; (b) an other possibility is that the scribe had the Curetonian and Peshitta versions in front of him and used both for his translation. If we take the first part of the verse from the Curetonian and the second part from the Peshitta we will have a text similar to the Arabic:

ܕܥܐܡܝܬܐ ܕܥܐܡܝܬܐ (sy<sup>p</sup>) ܕܥܐܡܝܬܐ ܕܥܐܡܝܬܐ (sy<sup>c</sup>)  
ܕܥܐܡܝܬܐ ܕܥܐܡܝܬܐ

Or even better:

ܕܥܐܡܝܬܐ ܕܥܐܡܝܬܐ (sy<sup>p</sup>) ܕܥܐܡܝܬܐ ܕܥܐܡܝܬܐ (sy<sup>c</sup>)  
ܕܥܐܡܝܬܐ ܕܥܐܡܝܬܐ

1:18\*

fol. 6v ومولد يسوع المسيح هكذا كان لما خطبت مريم امه ليوسف قيل ان يعترفا وجدت حبلا من روح القدس

Supported by: all witnesses except B W latt sy<sup>s.c</sup> and a few other Greek manuscripts which differ from the MT.

Coptic: The birth of Jesus Christ was thus: Mary his mother having been betrothed to Joseph, before they knew each other she was found with child from the Holy Spirit.

*Comment:* the expression يعترفا (from عرف (to know)) is an important variant. The Greek reads συνελθεῖν (يجتمع) ; the sy<sup>s.c</sup> read ܕܥܐܡܝܬܐ (lit. (يقتربون) ; the sy<sup>p.h</sup> read ܕܥܐܡܝܬܐ (يشتركا / يقترنا – no dual in Syriac); the Coptic (coven) to know, and in this context to know sexually– cf. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary*, coven p. 370. The Arabic most likely translates the Coptic *Vorlage*.<sup>2</sup>

1:25

fol. 7v ولم يعرفها حتى ولدت ابنها البكر ودعى اسمه يسوع

Supported by: C D L W 087 MT aur f ff<sup>1</sup> vg sy<sup>p</sup> sy<sup>h</sup>

Coptic: And he knew her not until she bare the son; and he called his name Jesus.

*Comment:* The phrase ابنها البكر does not follow the Coptic. I suppose that the bilingual Coptic Arabic manuscripts would read الابن instead of ابنها البكر. This is definitely the case in the bilingual Vatican, Copt. 9 (copied A.D. 1204/5). In the margin, Vatican, Copt. 9 has رومى ابنها البكر

2 Cf. Guidi, *Traduzioni*, 17.

(Greek, the firstborn son). At this stage it is not possible to know which reading is original.

2:18\*

fol. 10r صوت سمع في الرامه بكا ونوح كثير راحيل تبكى على بنيتها ولا تريد ان تتعزوا لانهم ليسوا موجودين

Supported by: ⲭ Z 0250 *f*<sup>1</sup> l2211 *pc* lat sy<sup>p</sup> co(?)<sup>3</sup>

Coptic: And a voice was heard in Rama, [a weeping and a bitter wailing]<sup>4</sup> Rachel weeping for her sons; and would not be comforted, because they are not.

*Comment:* We are confronted here with three different readings:

بكا ونوح وعويل كثير (weeping and much wailing). This reading is found in many Coptic manuscripts. (Some other Coptic manuscripts omit the whole phrase). The Arabic does not seem to follow the Coptic version. The Greek behind the Coptic reads ὁδυρμός and means either *lamentation* (نوح) or *wailing* (عويل). The Coptic has the latter and the Arabic the former.

The bilingual MS BL, Or. 1315 reads in Arabic ... بكا ونوح وعويل كثير (weeping, lamentation and much wailing). There is a gloss in the margin which says نوح يوناني وليس قبطي (lamentation, Greek and not Coptic). This shows that عويل was later added to بكا ونوح to match the Arabic with the Coptic (without omitting نوح). It is less likely that عويل was dropped in Sinai, Ar. 101. We know of no *Vorlage* which reads ... بكا ونوح وعويل كثير (κλαυθμός και θρηνός και ὁδυρμός πολύς).

بكا ونوح كبير (weeping and great lamentation) and follows the Greek manuscripts mentioned above and most probably the Peshitta ܬܠܡܬܐܝܬܐ. Sinai, Ar. 101 has this reading.

θρηνός και κλαυθμός και ὁδυρμός πολύς (نوح وبكا وعويل كثير) – lamentation, and weeping and great mourning/wailing). This reading is supported by C D L W 0233 *f*<sup>3</sup> 33 MT sy<sup>s.c.h.</sup>. Sinai, Ar. 101 does not follow this reading.

In sum, the Arabic seems best to render the Peshitta in this verse.

3:15

اجاب يسوع وقال له دع لان هكذي يجب لنا ان نكمل كل fol. 13r البر حينئذ تركه

Add: S<sup>s</sup>, S<sup>(c)</sup> βαπτισθηναι

Coptic: And Jesus *answered*, he said to him; “Permit it now: thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness”. Then he permitted him.

*Comment:* The Arabic follows neither the Sinaiticus nor the Curetodian in this verse.

3 The Coptic shows some minor differences here.

4 This expression is found in the textual apparatus of Horner and is supported by “Am and many manuscripts” (see, Horner, *The Coptic Version*, 12).

5:4-5

طوبيا للحزننا فانهم يعزون طوبيا للودعا فانهم يرثون الارض fol. 16v

Transpose: (vss 5.4) D 33 lat S<sup>c</sup> Bo<sup>ms</sup>; Or EusInsert  $\nu\nu\nu$ :  $\aleph^1$  33. 892. l 844 pc aur vg<sup>mss</sup> sa<sup>ms</sup> bo

Coptic: Blessed are they who mourn now, because they *will be comforted*. Blessed are the meek, because they *will* inherit the earth.

*Comment:* In these two verses, the Arabic follows either the Peshitta or the Harklean, but not the Coptic. The Arabic does not have  $\nu\nu\nu$ .

5:44

وانا اقول لكم حيوا اعداكم وباركوا على من يلعنكم واحسنوا الى من ابغضكم وصلوا على من يطردهم ويظلمكم fol. 20v

Supported by: D L W  $\Theta$  f<sup>13</sup> 33 MT lat sy<sup>(p)</sup> h mae

Coptic: I say to you: "Love your enemies, and pray for them who persecute you".

Persecute you and mistreat you (treat you unjustly)

*Comment:* Some Coptic manuscripts add  $\epsilon\mu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\iota$   $\epsilon\pi\eta$   $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\alpha\gamma\omicron\upsilon\iota$   $\epsilon\rho\omega\tau\epsilon\iota$  (bless those who curse you – cf. Horner, 34). But not  $\nu\nu\nu$   $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\alpha\gamma\omicron\upsilon\iota$  (do good to those who hate you). The Arabic follows the Peshitta and possibly the Harklean (the Peshitta reads  $\text{باركوا على من ابغضكم}$  and the Harklean  $\text{باركوا على من ابغضكم}$  – The Peshitta is closer to the Arabic than the Harklean is).

Horner points out that in MS D<sub>1</sub> E<sub>1</sub> there is a gloss which says:  $\text{باركوا على من ابغضكم}$  as  $\text{في الرومي والعربي}$  (in the Greek and the Arabic) (D<sub>1</sub>), as  $\text{اليوناني}$  (the Greek) (E<sub>1</sub>). MS D<sub>4</sub> has  $\text{باركوا على من ابغضكم}$  as  $\text{ليس في القبطي}$  (it is not in the Coptic). All these are indicators that the scribes of bilingual manuscripts were copying their text from much earlier exemplars which do not follow the Coptic version.

The addition of  $\text{ويظلمكم}$  ( $\epsilon\pi\eta\epsilon\alpha\gamma\omicron\upsilon\iota\omega\nu$   $\upsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ ) is remarkable at the end of the verse. There are two possible reasons for this addition:

The Peshitta reads  $\text{باركوا على من ابغضكم}$ . The underlined expression carries the meaning of *to treat unjustly* (cf. *Al-Lubāb*, p. 1016). The Arabic possibly follows the Peshitta. The only objection is that the expression  $\text{ويظلمكم}$  ( $\epsilon\pi\eta\epsilon\alpha\gamma\omicron\upsilon\iota\omega\nu$   $\upsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ ) occurs after the verb  $\text{يطردهم}$  ( $\text{باركوا على من ابغضكم}$  – to persecute or chase away – طرد as in the Arabic translation above) and not before as with the Peshitta version.

The second possible reason is related to the Coptic language. The Coptic MSS C<sub>1</sub><sup>c</sup> 2 G<sub>1</sub> read  $\eta\epsilon\delta\omicron\chi\iota$  instead of  $\eta\eta\epsilon\tau\delta\omicron\chi\iota$ . The two words are quite similar but they have different meanings; the latter means *to persecute* and the former *to mistreat*. The scribe might have misread the latter. Another possibility is that his Coptic manuscript read  $\eta\epsilon\delta\omicron\chi\iota$ . The problem is that the Arabic has both readings and not only one as is

the case with the Coptic MSS. Were there more than one Coptic manuscript available to the scribe? It is also possible.

6:13

fol. 22r ولا تدخلنا التجارب لكن نجينا من fol. 22v. الشريير فان لك الملك والقوه والمجد الى الابد امين

Supported by: L W Θ 0233 f<sup>13</sup> 33 MT f g<sup>1</sup> k q sy sa bo<sup>pt</sup>

Coptic: And bring us not into temptation: but save us from the evil.

*Comment:* Eight Coptic manuscripts support the Arabic reading as well as the Harklean version. The Peshitta is similar but with some variations (adds لحلم and رحمة). The Curetonian omits هسله (and the power).

9:34

fol. 34v فقال الفريسيون انه باركون الشياطين يخرج الشياطين

Omitted by: D a k sy<sup>s</sup>

Coptic: But the Pharisees were saying, that by (lit. in) (the) ruler of the demons he cast out the demons.

*Comment:* The text does not follow the Syriac Sinaiticus (or D a k).

12:47

fol. 47v فقال له واحد امك واخوتك برا يطلبون يكلموك

Supported by: s<sup>(1)</sup> C (D) W Z Θ f<sup>(1)</sup> 13 (33) MT lat sy<sup>p,h</sup> mae bo

Omitted by: s\* B L Γ pc ff<sup>1</sup> k sy<sup>s,c</sup> sa

Coptic: And one of the disciples said to him : "Behold thy mother and they brothers outside seek for thee".

*Comment:* The Arabic text does not read "disciples" as the Coptic does (although two Coptic manuscripts omit it as well; Coptic MSS Θ and O). The Arabic follows the Syriac closely and almost literally. It reads رحمة له واحد امك واخوتك برا يطلبون يكلموك.

16:12

fol. 62r حينئذ فهموا انه لم يقل لهم ان يتحرزوا من خمير الخبز لكن من تعلم الفريسيين والزنادقة

Supported by: C W MT c f q sy<sup>p,h</sup> sa<sup>ms</sup> bo<sup>ms</sup>

Coptic: Then they understood that he said not to them: "Beware of (the) leaven of the loaves; but of the doctrine of the Pharisees and the Sadducees".

*Comment:* The text reads του αρτου and agrees with the Peshitta and the Harklean versions. Most Coptic Bohairic MSS read των αρτων. A comparison between the Arabic on the one hand, and the Peshitta and Harklean on the other, shows that the Arabic is most probably translated from the Peshitta and not the Harklean.

17:21

وهذا الجنس لا يخرج الا بالصلاه والصوم fol. 66v

Supported by: s<sup>2</sup> C D L W f<sup>1</sup> 13 MT lat (sy<sup>p,h</sup>) (mae) bo<sup>pt</sup>

Omit: s\* B Θ 0281. 33. 579. 892\* pc e ff<sup>1</sup> sy<sup>s,c</sup> sa bo<sup>pt</sup>

## Coptic: Omit

*Comment:* The Old Syriac omits. The Coptic manuscripts are divided here. The Syriac Peshitta and Harklean support the Arabic reading. The Harklean reads  $\text{ܥܝܬܐ ܥܡܝܬܐ}$  (with fasting and prayer) and the Peshitta  $\text{ܥܝܬܐ ܥܡܝܬܐ}$  (with prayer and fasting). The Arabic follows closely the Peshitta or some Coptic manuscripts.

17:26

fol. 67r  $\text{فَقَالَ لَهُ بَطْرَسُ مِنَ الْغَرَبَا فَقَالَ يَسُوعُ فَالْبَنِينَ اِذْنِ اِحْرَار}$

Supported by: W f<sup>13</sup> MT (f) q sy<sup>h</sup> (mae).

Coptic: And he having said: "From the strangers," Jesus answered him: "The sons then are free".

*Comment:* The Peshitta and the Curetonian read  $\text{ܫܡܥܝܢ}$  (Simon) and the Harklean  $\text{ܫܡܥܝܢ}$  (Peter). The Coptic omits Peter.

18:11

fol. 68v  $\text{لَا بَنَ الْإِنْسَانِ إِنَّمَا جَاءَ لِطَلَبٍ وَيُخَلِّصَ مَنْ كَانَ هَالِكًا}$

Supported by: (L<sup>mg</sup>) 579. 892<sup>c</sup> al c Sy<sup>h</sup> bo<sup>pt</sup>

## Coptic: Omit

*Comment:* The Arabic reading does not agree with the Peshitta version. The Arabic adds  $\zeta\eta\eta\sigma\alpha\iota\ \kappa\alpha\iota$  which is not found in the Peshitta.

19:9

fol. 72r  $\text{وَأَقُولُ لَكُمْ إِنْ مِنْ طَلَّقَ امْرَأَتَهُ مِنْ غَيْرِ كَلِمَةٍ زَنَى فَقَدْ جَاءَهَا إِلَى الزَّنى وَمَنْ تَزَوَّجَ مُطْلَقَهُ فَقَدْ زَنَى}$

Supported by: B f<sup>1</sup> bo

Coptic: And I say to you, that he who *will* put away his wife, without word of fornication, causeth her to commit adultery; and he who *will* marry her who is put away comitteth adultery.

*Comment:* The Bohairic version or f<sup>1</sup> might be behind the Arabic text in this verse.

19:17

fol. 73r  $\text{قَالَ لَهُ لِمَذَا تَقُولُ صَالِحٌ وَلَيْسَ صَالِحٌ إِلَّا اللَّهُ الْوَاحِدُ}$

Supported by: C W f<sup>13</sup> 33 MT f q sy<sup>p,h</sup> sa bo<sup>ms</sup> (manuscript M)

Coptic: And he said to him: "Wherefore askest thou me concerning the good? One is the good, God":

*Comment:*

- 1) Only one Bohairic manuscript of the 14<sup>th</sup> supports the Arabic reading (with small variation cf. below number 4).
- 2) The Peshitta has  $\text{ܡܕܝܢܐ}$  (call), and the Harklean, which is closer to the Arabic, reads  $\text{ܡܕܝܢܐ}$  (say, speak).
- 3) The Harklean has  $\text{ܡܕܝܢܐ}$  (person), the Peshitta and the Arabic do not have this addition.
- 4) The Arabic omits  $\mu\epsilon$  which is probably a scribal mistake. Such omissions are very common in this manuscript.

This reading follows either the Peshitta or the Greek Majority Text but not the Coptic.

20:28

ذلك بن الانسان لم يات ليخدم بل ليخدم ويبذل fol. 78r نفسه عن كثير

Insert: υμεις δε ζητετε εκ μικρου...σου τουτο χρησιμων: D (Φ it vg<sup>ms</sup> sy<sup>c</sup>).

Coptic: As also (the) Son of (the) man came not to be ministered to, but to minister, and to give his life a redemption for many

*Comment:* The Arabic does not follow any of the few Greek, Latin or Syriac manuscripts mentioned above.

20:31

فنهروما الجمع لبسكتا وهما ازدادا صياحا قائلين ارحمنا يا رب يا بن داود fol. 78r

Supported by: C W<sup>f</sup> 33 MT f ff<sup>2</sup> q sy<sup>ch</sup> sa<sup>ms</sup> mae

Coptic: And the multitude was rebuking them, that they should hold their peace: but they cried out more, saying: Our Lord, pity us, (the) son of David.

*Comment:* Note that the Bohairic and Peshitta versions agree with each other against the Arabic reading. The Arabic follows one Sahidic manuscript, the Curetonian and Harklean versions and most Greek manuscripts. The Arabic most probably follows the Greek majority text.

21:44

ومن سقط على هذا الحجر يترضرض ومن سقط عليه طحنه fol. 83v

Omit: D 33 it sy<sup>s</sup>

Coptic: And he who *will* fall upon this stone, *it shall break him* to pieces; and he indeed upon whom it *will* fall, *it shall scatter him* as dust.

*Comment:* The Arabic does not follow the Sinaiticus in this verse.

23:13-14

الويل لكم ايها الكتبة والفريسين يا مرايين لاكلكم بيوت الارامل والايتام بعله تطويل fol. 88v. v.14 صلواتك من اجل هذا عقابكم fol. 89r. شديد v.13 الويل لكم يا كتبة ويا فريسين يا مرايين انكم تغلقون ملكوت السموات قدام الناس فلا انتم تدخلون ولا تتركون الداخلون يدخلون

Supported by: 12 W 0102. 0107 MT f sy<sup>p,h</sup> bo<sup>pt</sup> (Coptic MSS: A<sup>m</sup> Γ D<sub>4</sub> Δ<sub>1</sub> ϣ F<sub>1</sub> m<sub>2</sub> H θ J<sub>1,3</sub> K\* & m L N O)

Coptic: And woe to you [the\*] scribes and [the\*] Pharisees, [the\*] hypocrites! Because ye shut the kingdom of the heavens before [the] men: for ye come not in (yourselves), not they who come, do you permit them to come it.

*Comment:* The first remark is concerned with the occurrence of الارامل والايتام (widows and orphans). This variant lacks textual support. The second is the rendering of the expression بعله تطويل ..... لاكلكم بيوت (...because you consume the houses of the widows and orphans with pretence of prolonging your prayer). Neither the Greek nor the sy<sup>s, ch</sup> are behind the Arabic text. It is almost certain that this verse is

translated from the Peshitta. Some late Coptic manuscripts have this reading. However, the Coptic MS A and C, which are considered by Horner to be two out of three MSS which contain the purest form of the Bohairic version, omit this reading. Could it be possible that some Coptic manuscripts were influenced by the Arabic versions?

24:36

fol. 95r فاما ذلك اليوم وتلك الساعه لا يعرفها احد ولا ملايكه السموات الا الاب وحده

The omission of ουδε ο υιος (as in the Arabic text above) is supported by  $\aleph^1$  L W  $\text{f}^{1.13}$  33 MT  $\text{g}^1$  l vg sy co.

Coptic: Concerning that day and the hour no one knowth, nor the angels of the heavens, except (the Father alone).

*Comment:* The Arabic agrees with both Syriac and Coptic versions.

27:46

fol. 113r وقال ايلبي ايلبي لماذا صيغتي الذي هو الالهي لماذا تركتني

$\eta\lambda\iota$   $\eta\lambda\iota$ , as in the Arabic above, is supported by A D (L) W  $\Theta$   $\text{f}^{1.13}$  MT lat

$\epsilon\lambda\omega\iota$   $\epsilon\lambda\omega\iota$  is supported by:  $\aleph$  B 33 vg<sup>mss</sup> co.

Coptic: ...saying: "Eloi eloi lema sabakthani?" which is this, "My God, my God, wherefore didst thou leave me?"

*Comment:* The Arabic does not follow the Coptic. The Peshitta reads ܠܡܐ ([ $\eta\lambda\iota$ ]) and sy<sup>s</sup> sy<sup>h</sup> read ܠܡܐ ([ $\eta\lambda\iota$ ]). (sy<sup>c</sup> is defective here). The Arabic transliterates the Harklean, Sinaiticus or Peshitta version.

The second comment is about the expression صيغتي (have you baptized me). The Greek reads σαβαχθανι. The Sy<sup>s</sup> and sy<sup>p</sup> read ܫܒܩܬܢܝ (shabaqtanī). The Sy<sup>h</sup> reads ܫܒܩܬܢܝ (sabāqtanī). The Arabic reads صيغتي (sabaghtanī). The verb صبغ means *to baptize*, but it is clear from the context that it is meant to be a transliteration of the origin, which could be Coptic, Greek or the Harklean version.

Mark:

1:1

fol. 118r بدو انجيل يسوع المسيح بن الله

Supported by:  $\aleph^1$  B D L W 2427 pc (sed του Θ. A  $\text{f}^{1.13}$  33 MT) latt sy co Coptic: (The) beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, (the) son of God.

1:2

fol. 118r كما هو مكتوب في اشعيا النبي<sup>(1)</sup> هوذا انا مرسل ملاكي امام وجهك ليسهل طريقك قدامك<sup>(2)</sup>

Supported by:  $\aleph$  B L  $\Delta$  33. 565. 892. 1241. 2427 al sy<sup>p,hmg</sup> co

Supported by: A  $\text{f}^{1.13}$  33 MT f ff<sup>2</sup> 1 vg<sup>cl</sup> sy<sup>h</sup> sa<sup>mss</sup> bo<sup>pt</sup>

Coptic: According as it is written in Esaias the prophet: "Lo, I will send (the) messenger before thy face, who will prepare thy road before thee"

*Comment:* The Arabic agrees with the Greek manuscript 33.

1:4

fol. 118r كان يوحنا يعمد في القف ويكرز بالتوبه لغفران الخطايا

Supported by A W <sup>f.13</sup> MT sy<sup>h</sup> sa? (and possibly also D Θ 28. 700. l 2211 lat sy<sup>p</sup>).

Coptic: And John the Baptist was in (the) desert, and preaching a baptism of repentance for (lit. in) a forgiveness of sins.

*Comment:* The Arabic does not follow the Coptic. The Syriac Har-kean is the closest. However, the Arabic reads ويكرز بالتوبه (and preaches about repentance). All other *Vorlagen* read “preach/preaching a baptism of repentance”.

This reading seems to agree with the Greek majority text.

1:14

ومن بعد حبس يوحنا وانا يسوع الى الجليل يكرز بانجيل ملكوت الله fol. 119r

Supported by: A D W MT lat sy<sup>p</sup> bo<sup>pt</sup>

Coptic: Now after that John was delivered (up), Jesus came to Galilee, preaching the gospel of God

2:22

ولا يصب خمر جديد في زقاق باليه الا يخرق الزقاق [والخمر يتلف و الزقاق]<sup>5</sup> بل يصب الخمر الجديد في زقاق جدد fol. 124r

Supported by W (a) bo<sup>ms</sup> (manuscript M)

“And they do not put (lit. throw) new wine into old bottles: otherwise the wine rendeth the bottles, and the wine perisheth, and the bottles: but they put new wine into new bottles”.

*Comment:* This reading is supported by one bilingual Coptic manuscript of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. It is most probable that it was influenced by the Arabic in parallel.

4:3

اسمعوا: الزارع خرج ليزرع fol. 128r

Supported by: unknown

Coptic: Hear: lo, he who soweth came.

*Comment:* The Greek and Syriac MSS read [Ἀκούετε. ἰδοὺ ἐξῆλθεν ὁ σπείρων σπείραι.] The Arabic transposes the phrase ἐξῆλθεν ὁ σπείρων and reads Ἀκούετε. ἰδοὺ ὁ σπείρων ἐξῆλθεν σπείραι. In doing so, the Arabic text follows neither the Greek and Syriac *Vorlagen* nor does it respect the general Arabic syntactical rule of inserting the subject *after* the verb. Why is it so? The Coptic has the subject first followed by the verb (as in Arabic) but omits ليزرع. It reads “...he who soweth came”. Is the scribe trying to assimilate the Coptic and Syriac (less likely the Greek) versions in his Arabic translation/edition? Or was it originally الزارع خرج (A Sower went out – omit *to sow* as in the Coptic) and later the expression ليزرع was added to match it with either the Syriac or the

5 I have reconstructed this phrase from other witnesses of family k. Sinai, Ar. 101 omits it due to homoeoteleuton.



Greek? If this is the case then why do we find خرج (went out) and not “came” as in the Coptic version?

Some late and less reliable Coptic manuscripts add ⲉⲥⲓⲧ (to sow). Is it because of an Arabic influence? This is possible. (It should be noted that Sinai, Ar. N.F. Paper 61 reads similarly زارع خرج ليزرع (folio 4r))

4:24

fol. 125r وقال لهم انظروا ماذا تسمعون فبالكيل الذي تكيلون يكال لكم وتزادون ايها السامعون

Supported by A 0 1017. 0167 <sup>f.13.33</sup> MT q sy sa<sup>ms</sup> bo<sup>pt</sup>

Coptic: And he was saying to them again: Take heed, what ye hear : in the measure which ye measure, it will be measured to you : and it will be added to you.

*Comment:* The Arabic does not follow the Coptic. The Coptic has “was saying” (كان يقول) (and also the Greek MSS and Harklean version). The Arabic reads وقال (and he said) and follows the Peshitta. The Coptic, unlike the Arabic, adds “again”. The Coptic omits “oh, you hearers” against the Arabic. The divergence suggests that the Coptic was not the *Vorlage* of this Arabic version, but most probably the Syriac Peshitta.

Some late Coptic manuscripts read “of those who hear”. Since most of these late Coptic manuscripts are bilingual, the Arabic in parallel might have influenced their texts. What supports this argument, in addition to the fact that the Arabic Sinai, Ar. 101 was copied during or before these Coptic manuscripts, is that the whole verse under investigation does not follow the Coptic (and not only the addition of ايها السامعون). Moreover, ايها السامعون does not translate the Coptic “of those who hear” accurately. Furthermore, the expression الكيل is closer to the Syriac than it is to the Coptic.

In summary, the *Vorlage* of this verse is the Peshitta. (Sinai, Ar. N.F. Paper 61 reads وقال لهم انظروا ماذا تسمعون فبالكيل الذي تكيلون يكال لكم وتزادون ايها السامعون (fol. 5v)).

6:11

fol. 132r واي موضع لم يقبلكم ولا يسمع منكم فاذا خرجتم من هناك انفضوا الغبار الذي تحت ارجلكم للشهادة عليهم الحق اقول لكم ان سدوم وعامور يكون لهما راحة يوم الدين اكثر من تلك المدينة

Supported by: A <sup>f.13</sup> (33) MT a f q sy<sup>p.h.</sup> bo<sup>pt</sup>

Coptic: “And every place which will not receive you to it, not hear you, (as ye are) coming from there, shake off (the) dust which is underneath your feet for a witness to them”.

*Comment:* The most reliable Coptic manuscripts omit this reading. Those which have the reading in the text, or in the margin, are influenced by the Arabic. For instance in the margin of the Coptic MS C<sub>1</sub>, there is a gloss which reads زايد في العربي (addition in the Arabic). This shows that originally the Arabic text had the addition and later omitted to conform it with the Coptic. (Sinai, Ar. N.F. Paper 61 reads: fol. 10r

واي موضع لم يقبلكم ولا يسمع منكم فاذا خرجتم من هناك انفضوا الغبار الذي تحت ارجلكم للشهادة عليهم الحق اقول لكم ان سدوم وعامورا تكون لهما راحة يوم الدين اكثر من تلك المدينة)

Mark 7:14-16

fol. 137v ثم دعا الجمع الكثير وقال اسمعوا مني كلكم وافهموا ليس شي خارج من الانسان يدخل فيه يقدر ينجسه لكن الذي يخرج من فم الانسان من له اذان سامعتان فليسمع<sup>(1)</sup>

(1) Supported by: A D W  $\theta$   $\text{f}^{1.13}$  33 MT latt sy sa<sup>mss</sup> bo<sup>pt</sup>

Coptic: And having called again the multitude, he said to them: "Hear me and understand: there is not anything outside of the man [for] which, going into the mouth, can (lit. it is possible to) defile him: but the things which come from the mouth of the man (defile him)".

*Comment:* The Arabic reading does not have *again* and *to them* in (verse 14), and *into the mouth* and *the things* (verse 15) as the Coptic does. This shows that the Arabic is not translated from Coptic. Moreover, the Arabic reads كثير ( $\pi\alpha\nu\tau\alpha$  – supported only by A W  $\theta$   $\text{f}^{1.13}$  33 MT f sy sa<sup>mss</sup>), an addition not found in the Coptic. All these variants argue in favour of a Syriac *Vorlage*. Furthermore, verse 16 is omitted in the reliable Coptic manuscripts. Once again the Arabic follows the Syriac. However, the expression من فم الانسان (from the mouth of the man – instead of  $\epsilon\kappa$  του ανθρωπου) follows literally the Coptic. (Sinai, Ar. N.F. Paper 61 reads on fol. 14r:

ثم دعا الجمع الكثير وقال اسمعوا مني كلكم وافهموا ليس شي خارج من الانسان يدخل فيه يقدر ينجسه لكن الذي يخرج من فم الانسان من له اذان سامعتان فليسمع)

Mark 9:24

fol. 146r فصاح ابو الصبي من ساعته بدموع وقال انا او من فاعن ضعف امانتي

Supported by: A<sup>2</sup> C<sup>3</sup> D  $\theta$   $\text{f}^{1.13}$  33 MT lat sy<sup>(p)</sup> h bo<sup>pt</sup>

Coptic: Immediately cried out (the) father of the child, saying: "I believe: help my unbelief".

*Comment:* The Arabic does not follow the Coptic. Few late Coptic MSS agree with the Arabic reading (with the exception of the Coptic Catena  $\kappa$ . Cf. Horner, 387). The expression ساعته (lit. from its hour) is found in sy<sup>s-p</sup>: (ܣܥܬܗ / ܫܥܬܗ).

Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 61 reads:

fol. 20r فصاح ابو الصبي من ساعته بدموع وقال انا او من فاعن ضعف ايماني

Mark: 9:49

fol. 148v كل شي بالنار يملح وكل ذبيحه تصلح بالملح

Supported by: A C  $\Theta$   $\Psi$  (2427) MT lat sy<sup>p</sup> h bo<sup>pt</sup>

Coptic: Every one *they* salt with the fire. The salt is good:

*Comment:* Not only that the addition of the expression كل ذبيحه تصلح بالملح is omitted in the Coptic versions (with the exception of some late MSS because of the Arabic influence), but also the first part of the verse disagrees with the Coptic. In order for the Arabic text to follow the

Coptic, it should read: وكل واحد (انسان) يملحون (ه) بالنار. The verse agrees with either the Greek or Syriac witnesses (as mentioned above).

Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch. 61 reads on folio 23r.

كل شي بالنار يملح وكل ذبيحه تصلح بالملح

Mark 10:21

fol. 150v فنظر اليه يسوع واحبه وقال تريد تكون كاملا واحده بقيت عليك امضي وبمع كلما لك واعطه للمساكين واكنزه في السما fol. 151r وتعال اتبعني واحمل الصليب

Supported by: N Π Σ 1071 and the Syriac Harklean

Coptic: And Jesus having looked upon him, loved him, and said to him: "Another thing thou lackest: go, sell that which thou hast, give it (lit. them) to the poor, and thou shalt get for thee a treasure in (the) heaven: and come, follow me".

*Comment:* None of the Coptic manuscripts have both readings as does the Arabic version. (Only the corrector of the Coptic MS number F in *Horner's* edition adds the two readings). Both expressions (in their respective locations) are only found in N Π Σ 1071 and the Harklean version (the only variant between the Arabic and the Harklean is that the latter adds *ما لا احمل* (what do I still lack) in the beginning of the verse which is omitted in Arabic). The Arabic follows the few Greek manuscripts.

It is remarkable that the Arabic text above reads *واكنزه في السما* (and treasure it in heaven). The Greek and Coptic read [καὶ ἔξεις θησαυρὸν ἐν οὐρανῷ] *وستملك كنز في السما*. The Arabic in this particular place seems to have been influenced by the Syriac which reads *ܠܡ ܠܡܥܠܐ ܕܡܥܠܐ*. (Sinai, Ar. N.F. Paper 61 reads on folio 24v:

فنظر اليه يسوع واحبه وقال تريد تكون كاملا واحده بقيت عليك امضي وبمع كلما لك واعطه للمساكين واكنزه في السما وتعال اتبعني واحمل الصليب).

Mark 14:24

fol. 168v وقال لهم هذا هو دمي للعهد الجديد<sup>(1)</sup> الذي يسفك عن كثير<sup>(2)</sup>

(1) Supported by: A <sup>f.13</sup> MT lat sy sa<sup>mss</sup> bo<sup>pt</sup>

(2) Supported by: B C L Ψ 892 pc

Coptic: And he said to them: "This is my blood of the testament, which will be shed for many, for (the) forgiving of their sins".

*Comment:* The addition of "for the forgiving of their sins" in the Coptic manuscripts (which is not found in the Arabic text), and the addition of *الجديد* (new) in the Arabic (which is not found in the Coptic), show that the Coptic is unlikely to be the *Vorlage* of this version. The Syriac Peshitta agrees with the Arabic but with minor variation (i.e. transposing *يسفك عن كثير*). It is likely that the Peshitta is the *Vorlage* of Mark 14:24.

Sinai, Ar. N.F. Paper 61 reads on folio 38r.

وقال لهم هذا دمي العهد الجديد الذي يسفك عن كثير

Mark 15:28

fol. 175r وتم الكتاب انه احصي مع الاثمه

Supported by: L 0 083. 0250 f<sup>1,13</sup> MT lat sy<sup>p,h</sup>. (bo<sup>pt</sup>)Coptic: *omit*

*Comment:* The Coptic omits this reading and disagrees with the Arabic. The Arabic follows one of the manuscripts mentioned above.

Sinai, Ar. N.F. Paper 61 reads on folio 43r:

وتم الكتاب انه احصي مع الاثمه

Luke 1:28

fol. 186r فلما دخل اليها الملاك<sup>(1)</sup> قال لها افرحي<sup>(1)</sup> يا ممثليه<sup>(2)</sup> نعمه الرب معك مبارك انتي في النساء<sup>(3)</sup>

فلما (and when) : unknown *Vorlage*الملاك (angel) : A C D f<sup>13</sup> 33 MT latt sy bo<sup>pt</sup>اليها الملاك (...to her the angel) : S Δ 69, 579, 700, 713 Lvt (aur f ff<sup>2</sup> 1 q r<sup>1</sup>)

Sp Sj (4 mss.) AM PS-HIL PET-C s 140

لها (to her) : Lvt (b ff<sup>2</sup> 1) Sp Sj (4 mss.) Gg PS-HIL

افرحي (rejoice) : and follows the Greek (possibly), Latin and the Har-  
kleian Syriac. The Peshitta has علو لحو (peace be to you).

ممثليه (full of grace) follows the Syriac Peshitta حلمة لحو and the Latin  
*gratia plena*.

الرب (the Lord) and does not follow the Peshitta. The Peshitta reads حو  
(our Lord).

مبارك انتي في النساء (blessed you are among women) *omit*: S B L W Ψ 1 131  
565 579 700 1215 1241 1582 Sj (4 mss.) Cs Cb (mss.) Ar Gg (I)

انتي (you are) *omit* 2766\* Sp

Coptic: and having gone in unto her, he said to her: "Hail, thou (lit. she)  
who art full of grace, the Lord (is) with thee".

*Comment:* From the data available, the Old Latin MSS ff<sup>2</sup> 1 follow  
the Arabic closely. However, this conversion might be coincidental. It is  
more likely that this verse was translated from both Greek and Syriac  
*Vorlagen*.

Sinai, Ar. N.F. Paper 61 reads on fol. 49v

فلما دخل اليها الملاك قال لها افرحي يا ممثليه نعمه الرب معك مبارك انتي في النساء

Luke 2:14

fol. 191 المجد لله في العلا وعلى الارض السلام "في" الناس المسره

السلام + [καλ] Ss Sp Dta Dtp Cb Gg (II. III); these manuscripts disagree  
with the Arabic text.

في: This preposition is added above the line by a different hand. The  
original reading is supported by: 372 Lvt (e a aur b β c f ff<sup>2</sup> gat 1 q r<sup>1</sup>) Ss  
Sp Et IR. However, omissions of this kind are common in this manu-  
script. Therefore, we cannot be certain whether the omission renders  
the *Vorlage* faithfully or it is a scribal mistake.

الناس المسره (men of good pleasure). The *Vorlage* most probably has the genitive εὐδοκίας instead of the nominative case εὐδοκία. The expression εὐδοκίας is read by S\* A B\* D W Lvt Lvg Cs Go.

*Comment:* Once again an Old Latin manuscript could be behind the Arabic text. Luke 2:14 follows one of the following Latin MSS: e a aur b β c f ff<sup>2</sup> gat 1 q r<sup>1</sup>.

Sinai, Ar. N.F. Paper 61 reads on folio 53r:

المجد لله في العلا وعلى الارض السلام وفي الناس المسره

Luke: 5:39

fol. 209v وما من احد يشرب قديما فيحب الجديد لانه يقول ان القديم طيب (ευθεως) is omitted in the Arabic version. The omission is supported by ρ<sup>4</sup> ρ<sup>75</sup> vid S B C\* L W 1 118 131 157 179 205 209 579 1241 1582\* Dtp Cs Cb Ar.

*Comment:* This reading disagrees with the Latin and Syriac manuscripts. (Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 61 reads on fol. 65v

وما من احد يشرب قديم فيحب الجديد لانه يقول ان القديم طيب).

Luke 6:4

fol. 209v ودخل الى fol. 210r بيت الله واكل خبزا التقدمة واعطا الذين معه الذي لا يحل لهم اكله الا للكهنه فقط

و ([και]) the conjunction و in the beginning of the verse is supported by Lvt (c).

و ([και]) the second و in the Arabic version is omitted by Cs Cb λαβων is omitted in the Arabic text and agrees with S D K W II 047 (a few minuscule MSS) Lvt (d) Sj Ar Gg IR

للكهنه ([τοις ιερευσιν]) supported by D Lvt (e a d c d f ff<sup>2</sup> gat 1 r<sup>1</sup>) OS IR and also Lvt (aur g<sup>1</sup> q) Lvg. (Sinai, Ar. N.F. Paper 61 reads on folio 66r

كيف دخل الى بيت الله واكل خبزا التقدمة واعطا الذين معه الذي لا يحل لهم اكله الا للكهنه فقط).

Luke 6:48

fol. 215v يشبه رجل بنا بيته وحفر وعمق ووضع الاساس على صخره فلما جا المطر الكثير وصدم النهر ذلك البيت فلم تقوى ان تحركه لان اساسه كان مبنيًا جيدا الى صخره

بيته ([οικίαν αὐτοῦ]) is supported by Lvt (gat) Lvg (mss.) Cb (1ms.)

(because its foundation was well built on a rock) is supported, with some variations, by A C D Θ ψ f<sup>1</sup>. 13. MT latt sy<sup>p.h.</sup> (bo<sup>pt</sup>).

Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 61 reads on fol. 68v

يشبه رجل بنا بيتًا وحفر وعمق ووضع الاساس على صخره فلما جا المطر الكثير وصدم النهر ذلك البيت فلم تقوى ان تحركه لان اساسه كان مبنيًا جيدا الى صخره

Luke 9:35

fol. 233r وكان صوت من السحابه قايلًا هذا ابني الحبيب الذي به سررت له فاسمعوا

و ([και]) in the Arabic text is omitted by Lvt (b f ff<sup>2</sup> 1 q r<sup>1</sup>) Cs (1ms.) Ar Et (Bodl. 41)

الحبيب الذي به سررت ([ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν ᾧ εὐδόκησα]) is supported by C<sup>3</sup>M 7 27 60 71 267 349 1194 1443 1458 1630 1685 2613 LECT 112 148 1211 1299 1854 etc.

*Comment:* It is remarkable that there is no early support for this variation. NA<sup>27</sup> refers to D Ψ but IGNTP shows that they read ἐκλελεγμένος, ἐν ᾧ εὐδόκησα instead of ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν ᾧ εὐδόκησα. (Sinai, Ar. N.F. Paper 61 reads on folio 80r

وكان صوت من السحابه قايلًا هذا ابني الحبيب له فاسمعوا).

John 1:18

fol. 1:18 الله لم يره احد قط الابن الوحيد الذي في حضن ابيه هو خير

Supported by an unknown origin

Coptic: God no one ever saw: the only-begotten God (without article), who is in the bosom of his father, he spake.

*Comment:* The occurrence of ابيه (*his father*) suggests that the scribe is translating either from Coptic, Syriac Curetonian or Peshitta (Sinaiticus is defective here). The only *Vorlage* which has الابن الوحيد and ابيه (*his father*) is the Curetonian version. However, the Curetonian read مح (*from the bosom*) instead of في (*in the bosom*) and adds ل (*to us*) at the end of verse 18. The Peshitta, as well as the Coptic, agree with the Arabic with the exception of الابن الوحيد (*the only son*).

It is remarkable that all the Coptic MSS read *the only-begotten God*. The Arabic parallel of the earliest surviving Coptic manuscript of the Gospel (Horner considers it the most reliable and gave it the signal A) has الابن الوحيد (*the only son*) and the Coptic parallel reads *the only-begotten God*. All this shows that the earliest surviving form of the Arabic version does not follow the Coptic.

The only possible *Vorlage* for the Arabic is a Syriac text which falls between the Curetonian and the Peshitta versions. Another suggest is that initially the text was translated from the Peshitta and then later corrected (in the case of الابن الوحيد) against the majority Greek manuscripts.

Sinai, Ar. N.F. Paper 61 reads on folio 126r

الله لم يره احد قط الابن الوحيد الذي في حضن ابيه هو اخبر

John 1:49

fol. 315 اجاب ناتاناييل وقال له<sup>(1)</sup> يا معلم انت هو المسيح<sup>(2)</sup> ابن الله انت ملك اسراييل

Supported by: A θ f<sup>13</sup> MT r<sup>1</sup> sy

Supported by: unknown

Coptic: Nathanael answered him, he said to him: "Rabbi, thou art (the Son of God, thou art (the) King of Israel".

*Comment:* The addition of المسيح (*Christ*) has no textual support. The Syriac Curetonian and Sinaiticus are defective here.

Sinai, Ar. N.F. Paper 61 reads on folio 128v

اجاب تانييل وقال له<sup>(١)</sup> يا معلم انت هو ابن الله انت ملك اسرائيل

John 4: 9

fol. 325r قالت له تلك الامراه السامريه كيف وانت يهودي تستسقيني الماء وانا امراه سامريه واليهود لا يختلطون بالسامره

Supported by: οὐν is omitted in the Arabic text as well as in <sup>f</sup> 565. 579. 892 al j sy<sup>s.c.p</sup> sa<sup>mss</sup> bo. The phrase واليهود لا يختلطون بالسامره is omitted in <sup>\*</sup> D a b e j

Coptic: The Samaritan woman said to him: "How dost thou, a Jew, ask from me to drink, I (being) a Samaritan woman?" for the Jews mingle not with the Samaritans.

*Comment:* The *Vorlage* seems to be either Coptic or Syriac. The main variation between these versions and the Arabic is that the latter has السامره in singular while the rest, with only one exception (see below), read "Samaritans" (in plural). The Sinaiticus has <sup>٤٤٤</sup> in singular and agrees with the Arabic reading. Moreover, the Arabic has تلك الامراه (this/that women) which probably renders the Syriac <sup>ܗܝ</sup> (this/that). It is worth adding that in verse five of the same chapter the city of Samaria is called Συχαρ in Greek and Coptic. The Peshitta and the Harklean almost similarly read <sup>ܫܚܪ</sup> / <sup>ܫܚܪܐ</sup>. Both the Sinaiticus and the Curetonian read <sup>ܫܚܪܐ</sup> (Shakim). The Arabic reads سحر (Syhār -with S or Sh and hā, or Jā, or khā). It is not possibly to know exactly which expression is used because some of the diacritical mark are missing in the MS. However, we can be certain that it neither translates the Sinaiticus nor the Curetonian. (Sinai, Ar. N.F. Paper 61 reads on folio 132v

قالت له تلك الامراه السامريه كيف وانت يهوديا تستسقي الماء وانا امراه سامريه واليهود لا يختلطون بالسامره).

4:42

fol. 329r وكانوا يقولون لتلك الامراه انا ليس منجل قولك نومن به لكننا قد سمعنا وعلما ان هذا هو المسيح بالحقيقه مخلص العالم

Supported by: A C<sup>3</sup> D L Θ ψ <sup>f</sup>.13 33 MT e f q sy<sup>p.h</sup>. bo<sup>p</sup>

Coptic: They were saying then to the woman: "that this is the savior of the world".

*Comment:* A few late Coptic MSS support this reading mainly because of Arabic influence (all of these manuscripts are Coptic-Arabic manuscripts with the exception of one copied in the fourteenth century). The Arabic reading is closer to the Peshitta than the Harklean version. (Sinai, Ar. N.F. Parch 61 reads on folio 135r

وكانوا يقولوا لتلك الامراه انا ليس منجل قولك نومن به لكننا قد سمعنا وعلما ان هذا هو المسيح بالحقيقه مخلص العالم).

John 7:53-8:11

A thorough examination of this pericope will not be conducted here. A few remarks will be given to show that this narrative is not translated from Coptic.

It is worth mentioning at the beginning that the pericope is found after John 7:52 with no sign suggesting that it was added later. A comparison between the Arabic text and the Coptic points to the following: The Coptic Bohairic manuscripts are clearly influenced by the Arabic text, and more than that, it seems that the narrative of the woman caught in adultery in the Bohairic version is translated from Arabic sources.

An Arabic influence on the Coptic manuscripts has so far been textually supported. To this, one can add the remarks given in the margins of the Coptic-Arabic manuscripts. Suffice it here to give a few examples of this kind. The reader is advised to consult Horner's *The Coptic Version, ad loc* for more details on these glosses.

Coptic MS E<sub>2</sub> "this section is never contained by the Coptic, nor it is read in church, it was translated from the *Greek* and the *Arabic*";

Coptic MS θ (which is a Coptic MS (and not a bilingual Arabic-Coptic codex)) "here is the section of the adulteress, it is not found in the Greek copies, nor the Syriac, nor the Coptic, but only in the Arabic";

Coptic MS J<sub>1</sub> "this section is not in the Coptic, nor in some of the Gospels of the Greek, but it was translated from the Arabic";

Coptic MS V "this section from here is *not* found in the Coptic, nor in the Greek, but it was translated from the Syriac, and it is found in most of the Arabic copies' etc."

John 8:29

fol. 353v. ومن انفذني هو معي fol. 354 ولم يدعني الاب وحدي لاني افعل ما يرضيه في كل حين  
Supported by: 0250 MT f q sy<sup>(p).h.</sup> (bo<sup>pt</sup>).

*Comment:* In only three Coptic MSS does one find the expression πΑΙΩΤ (the father): in the first place, it is found in the margin of the bilingual Coptic-Arabic MS A (obviously a correction made against the Arabic in parallel); and in two other manuscripts copied in the thirteenth centuries. The Peshitta has ܐܒܝ (my father) and the Harklean ܐܒܝ. The Arabic follows the majority Greek texts, the Latin f and q, or the Syriac Harklean. (Sinai, Ar. N.F. Paper 61 reads on folio 151r

ومن انفذني هو معي ولم يدعني الاب وحدي لاني افعل ما يرضيه في كل حين)

John 16:16

fol. 389r. قليل ولا تروني وقليل وتروني ايضا لاني منطلق الى الاب

Supported by: A θ (ψ) 068. (33) f<sup>1.13</sup> MT lat sy pbo bo<sup>pt</sup>

Coptic: "Yet a little, (and) ye will not see me ; and again, yet a little, (and) ye will see me".



*Comment:* A few late Coptic manuscripts follow the Arabic text. The *Vorlage* of the Arabic is either the Greek manuscripts mentioned above or the Syriac Peshitta.

John 16:21

...لأن قد جالت ساعتها... fol. 389v

ⲛⲓⲉⲣⲁ: ρ<sup>66</sup> D it sy<sup>s.p.</sup> ac<sup>2</sup>

*Comment:* The text does not follow the Peshitta here.

John 21:20

fol. 406v *فالتفت سمعان الصفا فرأى ذلك التلميذ الذي يحبه يسوع يتبعه وهو الذي وقع وقت*  
 407r *العشا على صدره وقال يا سيد من الذي يسلمك*

Both variations are supported by the Peshitta.

## 14.2. Textual Analysis of Selected Variants in the Eight Test Passages in Sinai, Ar. 101 and in Other Representative Manuscripts

In the tables below there are eighteen Family representatives set in parallel. The representatives were randomly placed in the table in order not to be influenced by the outcome of the analysis in regards to the *Vorlagen* of the representatives. Each table is followed by short textual comments as reason dictates. I have avoided the use of footnotes and replaced them with small signs that follow the Arabic terms under examination.

## Matthew 7:15a

خرفان	لباس	باتونكم	الذين	الكاذبين	الانبياء	من	احذروا*
الخراف	لباس	باتونكم	الذين	الكذبة	الانبياء	من	احتفظوا
الغنم	بملايس	يوافون	فانهم	الكاذبين	الانبياء	من	احذروا
الخراف	لباس	باتونكم	الذين	الكذبة	الانبياء	من	احتفظوا
الغنم	لبس	باتون	انهم	الكاذبين	الانبياء	من	احذروا
الحملان	لباس	باتونكم	الذين	الكذبة	الانبياء	من	احذروا
الخرقان	لباس	تاتيكم	الذين	الكذابه	الانبياء	من	احتفظوا
الحملان	لباس	باتونكم	الذين	الكذبة	الانبياء	من	احذروا
الخرقان	ملابس	باتونكم	الذين	الكذبة	الانبياء	من	فاحذروا
الحملان	لباس	يوافونكم	الذين	الكذبة	الانبياء	من	احذروا
الحملان	لباس	باتونكم	الذين	الكذبة	الانبياء	من	احذروا
الحملان	ملابس	فايجينكم]	التي	[الافاكين	الانبياء	من	فاحذروا
الخراف	لباس	تاتيكم	التي	الكذبة	الانبياء	من	احتفظوا
الخرقان	لباس	تاتيكم	التي	الكذبة	الانبياء	من	احتفظوا

\* *l* and *j*<sup>A</sup> read "فاحذروا" with L W Θ 0281 f<sup>1,13</sup> 33 MT f q sy<sup>h</sup> sa<sup>ms</sup> bo ; *o*, *h* and *j*<sup>A</sup> omit NTS.

## Matthew 7:15b

خطفه	ذياب	داخل	من	وهع	a
خاطفه	ذياب	داخل	من	وهع	c
خاطفه	ذياب	باطنهم	في	وهع	j <sup>c</sup>
خاطفه	ذياب	داخل	من	وهع	j <sup>b</sup>
					n
					i
خاطفه	اذياب	داخل	فمن		e
خاطفه	ذياب	الباطن	في	وهع	g
ضارية	ذياب	داخل	من	وهع	d
					r
					k
خاطفه	ذياب	وداخلهم			l
خاطفه	ذياب	وباطنهم			o
خطفه	ذياب	الباطن	في	وهو	h
خطفه	ذياب	ضميرهم	في	وهع	j <sup>a</sup>
خطفه	ذياب	[قالج]	من	وهع	b
خاطفه	ذياب	داخل	من	وهع	p <sup>j</sup>
ضاريه	ذياب	داخل	من	وهع	q

ونفوسهم

مختلسه

## Matthew 7:16

تِين	من الحسك <sup>§</sup>	او	عنب	الشوك	من	تجمعوا%	هل	فاعرفوهم* من ثمراتهم	من	a
تِينا	من الفرطب	او	عنباً	الشوك	من	يُجتنى	هل	تعرفوهم	من	c
تِيناً	من الحسك	ام	عنباً	الشوك	من	تجمعون	العلم	تعرفونهم	ومن	j <sup>c</sup>
تِينا	من الدردار	او	عنباً	الشوك	من	يلقط	هل	اعرفوهم	من	j <sup>b</sup>
تِيناً	من القرطب	ام	عنباً	الشوك	من	تجمعوا	فهل	تعرفوهم	فمن	i
تِين	من العوسج	او	عنب	الشوك	من	يُجتنى	هل	تعرفونهم	ومن	e
تِين	من الحسك	او	عنباً	الشوك	من	يلقط	هل	تعرفونهم	من	g
تِين	من الحسك	او	عنباً	الشوك	من	يلقط	هل	تعرفونهم	من	d
تِين	من الحسك	او	عنباً	الشوك	من	يلقط	هل	تعرفونهم	ومن	r
تِين	من الحسك	او	عنباً	الشوك	من	يلقط	هل	تعرفونهم	ومن	k
تِين	من الحسك	او	عنباً	الشوك	من	يلقط	هل	تعرفونهم	ومن	l
تِين	من الحسك	او	عنباً	الشوك	من	يلقط	هل	تعرفونهم	من	o
تِينا	من الحسك	او	عنباً	الشوك	من	يلقط	هل	تعرفونهم	فمن	h
تِينا	من الحسك	او	عنباً	الشوك	من	يلقط	هل	تعرفونهم	من	j <sup>a</sup>
تِينا	من الحسك	او	عنباً	الشوك	من	يلقط	هل	تعرفونهم	ومن	b
تِين	من الحسك	او	عنباً	الشوك	من	يلقطون	لعلم	تعرفونهم	من	p <sup>l</sup>
تِين	من الحسك	او	عنباً	الشوك	من	يلقطون	لعلم	تعرفونهم	من	q



## Matthew 7:17a

طيه	ثمره	تصنع*	صالحا	نباتا	صالحه	شجره	كل	هكنا	a
جيده	ثمره	تنبئت			صالحه	شجره	كل	كذاك	c
طيه	ثمره	تعمل			صالحه	شجرة	كل	هكنا	j <sup>c</sup>
		تصنع			صالحه	شجره	كل	كذاك	j <sup>b</sup>
									n
									i
جيدا	ثمرا	تصنع	حسن	ثمار	صالحه	شجره	كل	كذاك	e
		ثمر			صالحه	شجرة	كل	هكنا	g
		تخرج	طيه	اثمارا	طيه	شجره	كل	كذاك	d
									r
جيده	ثمره	تخرج			صالحه	شجرة	كل	هكدي	k
صالحه	ثمره	تخرج			صالحه	شجرة	كل	كذاك	l
صالحه	ثمرا	ثمر			صالحه	شجرة	كل	هكنا	o
حسنه	ثمرا	ثمر			صالحه	شجرة	كل	كذاك	h
طيه	ثمرا	تعمل			صالحه	شجرة	كل	كذاك	j <sup>a</sup>
		تخرج	طيه	اثمارا	طيه	شجره	كل	كذاك	b
									p <sup>l</sup>
		تخرج	طيه	اثمار	طيه	شجره	كل	كذاك	q

فانها

\* There are five different Arabic renderings for the Greek verb ποιέω, Syriac ܥܡܪ, and Coptic bring forth. They are: صنع (produce, make); نبت (bring forth, grow); عمل (do, make, produce); ثمر (bear fruit); خرج (bring out, produce).

## Matthew 7: 17b

شُريره	ثمره	تصنع	رديا	نباتا	الشريره %	الشجره	و	a
خبيثه	ثمره	تنبث			السو	الشجره	و	c
سو	ثمر	تعمل			المره	الشجره	و	j <sup>c</sup>
		تصنع			السو	الشجره	و	j <sup>b</sup>
								n
رديا	ثمره	يصنع	شُرير	ثمر	الشريره	الشجاره	واما	i
		تثمر			الفاსقه	الشجره	و	e
		تخرج	سو	اثمارا	سو	شجره	وكل	g
								d
شُريره	ثمره	تخرج			الرديه	الشجره	و	r
رديه	ثمره	تخرج			الرديه	الشجره	و	k
خبيثه	ثماراً	تثمر	فانها		الخبيثه	الشجره	و	l
رديا	ثماراً	تثمر			الخبيثه	الشجره	و	o
		تصنع	خبيثه	ثمارا	المره	الشجره	و	h
		تخرج	سو	اثمار	سو	شجره	وكل	j <sup>a</sup>
								b
		تخرج	سو	اثمارا	سو	شجره	وكل	p <sup>l</sup>
								q

%a, e read *سو* (bad or evil). The Greek reads *σαρρός* (bad, rotten) and not *πομπός* (evil). The Arabic versions have six different translations for either the Greek or Syriac *Vorlage*: الشريره (evil); السو (bad, evil); المره (bad, evil); الفاسقه (vicious); الخبيثه (malicious, bad, evil).

Matthew 7:18a

سوّ	ثمار %	تصنع*		صالحه	شجرة	تستطيع	ليس	a
سوّ	نبات	تنبّت	ان	صالحه	شجرة	تستطيع	لا	c
خبثه	ثمار	تعمل		صالحه	شجرة	تقدر	ان	j <sup>c</sup>
سوّ	ثمر	تثمر		صالحه	شجرة	تستطيع	ليس	j <sup>b</sup>
سوّ	ثمر	تصنع		صالحه	شجرة	تستطيع	ليس	n
ردينا	ثمرا	تثمر	ان	صالحه	شجرة	تستطيع	لا	i
سوّ	اثمارا	تخرج		طيبه	شجرة	تستطيع	لا	e
شريرة	ثمرة	تخرج		صالحه	شجرة	تقدر	لا	g
خبثه	ثمرة	تصنع	ان	طيبه	شجرة	يمكن	ان	d
رديه	ثمراً	تثمر	ان	الصالحه	الشجرة	يمكن	لا	r
خبثه	ثمراً	تثمر	ان	الصالحه	الشجرة	تستطيع	لا	k
سوء	ثمرا	تعمل	ان	الصالحه	الشجرة	يمكن	ان	l
سوّ	اثمار	تخرج	تستطيع	طيبه	وشجرة	يمكن		o
سوّ	اثمار	تخرج		طيبه	شجرة	تستطيع	لا	h
سوّ	اثمار	تخرج		طيبه	شجرة	تستطيع	لا	j <sup>a</sup>
سوّ	اثمار	تخرج		طيبه	شجرة	تستطيع	لا	b
سوّ	اثمار	تخرج		طيبه	شجرة	تستطيع	لا	p <sup>l</sup>
سوّ	اثمار	تخرج		طيبه	شجرة	تستطيع	لا	q



\*For the different Arabic renderings of the *Vorlage* see above. The Greek MS B reads ἐνεγκειν (infinitive Aorist of φέρω (bear)) instead of ποιέιν. Some Arabic versions have a similar expression but that could merely be coincidental, especially when the same Arabic expression is used above with ποιέω and not φέρω.  
 %k, / read كثر in singular and follow the Coptic version against the Greek and Syriac.

Matthew 7:18b

صالحه	ثمر %	تصنع	سو §	شجره	ولا	a
صالح	نبات	تنبت	سو	شجره	ولا	c
طيه	ثمرات	تصنع	الزبدية	الشجره	ولا	j <sup>c</sup>
صالح	ثمر	تثمر	سو	شجره	ولا	j <sup>b</sup>
						n
						i
صالح	ثمر	تصنع	شريه	شجره	ولا	e
جيدا	ثمرا	تثمر	فاسقه	شجرة	ولا	g
طيه	اثمارا	تخرج	سو	شجره	ولا	d
						r
جبة	ثمرة	تخرج	ردية	شجرة	ولا	k
طيه	ثمرة	تصنع	خبينه	شجرة	ولا	l
صالحه	ثمراً	تثمر	الرديه	الشجره	ولا	o
صالحه	ثمراً	تثمر	الخبينه	الشجره	ولا	h
طيه	ثمرات	تصنع	الوخيمه	الشجره	ولا	j <sup>a</sup>
طيه	اثمار	تخرج	سو	شجره	ولا	b
						p <sup>l</sup>
طيه	اثمار	تخرج	سو	شجره	ولا	q

§ (unhealthy, bad, evil), found in family j<sup>a</sup>, could also be added to the Arabic list above and renders either the Greek σαπρός or Syriac صعتر.

## Matthew 7:19

تلقا النار	وفي	تقطع	فانها	طبيه	ثمر	نصنع	لا	شجره	كل*	a
تلقى النار	وفي	تقطع		صالحا	نباتا	تثبت	لا	شجره	فكل	c
النار	في	وتلقى		جينا	ثمرا	تعمل	لا	شجره	وكل	j <sup>c</sup>
تلقا النار	وفي	تقطع		صالح	ثمر	ثمر	لا	شجره	فكل	j <sup>b</sup>
										n
النار	في	وتلقا		طبيب	ثمر	نصنع	لا	شجره	كل	i
النار	في	وتلقى		جينا	ثمرا	ثمر	لا	شجرة	كل	e
النار	في	وتلقا		طبيه	اثمارا	نخرج	لا	شجره	كل	g
										d
النار	في	تقطع		جيدة	ثمرة	ثمر	لا	شجرة	وكل	r
النار	في	ستقطع		جيدة	ثمرة	نصنع	لا	شجرة	وكل	k
النار	في	وتلقى	فانها	صالحة	ثمراً	ثمر	لا	شجرة	فكل	l
النار	في	وتلقى		صالحة	ثمراً	ثمر	لا	شجرة	فكل	o
النار	في	فلنقطع		صالحة	ثمراً	ثمر	لا	شجرة	فكل	h
النار	وفي	تجد		محموده	ثمرة	تجنتي	لا	شجرة	كل	j <sup>a</sup>
تزع النار	في	وتلقا		طبيه	اثمار	نخرج	لا	شجره	وكل	b
										p/
تطرح النار	وفي	تقطع		طبيه	اثمارا	نخرج	لا	شجره	كل	q

\*The conjunction οὐν is supported by the Greek C<sup>vid</sup> L Z f<sup>3</sup> 33. 1241 al b c g<sup>1</sup> h vg (1 ms.), Syr<sup>c</sup>, Copt.<sup>sa</sup> and the Bohairic manuscripts N K. % The addition of الان (now) seems to lack textual support.

تعرّفونهم	تعارهم	من	a
تعرّفوهم	تبارهم	من	c
ستعرّفونهم	تبارهم	فمن	j <sup>c</sup>
تعرّفوهم	تبارهم	من	j <sup>b</sup>
			n
			i
			e
تعرّفونهم	اتعارهم	من	g
تعرّفونهم	تبارهم	فمن	d
تعرّفونهم	اتعارهم	من	r
			k
تعرّفونهم	تبارهم	فمن	l
تعرّفونهم	تبارهم	فمن	o
يعرفون	تبارهم	من	h
فاعرفوهم	تبارهم	ومن	j <sup>a</sup>
			b
تعرّفونهم	اتعارهم	من	p <sup>i</sup>
تعرّفونهم	اتعارهم	من	q

الآن

الآن

الآن

فإذا

؟؟

الآن

الآن

## Matthew 16:1a

Matthew 16:1a	يُجْرِبُوهُ	والصلّوقين %	الفريسيين *	اليه	فَتَقَدَّمُوا	a
	يُجْرِبُوهُ	والزّنادقه	الفريسيين		فَتَأْتَاهُ	c
	اِذْ يَرُورُ وَنَهْ	والزّنادقه	الفريسيين		فَنُتَا	j <sup>c</sup>
		والزّنادقه	الفريسيين	اليه	فَأَقْتَرَبَ	j <sup>b</sup>
	لِيُجْرِبُوهُ				فَتَقَدَّمَ	n
	يُجْرِبُوهُ	والزّنادقه	الفريسيين		وَتَقَدَّمُوا	i
	يُجْرِبُونَهُ	والزّنادقه	الاحبار		فَنُتَا	e
	لِيُجْرِبُوهُ	وصدّوقين	الفريسيين	اليه	وَنُتُوا	g
	لِيُجْرِبُوهُ	والزّنادقه	الفريسيون		وَجَا	d
		والزّنادقه	الفريسيون		وَجَاءَ	r
		والزّنادقه	المعتزله		وَجَا	k
		والزّنادقه	الفريسيانيون	منه	فَنُتَا	l
يُتَحَوَّنُهُ	يُجْرِبُونَهُ	والزّنادقه	الاحبار		فَأَقْتَرَبَ	o
	اِذْ يَرُورُ وَنَهْ	والزّنادقه	الاحبار	اليه	فَتَقَدَّمُوا	h
	لِيُطْلُوهُ					j <sup>a</sup>
						b
						p/
						q

## Matthew 16:1b

a	ويسالوه <sup>s</sup>	ان	يرئهم	علامه	من	السماء
c	ويسالوه	ان	يرئهم	ايه	من	السماء
j <sup>c</sup>	وسالوه	ان	يرئهم	ايه	من	السماء
j <sup>b</sup>	فسالوه	ان	يرئهم	ايه	من	السماء
n	وسالوه	ان	يرئهم	ايه	من	السماء
i						
e	وسالوه			ايه	من	السماء
g	ويسالنه			ايه	من	السماء
d	وسالوه		يرئهم	ايه	من	السماء
r						
k	ويسالوه	ان	يرئهم	ايه	من	السماء
l	فسالوه	ان	يرهم	ايه	من	السماء
o	ملتسمين	ان	يرئهم	ايه	من	السماء
h	يسالونه			ايه	من	السماء
j <sup>a</sup>	فسالوه	ان	يطلعهم على	ايه	من	السماء
b	فسالوه		ليورئهم	ايه	من	السماء
p <sup>j</sup>						
q						

الفريسيين/الفريسيون/الفرسائيون : هه معصه (a transliteration of the Vorlage); الاحبار (a learned man, scribe); المعتزله (a literal translation – those who are set aside).

% Two Arabic words are used for Σαδδουκαῖος or الصديقين (a transliteration of the *Vorlage*); الزنادقة (free-thinker, unbeliever, or atheist). The latter is extensively used in the Arabic Gospel MSS. Family  $\mathcal{J}^B$  reads الفريسيين والزنادقة (sadduceaei et phariseaei) and agree with one *vg* manuscript, (cf. Legg, *Evangelium Secundum Matthaeum*, ad loc).

§Two important variations can be noticed in connection with the tense of the verb سأل (to ask): (1) imperfect tense (ἐπιρωτῶν) and is found in families *a*, *c*, *g*, *k*, *h* and is supported by  $\mathcal{N}^c \Theta$   $\mathcal{f}^{13}$ , and also by the old Syriac and Peshitta versions (the Syriac has the participle سألج (asking) and may indicate an *actual present* (see. Muraoka, *Classical Syriac*, 66)); (2) past tense (ἐπιρωτήσων) and found in  $\mathcal{J}^c$ ,  $\mathcal{J}^B$ , *n*, *e*, *d*, *l*,  $\mathcal{J}^A$  and is supported by the majority Greek witnesses as well as the Harklean Syriac.

## Matthew 16:2\*

السماء	ونظرتم الى السماء وهي محمره رايقه	بالعشي	كان	اذا	لهم	فقال	اجاب %	a
		المساء	كان	اذا	لهم	وقال	فاجاب	c
		المساء	صار	اذا	لهم	وقال	فاجاب	j <sup>c</sup>
		المساء	يكون	اذ	لهم	فقال		j <sup>b</sup>
		المساء	كان	اذا	لهم	وقال	فاجابهم	n
		المساء	كان	اذا		قايلا	اجابهم ثم انه	i
		المساء	كان	اذ	لهم	وقال	فاجاب اما هو	e
		مساء	كان	اذا		وقال	فاجابهم	g
								d
								r
السماء		المساء	كان	اذا		قايلا	فاجابهم	k
		المساء	كان	اذا	لهم	وقال	فاجاب فلما هو	l
		المساء	حضر	اذا		قايلا	اجابهم	o
		عند ال..ل	كان	انه اذا	لهم	فقال	اجاب	h
		المساء	يكون	اذا	مجبيا	فقال		j <sup>a</sup>
		السماء	كان	اذا	لهم	فقال	اجاب	b
								p <sup>i</sup>
								q

\* Verses 2 & 3 are omitted in  $\aleph B X \Gamma \beta^3$   $\text{syc}^c$   $\text{bo}^{\text{pt}}$  and supported by  $CD L W \Theta \beta^1 33 MT$   $\text{latt syp}^{\text{h}}$   $\text{bo}^{\text{pt}}$ . All the Arabic families follow the latter witnesses. % family  $j^b$  omits  $\text{اجاب}$  (he answered) and agrees with the Syriac Curetonian.



## Matthew 16:2b

محمارة	السماء	لان	صحوا	تقولون <sup>g</sup>	a
محمره	السماء	لأن	صحو	قلتم	c
محمره	السماء	لان	صحو	تقولون	j <sup>c</sup>
			صاحبه	تقولون	j <sup>b</sup>
				قلتم	n
هي			صحو	تقولون	i
محمره	السماء	لان	صحو	قلتم	e
احمررت	السماء	لان	صحو	تقولوا	g
احمرارت	السماء	لان	صحو	تقولوا	d
لااحمرارها			مصحية	قلتم	r
محمره	السماء	لان	صحو	تقولون	k
احمرارها			لمشاهدتكم <sup>s</sup>	ز عمتم	l
احمرارها	اشقه	لان	صاح	تقولون	o
محمره	السماء	لان	صحو	تقولون	h
احمرارت	قد		صحوا	تقولون	j <sup>a</sup>
السماء				هو	b
				هو	p <sup>l</sup>
					q

<sup>g</sup>The present tense is supported by the Greek, Coptic and Syriac witnesses (the Syriac has a participle here). Families c, n, g, k, o have a past tense. <sup>s</sup> The addition of لمشاهدتكم is for clarification and lacks textual support.

## Matthew 16:3a

شنا	اليوم	وبالغداه	a
شنا	اليوم	وبالغداه	c
مطر	يوم	وبالغداه	j <sup>c</sup>
		وبالغداه	j <sup>b</sup>
		بالغداه	n
		نظر تموها	
		وكذلك اذا	
مطر	يكون	وفي الغد	i
شاتي	يوم	وبالغداه	e
شنا		وبالغداه	g
		تقولوا	d
		تقولون*	r
شنا		وبالغداه	k
ششاء	اليوم	وبالغداه	l
ششاء	ان يومنا	وفي الغد	o
شثوي	ليوم	تقولون	h
ششاء	كدر	واذا حسر	j <sup>a</sup>
شنا	هو	وبالغداه	b
		تقولون	p <sup>l</sup>
			q

\* The verb *قال* is found in families *c, n, e, g, d, k, l, o, h* and is supported by the Peshitta version, the Latin *vg.* (1 MS), and Geo. There is clearly a Peshitta influence on the Arabic versions stated above.

## Matthew 16:3b

هو يوم شتا	صبحا قلتم	كمده	السماء	محمرة	السماء	لان	a
		وكان فيها سوادا		احمارت		اذا	c
		يعبوسه		مُحمرة	السماء	لان	j <sup>c</sup>
		يعبوس		محمرة	السماء	اذا كانت	j <sup>b</sup>
هذا يوما شاتيا	قلتم	قائمة مكده		حمرة	ذات	وهي	n
							i
		ومخموده	السماء	محمارة			e
		يعبوس		محمرة	السماء	لان	g
		واعبادت جدا		احمارت	قد	لان	d
							r
		يعبوس	السماء	لاحمرار			k
		وعبوسها	السماء	لاحمرار			l
		يانقياض	الجو	حمرة			o
		وكدرت	ضبابها	اشتدا	قد	لان	h
				مُتغيمه	السماء	لان	j <sup>a</sup>
		متغيمه	السماء	احمارت	قد		b
							p <sup>j</sup>
							q

## Matthew 16:3c

تقضوا	السماء	اما وجه	انتم	المرابين*	a
ان تبثروا	السماء	اما وجه	تعرفون	يا	c
	السماء	وجد	ان تميزوا	مرابين	j <sup>c</sup>
ان تميزوا	السماء	اما وجه	انتم	المرابين	j <sup>b</sup>
	السماء	على وجه	انتم	يا	n
تكتفوا	السماء	وجه	انتم	يا	i
ان تخبروه	السماء	اوجه	انتم	يا	e
	السماء	تجارب وجه	انتم	يا	g
	السماء	وجه	انتم	يا	d
	السماء	وجه	انتم	يا	r
	السماء	وجه	انتم	يا	k
	السماء	وجه	انتم	يا	l
	السماء	وجه	انتم	يا	o
فكيف	السماء	الانيم	انتم	يا	h
ان تميزوا	السماء	اما وجه	انتم	يا	j <sup>a</sup>
تقحصون	السماء	وجه	انتم	يا	b
	السماء	وجه	انتم	يا	p <sup>i</sup>

\* The expression *hypocrites* (ὑποκριταί - hypocrites!) is found in families c, j<sup>c</sup>, n, e, g, d, k, l, o, h and is supported by O Σ Π Φ 1, Latin *beff<sup>h.2</sup>.g<sup>1</sup>vg.* (2 mss), and the Syriac Peshitta.

## Matthew 16:3d

ان تدبروا <sup>s1</sup>	تستطيعوا%	فليس	الزمان	علامات	واما	a
	تعلموا	فلا	الزمان	ايات	فاما	c
			الاوقات	ايات		j <sup>c</sup>
تقرزوا	تستطيعون	اما	الاوقات	وعلامات		j <sup>b</sup>
		ما	الزمان	على ايات	فاما	n
تقدرون	تعرفوا	ما	الزمان	علامات	واما	i
ان تميزوه	تحسنون	لا	الزمان	فايات		e
	تعرفون	لا	الزمان	وقواد ايات		g
						d
						r
	تعلمون	لا	الزمان	واية		k
	تعرفونها	لا	الزمان	واية		l
	بعالمين	لستم	الدهر	وايه		o
			الزمان	اعاجيب		h
	تفهمن	ما	الاوقات	وعلامات		j <sup>a</sup>
تقرزون	تعرفون	ليس	الزمان	وايات		b
						p <sup>l</sup>
						q

% Families *a*, *j*<sup>B</sup> read (تستطيعون) (be able to) and family *j*<sup>C</sup> تقرون (be capable of). They render the Greek (δύνασθε). This reading is found in most Greek witnesses (as well as Latin); Families *c*, *k*, *o* have the verb علم (to know), families *e*, *d* (to recognize), and families *g*, *h* حسن (to know). All these renderings translate the Peshitta ܡܕܚܝܝܬܝܬܝܬܝܬ (active participle 3<sup>rd</sup> person pl. of the verb *to know*). But families *d*, *k* and *o* do not add ܡܕܚܝܝܬܝܬܝܬ as is the case with the Peshitta (cf. below); family *n* omits this expression and adds تفرزوا (to distinguish) and may possibly translates δοκιμαζετε which can also be found in the Greek MS L of the eighth century, or the Peshitta (cf. below). Family *l* follows the Coptic. Family *j*<sup>A</sup> has تفهمون (to understand) and translates the Greek συνιετε witnessed in the Greek MS S 700 *al.*

§ Families *a*, *j*<sup>B</sup>, *d*, *k*, *l*, *o*, *j*<sup>A</sup> omit this reading and agree with the majority Greek witnesses (as well as the Latin *d f g*<sup>1</sup> *q vg*). Families *c* دبر (to consider, manage), *j*<sup>C</sup>, *g*, *h* ميز (to sort, distinguish) and *e* تقرون (to measure) and agree with the Peshitta ܡܕܚܝܝܬܝܬܝܬ.

## Matthew 16:4a

يعطا	وليس	يايه	يطلب	علامه	الجيل	ان	a
يعطا	لا	يايه	يطلب	ايه	الجيل		c
يعطى	وما	ايه	يلتمس	ايه	الجيل		j <sup>c</sup>
يعطى	ولن	ايه	يبتغي	ايه	الجيل	ورد عليهم الجواب ايضا*	j <sup>b</sup>
يعطا	لا	يلتمس	يايه	ايه	الجيل		n
لها	لا	تطلب	ايه	ايه	القبيله	ايها	i
تعطى	ولن	تطلب	ايه	ايه	القبيله	هذه	e
تعطا	لا	تطلب	ايه	ايه	القبيله		g
يعطى	ولا	تطلب	ايه	ايه	القبيله		d
تعطى	ولن	تطلب	ايه	ايه	القبيله		r
يعطى	ولا	تطلب	ايه	ايه	القبيله		k
تعطى	ولن	تطلب	ايه	ايه	القبيله	ثم اجاب وقال لهم	I
يعطى	فلا	تطلب	ايه	ايه	القبيله	ان	o
يعطا	وليس	تطلب	ايه	ايه	القبيله		h
تعطى	فان	تطلب	ايه	ايه	القبيله		j <sup>a</sup>
تعطا	لا	تطلب	ايه	ايه	القبيله	يا	b
		تطلب	ايه	ايه	القبيله		p/
		تطلب	ايه	ايه	القبيله		q

\* Family  $\beta^B$  reads الجواب ايضا ورد عليهم (and he answered them again) and agree, with some degree of variations, with the Greek MSS 0  $\Sigma$   $\Phi$  291 700; Family  $\Gamma$  reads ثم اجاب وقال لهم (and he answered, and said to them) and follow accurately the Coptic version. % The transposition of الفسق والشرور seems to lack textual support.





## Mark 6:14a

a	وسمع	هرونس	المك	لان	اسمه	كان	قد	ظهر %	في الناس %	وعرف	اسمه	من قبل
c	فسمع	هرونس	المك	لان	اسمه	كان	قد	شاعى				
j <sup>c</sup>	فبلغ	هرونس	المك	لان	اسمه	صار		ظاهرا				
j <sup>B</sup>	فبلغ	هرونس	المك	لان	اسمه	صار		ظاهرا				
n	وسمع	هرونس	المك	لان	اسمه	كان	قد	شاع	في [سياء] البلدان وذاع		اسمه	
i	وسمع	المك	هرونس	لان	اسمه	كان	قد	ظهر		وعرف	اسمه	
e	فسمع	هرونس	المك	لان	اسمه	كان	قد	تحقق		عرف	عنده	
g	وسمع	هرونس	المك	لان	اسمه		قد					
d	فسمع	هرونس	المك	لان	اسمه		قد	شاع	في الناس			
r	وسمع	هرونس	المك	لان	اسمه	كان	قد	ظهر				
k	وسمع	هرونس	المك	لان	اسمه	كان	قد	ظهر				
l	وسمع	هرونس	المك	لان	اسمه		قد	ذاع				
o	فبلغ	هرونس	المك	لان	اسمه	كان	قد	ظاهرا		عرف	اسمه	من قبل
h	فبلغ	هرونس	المك	لان	اسمه	صار	قد	علايه				
j <sup>a</sup>	فبلغ	هرونس	المك	لان	اسمه	صار						
b	وسمع	هرونس		لان	اسمه	صار						
p <sup>i</sup>												
q	فسمع	هرونس		لان	اسمه	قد صار		علايه				

ولما

خبر

خبر

بأعمال

عن يسوع

بشوع

بيسوع

عن يسوع

ايشوع

لان

\* The expression *عن يسوع* or *ينيسوع* (حل معمد) found in families *c*, *e*, *r* follows the Syriac Peshitta literally. Families *j<sup>c</sup>*, *j<sup>b</sup>*, *h* read *ابن يسوع* (ابن يسوع) and agree with MS fam. 13 (exc. 124\*) 534. 7. 76. 91. 106. 229<sup>mg</sup> 349. 472. 474. 478\*\* . 892. 1071 al. mu. Families *n* (which read *ابن يسوع* about the deeds of Jesus)), *g* بخر يسوع (about the message of Jesus)), *o* الانبا عن يسوع (the news about Jesus)) render freely either the Greek witnesses mentioned above or the Peshitta version. Family *i* reads بالملص (about the savior) which shows a Peshitta influence but with replacing *Jesus* with *the savior* (which occurs constantly in this manuscript). Families *a*, *k*, *j<sup>a</sup>*, and *l* omit this reading and follow the majority Greek witnesses and the Coptic version respectively.

% Families *a*, *j<sup>c</sup>*, *j<sup>b</sup>*, *k*, *j<sup>a</sup>* and *l* (which read *ظهور* / *ظهور* كان قد صار / *ظهور* / *ظهور*)) follow the majority Greek witnesses and the Coptic version respectively. Families *g*, *h* read (مدف / عرف) and follow the Peshitta and the Sinaiticus. Families *c* (شاع...و عرف) and *i* (شاع...و عرف) have been influenced by the Greek and Syriac. Families *n* (شاع...و داغ) or Syriac *Vorlage*.

§The additions of الناس (among the people) in families *c*, *r* and البلدان (in the towns) in family *n* have no textual support and show first, that to some extent the translation is free here, and second that families *c* and *r* might be genetically related.

## Mark 6:14b

الموت	من	قام	قد	ان	يخنا	ان	فقال	a
الاموات	من	قام	قد	ان	يخنا	ان	وقال * يقول	c
الموتي	من	أقيم	قد	ان	يوخنا	ان	فقال	j <sup>c</sup>
الموتي	من	قام	قد	ان	يوخنا	ان	فقال	j <sup>B</sup>
الموت	من	قام	قد	ان	يوخنا	ان	فقال	n
الاموات قد	من	قام	قد	ان	يوخنا	ان	فقال	i
الموت	من	قام	هو	ان	يوخنا	ان	وقال	e
الاموات	من	قام	هو	ان	يوخنا	ان	فقال	g
الاموات	من	قام	قد	ان	يوخنا	ان	وقال	d
الاموات	من	قام	قد	ان	يوخنا	ان	وقال	r
الموتي	من	قام	قد	ان	يوخنا	ان	فقال	k
الاموات	من	انبعث	قد	ان	يوخنا	ان	فقال	l
الاموات	من	انبعث	قد	ان	يوخنا	ان	فقال	o
الموتي	من	أقيم	قد	ان	يوخنا	ان	فقال	h
الموت	من	قام	قد	ان	يوخنا	ان	فقال	j <sup>a</sup>
الموت	من	قام	قد	ان	يوخنا	ان	فقال	b
الموتي	من	قام	قد	ان	يوخنا	ان	فقال	p <sup>l</sup>
الموتي	من	قام	قد	ان	يوخنا	ان	فقال	q

لاصحابه% لا شك الا

عنه ذلك

\* The phrase *وكان يقول* (and he was saying) in families *c, e, r* reflect the Syriac Peshitta (and Harklean) construction *ܡܬܬܝܢ ܡܬܬܝܢ*. Family *l* which reads similarly translates the Coptic *ⲁⲃⲟⲥ* (and he was saying).

% The addition of *لاصحابه* (to his friends) has no textual support and probably shows the free nature of this version.

§ The expression *بين (بين)* found in families *c, i, e, g, r, o, h, j<sup>A</sup>*, and which is missing in Greek, Coptic and Harklean *Vorlagen* could possibly show a Peshitta (or Sinaiticus) influence.

& Family *i* reads *من بين الاموات قد قام* (*from the death he rose*) instead of *الاموات (بين) قد قام* (*he rose from the dead*) and follows either the Harklean version or the Greek W 0269 <sup>MT</sup>.

a	فَذاكَ	القوات* تعمل	به	تعمل	فَذاكَ	a
c	فَذاكَ	الايات تعمل	علي يديه	تعمل	هذه	c
j <sup>c</sup>	فَذاكَ	القوى تجترح	به	تجترح	فَذاكَ	j <sup>c</sup>
j <sup>B</sup>	فَذاكَ	القوى تجترح	به	تجترح	فَذاكَ	j <sup>B</sup>
n	فَذاكَ	تجترح	به	تجترح	فَذاكَ	n
i	فمن اجل هذا	الجرايح والقوات	به	يفعل	فمن اجل هذا	i
e	لاجل هذا	القوات تعمل	به	تعمل	لاجل هذا	e
g	من اجل هذا	تجرى	علي يده	تجرى	من اجل هذا	g
d		الجرايح				d
r	فَذاكَ	يصنع	هذه	يصنع	فَذاكَ	r
k	ومن اجل ذاك	القوات تعمل	به	تعمل	ومن اجل ذاك	k
l	ومن اجل هذا	تعمل	به	تعمل	ومن اجل هذا	l
o	فَذاكَ	قد تظهر	علي يده	قد تظهر	فَذاكَ	o
h	فَذاكَ	يظهر	هذه	يظهر	فَذاكَ	h
j <sup>a</sup>	ولذاكَ	تجترح	به	تجترح	ولذاكَ	j <sup>a</sup>
b	منجل ناك	القوى [تعمل]	فيه	[تعمل]	منجل ناك	b
p <sup>i</sup>						p <sup>i</sup>
q	منجل ناك	القوات تعملن	فيه	تعملن	منجل ناك	q

والايات والمعجزات الصائرات %

الايات

القوى

المعجزات

على يده

\* In families *a, c, j<sup>C</sup>, j<sup>B</sup>, i, e, k, j<sup>A</sup>* the noun *powers* precedes the verb as with the Peshitta and Harklean. The Greek has ἐνεργουσι τοῖς αἰθεράσι ἐν αὐτοῖς (as well as the Latin) as in families *n, g, r, l, o, h*.  
% The phrase الإيات والمعجزات الصائرات القوات هذه (these powers and signs and appearing miracles) shows once more the free nature of family *n*.

Mark 6:15a

a	واخرين	قالوا*	انه	هو	الياس	
c	واخرين	كانوا	انه		اييلياس	
j <sup>c</sup>		وقال	انه		اييليا	
j <sup>B</sup>	اخرين	قالوا			اييليا	هو
n		قال	ولكنه		اييليا	
i	واخرين	يقولون	انه		اليا	هو
e	واخرين	يقولون	انه	هو	الياس	
g	وكان	يقولون	انه		اييليا	
d						
r		ويقول	انه		اييليا	
k		وقال	انه		اييليا	
l	وكان	يقولون	انه		اييلياس	
o	واخرين	قالوا	بل	هو	اييليا	
h		قال	بل	هو	الياسين النبي	
j <sup>a</sup>	اخرين	قالوا	ان		اييلياس	
b	خرين	قالوا	انه		اييليا	هو
p <sup>i</sup>						
q	اخرين	قالوا	بانه		الياس	؟



\* The main variation in this section is related to the tense of the verb قَال (to say). Families *a, j<sup>C</sup>, j<sup>B</sup>, n, r, k, o, h, j<sup>A</sup>* read قَال in the simple past which could possibly reflect the Greek ἔλεγον (imperfect of *to say*); families *c, i, e, g, l* read كانوا قائلون (were saying) and probably reflect the Peshitta (or Harklean) ܟܠܗܢ ܩܝܠܝܢ, but could also render the imperfect tense of the Greek, or Coptic verb; family *r* reads يقول in the present tense which either lacks textual support or emphasizes the continuity of *the action* to the present time.

## Mark 6:15b

الانبياء	كواحد من	نبي	انه	قالوا*	واخرين	a
الانبياء	كاحد	نبيا	انه	كلوا يقولون	واخرين	c
الانبياء	كاحد	نبيا	انه	وزعم	اخرين	j <sup>c</sup>
الانبياء	كواحد من	هو	نبياً	قالوا	اخرين	j <sup>B</sup>
الانبياء نبياً	كاحد	هو	لا بل هو كان	قال غيرهم	واخرين	n
الانبياء	او واحد من	هو	ان	يقولون	واخرين	i
الانبياء	كواحد من	هو	نبي		واخرين	e
الانبياء	كواحد من	نبي	انه		واخرون	g
الانبياء	كاحد	نبي	انه		واخرون	d
الانبياء الاولين <sup>s</sup>	كواحد من	نبي	انه		واخرون	r
الانبياء الاولين	كاحد	نبي	انه		واخرون	k
الانبياء	كبعض من	نبي	بل هو	يقولون	واخرون	l
الانبياء	احد	نبي	انه	واخرون من اهل المرا والتكذيب <sup>%</sup>	واخرون	o
الانبياء	وكواحد من	هو	ان	قالوا	اخرين	j <sup>a</sup>
الانبياء	مثل	نبي	بانه	قالوا	اخرين	b
الانبياء	مثل	نبي	بانه	؟	؟	p <sup>l</sup>
الانبياء	احد	نبي	بانه	؟	؟	q

\* Families e, g, r, k, o omit قال and follow the Peshitta and also Ⲛ ⲑ ⲣ<sup>l</sup> 28 700 a b c ff r<sup>l</sup> Cop.<sup>sa</sup> Arm.

% Family *h* (Vatican, Ar. 13 of the 8/9<sup>th</sup>) has the following addition which has no textual support: It reads: وقال  
 اخرون من اهل العمرا والتكذيب انه ثبي من احد الانبيا

§ The addition of  $\alpha\rho\chi\alpha\iota\omega\nu$  (الاولين) in families *k*, *l* follow the Coptic Bohairic reading ( $\eta\iota\alpha\rho\chi\chi\epsilon\omicron\omicron\epsilon$ ). Some of the MSS  
 in family *k* omit this reading and reflect a better text. Bilingual Coptic-Arabic manuscripts have a gloss beside this  
 variant which reads: ليس في العربي (not in the Arabic).

## Mark 6:16a

راسه	قطعت	انا	الذي	يوحنا	هذا %	قال	سمع	فلما	a
عنقه	جلدت		الذي	يوحنا	ان	قال	سمع	فلما ان	c
راسه	قطعت	انا	الذي	المعمدان الذي	ان	قال	بلغ	فلما	j <sup>c</sup>
راسه	قطعت		الذي	يوحنا	هو	فقال	وسمع		j <sup>b</sup>
راسه	قطعت		الذي	يوحنا	ان	قال	سمع	فلما	n
راسه	قطعت	انا	الذي	يوحنا		قال	سمع	ولما	i
راسه	قطعت	انا	الذي	يوحنا		قال	سمع	فلما	e
راسه	قطعت	انا	الذي	يوحنا		قال	سمع	فلما	g
عنقه	ضربت		الذي	يوحنا		قال	سمع	وحين	d
عنقه	ضرب		الذي	يوحنا	هذا	قال	سمع	فلما	r
راس يوحنا	قطعت	انا	الذي	يوحنا		قال	سمع	فلما	k
راسه	اخذت		الذي	يوحنا	ان	قال	سمع	فلما	l
راسه	حازا	كنت	الذي	يوحنا	ان	قال	سمع	اما	o
راسه	قطعت		الذي	يوحنا	ان	قال	ذلك	فلما	h
راسه	حسمت		الذي	يوحنا	ان	فقال	وسمع	فلما	j <sup>a</sup>
راسه	قطعت		الذي	يوحنا	ان	فقال	فسمع		b
؟	قطعت		الذي	يوحنا	ان	فقال	؟		p <sup>l</sup>
؟	قطعت		الذي	يوحنا	ان	فقال	؟		q

\* The addition of *الملك* in family *d* lacks textual support.

% Three different variations: 1) the addition of ان (oru) found in families j<sup>C</sup>, j<sup>B</sup>, i, l, o, h, j<sup>A</sup> and is supported by P<sup>45</sup> A C W 0269 j<sup>3</sup> MT sy<sup>h</sup> ; 2) the addition of هـ (this) found in families c, r and is supported by the Sinaiticus ٢٤٣ or possibly the Peshitta ܫܡܝܬ (which comes after ܫܡܝܬ. Cf. Kiraz, *Lexical Tools*, 47). Families a, e, g, d, k omit and follow the Greek (with the exception of those mentioned above) and the Peshitta.

§ The phrase اننا قطعنا راس يوحنا وهو قد قام من الاموات (εγω απεκεφαλισα Ιωαννην ουτος εστιν αυτος ηγεθη εκ νεκρων) found in family k agree with the Greek A (C) 0c69 MT. The rest of the families follow the Syriac by placing the proper noun (ܝܫܬܝܢ / ܝܫܬܝܢ) before the verb beheaded.

Mark 6:16b

a	هو		قام	من	بين	الموت*
c	هو		قام	من	بين	الموت
j <sup>c</sup>	هو	الذي	انبعث	من		الاموات
j <sup>B</sup>	هو		قام	من		الموتى
n			قام	من		بلا
i	هذا هو		قام	من	بين	شك
e	هو		قام	من	بين	ولا
g	وهو		قام	من	بين	[امتري]%
d	هو	الذي	قام	من	بين	
r			قام	من	بين	الموت
k	وهو		قام	من	بين	الاموات
l	هو	هذا	قام	من	بين	الاموات
o	هو		بعث	من	بين	الموتى
h	هو	الذي	انبعث	من	بين	الاموات
j <sup>a</sup>	هذا هو		انبعث	من	بين	الاموات
b	هو	الذي	قام	من	بين	الموت
p <sup>l</sup>						
q	هو	الذي	قام	من	بين	الموت

\* The addition of the phrase *من (بين) الاموات/الموت* (from (among) the dead) shows that all the families above *disagree* with the Greek MSS  $\aleph^2$  B L W  $\Delta$  (33) and all Coptic witnesses. It is remarkable that family *l* (Ibn 'Assāl's) does not

omit the expression, although it is carefully edited against the Coptic Bohairic version. Though some of the witnesses in family *I* omit this reading (MS *P*<sup>2,7,8,10</sup>).

% The phrase لا امترى شك و لا شك (without doubt and no [...]) has no textual support and shows, once more, the free translation of family *n*.





The Arabic gives nine different renderings for the Greek word  $\omega\kappa\lambda\eta$  and Syriac  $\text{ܐܘܬܝܩܐ}$  a) اوتيق (family *a*); b) حيس (families *c, r, k*); c) شيد ( $j^C, j^B$ ) d) قيد (family *d*); e) ربط (family *n*); f) سحن (family *i*); g) قرف (families *e*); h) القى (families *d, o*); i) سل (family *j^A*).

## Mark 6:17b

تزوجها	لانه	اخيه	فيلبس	مره	هروديه*	a
تزوج	التي %	اخوه	فيلبس	امراه	هروديا	c
تزوجها	لانه	اخيه	فيلبس	امراه	هيرودياضه	j <sup>c</sup>
تزوجها	لانه	اخيه	فيلبس	امراه	هيروديا	j <sup>B</sup>
اتخذها لها	لانه	اخيه	فيلبس	امراه	هيرودياضا	n
تزوج	لها <sup>s</sup> التي	اخيه	فيلفوس	زوجه	ايروديا	i
تزوج	التي	اخيه	فيلبس	امره	هيروديا	e
اتخذها	التي	اخيه	فيلبس	امراه	هروديا	g
تزوج	التي	اخيه	فيلفوس	امراه	هراديه	d
تزوج بها	التي	اخيه		امراه	هيروديه	r
تزوجها	كان	اخيه	فيلبس	امراه	هيروديا	k
اتخذها	كان	اخيه	فيلبس	امراه	هيروديا	l
تحم على تزوجها	التي	اخيه	فيلبس	امراه	هيروديا	o
	لانه	اخيه	فيلفوس	امراه	هيروديا	h
تزوجها	؟	اخيه	فيلبس	امراه	هرودياس	j <sup>a</sup>
؟	؟	اخيه	فيلبس	مره	هروديا	b
؟	؟	اخيه	فيلبس	امراه	هروديا	p <sup>l</sup>
؟	؟	اخيه	فيلبس	امراه	هروديا	q

\* The proper noun *Herodias* in families j<sup>c</sup> and n (هيرودياضه) is transliterated from the Greek Ἡροδία. Family i takes it from the Harknelean (ايروديا) and is taken from the Greek Ἡροδία.

Families *c*, *j<sup>B</sup>*, *e*, *g*, *k*, *l*, *o*, *h<sub>1</sub>*, *b<sub>1</sub>*, *q* read هروڤيا / هروڤيا and are closer to the Peshitta than the Greek or Coptic, (without excluding the possibility of the latter).

% The relative pronoun التي (Syriac: ܐܝܢܐ and Latin *quia, quod*) in families *c*, *i*, *e*, *g*, *d*, *r*, *o* follow the Peshitta (and also the Sinaiticus) or the Latin, and the لانه (ܐܢܐ) in families *a*, *j<sup>C</sup>*, *j<sup>B</sup>*, *n*, *k*, *j<sup>A</sup>* follow the Greek, and in family *l* the Coptic.

% The phrase لأن ايروديا زوجة فيليپس اخيه التي لها تزوج كيرسوس in family *i* follows faithfully the Harklean version : ܠܐܢ ܐܝܪܘܕܝܐ ܙܘܝܓܬܐ ܕܦܝܠܝܦܐ ܐܚܝܗ ܐܝܬܝܗ ܕܬܝܪܝܫܐ ܕܟܝܪܝܫܐ



\* Family *n* adds يوبخه وبنها عن هذا الاسم المخالف التاموس This is another addition which has no textual support. Family *d* adds only بنها which also lacks textual support.

% Families *k* and *o* replace the noun هيرويس with a pronoun ه. This variant lacks textual support.

## Mark 6:19a

قتله	وتريد	وكانت تريد	عليه	حققت* عليه	هرودياس	وان	a
قتله	وتريد	وكانت تريد	عليه	صاعده	هروديا	وكانت	c
تقتله	وارادت	وارادت	عليه	فحقت عليه	هيرودياضه	فكانت	j <sup>c</sup>
قتله	وارادت	وارادت	عليه	حاقده على	هروديا	فكانت	j <sup>B</sup>
قتله	وتثر	وتثر	مضطقة عليه وجدا وغصبا	تتواعدده*	هيرودياضه	لجل هذا كانت	n
وتتله	وتريد	وتريد	يوحنا	حاقده على	ابرونيا	وكانت	i
وتلمس قتله	وتطلب	وتطلب	وغضبته عليه	وتتواعدده	هيروديا	وكانت	e
قتله	وتطلب	وتطلب	تتواعدده	كانت تتواعدده	هيروديا	وكانت	g
قتله	لذلك	لذلك	تبعيه	هراديه	هيروديه	وكانت	d
قتله	وتريد	وتريد	..... منا عنه	هيروديه	هيروديه	وكانت	r
قتله	وتريد	وتريد	حققه عليه	هيروديا	هيروديا	وكانت	k
قتله	طالبه	طالبه	حققه عليه	هيروديا	هيروديا	فكانت	l
قتله	وتريد	وتريد	في هذا السبب	فكانت متوعدده له	هيروديا	وكانت	o
وتقتله	وارادت ان تقتله	وارادت ان تقتله	تهده	هيروديا	هيروديا	وكانت	h
وتقتله	وتطلب ان تقتله	وتطلب ان تقتله	فاحتفظها ذلك عليه	هرودياس	هرودياس	فاما	j <sup>a</sup>
وتقتله	وتطلب ان تقتله	وتطلب ان تقتله	تتواعدده	هيروديا	هيروديا	كانت	b
وتقتله	وتريد ان تقتله	وتريد ان تقتله	تتواعدده	هيروديا	هيروديا	وكانت	p <sup>l</sup>
وتقتله	وتريد ان تقتله	وتريد ان تقتله	تتواعدده	هيروديا	هيروديا	وكانت	q

\* The Syriac reads ܠܣܝܚܐ ܡܡܠܚܐ from the root ܠܣܝܚܐ and means وعد/هند (to threaten) and families  $j^B$ ,  $i$ ,  $e$ ,  $g$ ,  $o$ ,  $h$  follow the Peshitta here. The Greek reads ἐνέχεν (ἐνέχω = حفظ/ضغن/غضب/حق) and families  $a$ ,  $c$ ,  $j^C$ ,  $k$  and  $j^A$  follow the Greek. Family  $n$ , which is a free translation, uses more than a few words to render the Greek and Syriac meanings. It reads حاقده... مضطغه عليه وجا وغضبا لتوا عده حاقده. Family  $l$  follows with almost no exception the Coptic version. The scribe of family  $i$  inserts both expressions له متوا عده له مضطغه عليه and this shows the influence of the Harklean and Peshitta versions on family  $i$ .

Mark 6:19b

a	c	j <sup>c</sup>	j <sup>b</sup>	n	i	e	g	d	r	k	l	o	h	j <sup>a</sup>	b	p <sup>l</sup>	q
فله	فله	فله	فله	وما	وله	وليس	وله	وله	فله	وله	فله	وله	وليس	فله	فله		فله
تكن				كانت		كانت	تكن	تكون	تكن				تكن				
تستطيع*	تستطيع	تمكنت	تستطيع	تتمكن	تقدر	تستطيع	تقدر	تقدر	تقدر	تقدر	تتمكن	يمكنها	تقدر	تستطيع	تقدر		تقدر
				من	علي												
				ذلك	ذاك												
				ولا													
				تصل													
اليه													على	ذلك			

\* Families c, n, e, g, d, r, h add كان *kan* and families a, j<sup>c</sup>, j<sup>b</sup>, i, k, l, o, j<sup>a</sup> omit it. The former is closer to the Peshitta ܡܥܡܕܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ and the latter to the Greek *καὶ οὐκ ἠδύνετο*.





## Mark 6:20b

بنده و يشاشه لعلمه انه رجل صديقاً والله قديسا	يسمع منه	وكان ياستنذاد %	كثير	ويقيل *	ويسمع منه	a	وكان يحفظه
	قوله	ان	وكان يشتهي	جدا	ويسمع منه	c	وكان يثنيه
	قوله			كثيراً ويقيل	ويسمع منه	j <sup>c</sup>	وكان يحفظه
	يقوله			ويعمل	يسمع منه	j <sup>B</sup>	وكان
			وامره	ويطبع	ويكرم موضعه	n	ويثنيه
		كان	طاعته	كثيراً ويقيل	يسمع منه	I	وكان يحفظ وصاياه وايضا
بطيب نفس	يسمع منه	كان	ويلذه	ويصنع	يسمع منه	e	وكان يحرسه
	يقيل منه	كان	ويتلذذ	ويصنع	يسمع منه	g	فكان يستيقه
	ويقال منه	والباطب كان	ويقال منه	ويصنعها	ويطبعه في امور كثيره	d	وكان يحفظه [واتتبه] كثيره
	اسماعه	ويستلذ	ويستلذ	ويعمل	الاسماع منه	r	وكان يحفظ به
		بشوه	بشوه	كثيراً	ويسمع منه	k	ويحفظه
		ويستلذاد كان	ويستلذاد كان	وكان حزين القلب	وكان بطبعه في امور كثيره	I	فحفظه
اشيا كثيره ويقصد الى قوله وينتهي الى امره	فيله بالاستصغا	كان	كان	ما	وكان يحفظه	o	فكان يكلاه
		ويستلذ	ويستلذ	ويكرم	وكان يحفظه	h	وكان يحفظه
		ويستلذ	ويستلذ	ويعمل	وكان يحفظه	j <sup>a</sup>	ثم وضع عليه [الرصد]
ويسمع منه		ويستلذ	ويستلذ	ويعمل	وكان يحفظه	b	وكان يحفظه كثير
		ويستلذ	ويستلذ	ويعمل	وكان يحفظه	p <sup>l</sup>	
		ويستلذ	ويستلذ	ويعمل	وكان يحفظه	q	فكان يحفظه كثير

\* None of our families read with the Greek MSS N B L (W) Θ 2427 ἡρόρει (be perplexed, disturbed). Family *l* read وكن حزين القلب (he grieved at heart) and follows the Coptic Bohairic (ⲟⲩⲟⲗ ⲛⲁⲩⲱⲟⲗⲗⲉ ⲛⲉⲣⲙⲧ see Ჱⲗⲁⲗ in Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, p.562). Family *c* omits and follows the Greek Δ and 1 Coptic manuscript. Family *g* uses بطيعه (to obey) and family *h* يكرمه (to honor him) and may seem to translate the action of *hearing* and *doing* in one single word. Family *k* seems to omit the phrase by homoioteleuton (cf. with the textual apparatus of family *k*). Families *f*<sup>c</sup>, *j*<sup>b</sup>, *n*, *i*, *e*, *d*, *r*, *o*, *j*<sup>A</sup> seem to follow, with some degree of variations, either the Syriac or the Greek MSS A C D *f*<sup>1</sup> 33 MT.  
 % Families *f*<sup>c</sup>, *j*<sup>b</sup>, *o*, *h* omit the adverb ἡδέως / هادى with no textual support.



\*Family *a* reads *اجاب يسوع وبدا يقول لهم* (Jesus answered and he began to say to them) and is closer to the Latin than the Greek or Syriac. MSS *b i l q vg* read *et respondens Iesus coepit dicere illis* (the only variation is that the Arabic omits the 'et' (Legg points out that one Vulgate MS omits the conjunction)). However we should not exclude the possibility that family *a* might follow with slight variations MSS W<sup>f</sup>.<sup>(13)</sup> 28 *pc*, or MSS A MT sy<sup>h</sup> bo<sup>sa</sup>; families *c, e, g, d, r, h* follow the Peshitta (*e* and *g* more accurately but less smoothly) and family *l* the Coptic; family *j<sup>c</sup>* reads *اجاب ايسوع فابدا يقول لهم* (and Jesus answered saying) which has no textual support but could possibly render the *καὶ ἀποκρ. ο* I. εὐπεν αὐτοῖς of D Θ 565. 700. (1424). 2542 *pc*; family *j<sup>b</sup>* reads *فاجابه* (and he answered them) and agrees with G W 1. 28. 299. Geo.<sup>1</sup> Aeth (see Legg on Mark 13:5); Families *n* and *k* read *فاجابه* (and Jesus said to them) and seems to follow the Sinaiticus, but with the addition of the conjunction *ف*. The Sinaiticus reads *فاجابه* (and Jesus said to them) and seems to follow the Aeth (then he answered them and began to say). It follows the Harklean (as well as the Greek MS A and the MT) but with the exception of the word *Jesus* which is omitted in the Arabic version. Family *o* reads *فابدا يقول لهم* (and seems to follow the Greek MSS D Θ 565. 700. (1424). 2542 *pc* (*καὶ ἀποκρ. ο* I. εὐπεν αὐτοῖς) but with one difference which is the transposition of αὐτοῖς. Family *j<sup>a</sup>* reads *فاجابه ايسوع وافتتح ان يقول لهم* (then Jesus answered them and began to say to them) and follows with minor variations the Greek MSS W<sup>f</sup>.<sup>(13)</sup> 28 *pc* or A MT sy<sup>h</sup> bo<sup>sa</sup>

It is possible to conclude that family *a* follows either the Greek or Latin; families *c, e, g, d, r, h* follow the Peshitta (and less likely *N B L* etc.); families *n, k* the Syriac Sinaiticus; family *i* the Harklean; family *l* the Coptic Bohairic; families *j<sup>c</sup>, o, j<sup>a</sup>* follow the Greek Byzantine or Caesarean text-type; and family *j<sup>b</sup>* the Greek as witnessed in MSS G W.

## Mark 13:6

كثير	فيظفون	هو	انا	اني	قايين %	علي اسمي	بساتون	لان* كثير	a
	يصلون	المسيح & كثيرا	انا	اني	ويقولون	علي اسمي	ياتون	فان كثيرا	c
كثيرون	فيظفون	هو	انا	اني	قايين	علي اسمي	ياتون	فان كثيرين	j <sup>c</sup>
كثيرون	فيظفون	هو	انا	اني	قايين	علي اسمي	ياتون	فان كثيرين	j <sup>B</sup>
	ولكثيرون يظفون	هو	انا	اني	ويقول الواحد فالواحد منهم §	بساتون	ياتون	لان كثيرين	n
	ولكثيرون يصلون	هو	انا	اني	ثم يقولون	باسي	فكثيرون ياتون	فكثيرون ياتون	i
	ولكثيرون يظفون	هو	انا	اني	ويقولون	باسمي	ياتون	كثيرون ياتون	e
ناسا كثيرا	فيظفون	هو	انا	اني	ويقولون	باسمي	ياتون	لان كثيرا	g
	ولكثيرون يصلون	هو	انا	اني	ويقولون	علي اسمي	ياتون	لان كثيرا	d
	ولكثيرون يصلون	هو	انا	اني	ويقولون	باسمي	ياتون	فان كثيرا	r
كثيرا	ويصلون	المسيح	انا	اني	قايين	باسمي	ياتون	فان كثيرا	k
كثيرون	فيصلون	المسيح	انا	اني	قايين	باسمي	ياتون	فان كثيرا	l
الاكثرين	ويصلون	المسيح	انا	اني	يقولون	باسمي	ياتون	فان كثيرا	o
كثيرا من الناس	فيصلون معه بذلك	المسيح	انا	اني	[كل امرئ منهم]	باسمي	ياتون	فان كثيرا	h
كثيرون	فيظفون	المسيح	انا	اني	قايين	علي اسمي	ياتون	فان كثيرا	j <sup>a</sup>
	ويظفون	هو	انا	اني	فيقولون	علي اسمي	ياتون	فان كثيرا	b
	ولكثيرون يصلون	المسيح	انا	اني	فيقولون	علي اسمي	ياتون	فان كثيرا	p <sup>l</sup>
	ويصلون	المسيح	انا	اني	ويقولون	علي اسمي	ياتون	فان كثيرا	q

\* The particle  $\lambda\alpha\rho$  /  $\lambda\alpha$  ( ) is omitted in family *e* and agrees with  $\aleph$  B L W  $\Psi$  2427. Family *i* reads  $\delta\epsilon$  and lacks textual support.

% Families *a*, *j*<sup>C</sup>, *k*, *j*<sup>A</sup> read  $\kappa\alpha\lambda\iota\varsigma$  (active participle) and follow the Greek  $\kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon\gamma\omicron\upsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ ; families *c*, *n*, *i*, *e*, *g*, *d*, *r*, *o*, *h* follow the Peshitta. Family *l* follows the Coptic which has, as the Greek, an active participle.

§ The addition of the phrase  $\kappa\alpha\lambda\omega\alpha\delta\ \mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\mu$  in family *n* and  $\kappa\lambda\ \alpha\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\mu$  in family *h* (as well as  $\kappa\alpha\lambda\varsigma$  من afterward) show the free nature of these two translations.

& The addition of  $\alpha\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\mu$  ( ) is found in W  $\Theta$   $\beta$ <sup>3</sup> 543. 28. 61. 91. 115. 255. 299. 565. 579. 700. 1071 *b c g*<sup>2</sup> *l vg* (sometimes) Cop.<sup>sa.bo</sup> Geo.<sup>B</sup> Arm. Cyp. Families *c*, *k*, *l*, *o*, *h*, *j*<sup>A</sup> follow this reading. Is there any Peshitta manuscript which has a similar reading? Possibly.





\* The Greek reads πολέμους καὶ ἀκούς πολέμους (the same word πολέμους is used twice). The Peshitta has two different words *ḥarūb* (pl.) which means قتال and *ḥarūb* (killings and fighting – Cf. *Al-Lubāb*, 1041) and *ḥarūb* which means القتلى في الحرب or الجفاف، الحروب as in Greek : πολεμους). Families *c*, *j<sup>C</sup>*, *n*, *i*, *e*, *g*, *d*, *r*, *h* use two different words and render the Peshitta *Vorlage*. However, it is also possible to argue that the use of variant words is only stylistic and does not reflect a Syriac origin. The word *o* (trembling) in families *c*, *j<sup>B</sup>*, *g* seem to give an unusual meaning to the Syriac word *ḥarūb*. Family *o* reads *ḥarūb* and does not follow any specific *Vorlage*. The replacement of the second *ḥarūb* with a pronoun shows that the scribe's main intention is to present to the reader a well-written Arabic text and is less concerned with a word-by-word translation of the original text.

% Seven different words are used in Arabic to translate the Greek verb πολέω and Syriac *ḥarūb*: (a) رهب ; (b) خاف ; (c) قلق ; (d) رعب ; (e) خشا ; (f) اضطرب ; (g) قلق.

a	c	j <sup>c</sup>	j <sup>b</sup>	n	i	e	g	d	r	k	l	o	h	j <sup>a</sup>	b	p <sup>i</sup>	q
ولاكن	ولكن	بل	ولكن	لكنه	لكن	لكن	ولاكن	ولكن	لكن	لكن	لكن	ولكن	ولكن	ولكن	ولكن	ولكن	ولكن
ليس	لما	ليس	ليس	ليس	ليس	ليس	ليست	لم	لما	لم	لم	لم	قبل	ليس	ليس	لما	لما
هو	يكون	هو	هو		بعد	هو		يبلغ بعد	يكون	يات	يات	يات			هو		يكون
الانقضا	الانقضا	الانقضاء	التمام	الانقضاء	الانقضا	الانقضا	الآخره	التمام	الانقضا	الانقضاء	الانقضاء	الانقضاء	الانقضاء	الانقضاء	الانقضاء	الانقضاء	الانقضاء
														ليس			
				اذ ذاك										اذ ذاك			



\* Since most of the Arabic manuscripts do not have the Ḥarakāt (vowels) on the letters, it is not possible to know if the scribes of families *a*, *c*, *d* wrote الملك (kingdom) or الملك (King). The Greek reads βασιλεία and the Peshitta ܡܠܟܐ.

% Family *o* reads twice ضد (contra) instead of على (supra) and agrees, in the first place, with the Latin MSS *b c d* (*vg*), and in the second place with the Old Latin *b d r*<sup>1</sup>. (The Greek preposition εν could also mean *against*).

\$ The Greek reads κατά τόπους but the Syriac Peshitta reads ܡܠܟܐ twice: ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ (liter. In place place). This shows that *at least* families *c*, *e*, *g*, *d*, *r*, *h* follow the Peshitta here. Family *a* has ܡܠܟܐ (twice) but in plural. The two-time occurrence of ܡܠܟܐ reflect the Peshitta and the *plural* reflects the Greek. Families *f*<sup>c</sup>, *g*<sup>b</sup>, *n*, *k*, *o*, *j*<sup>a</sup> follow the Greek and possibly the Syriac (since ܡܠܟܐ is an idiom which basically means *in different places*). Family *l* follows the Coptic and family *i* either the Greek or the Harklean.

## Mark 13:8b

التمخض	ابتدء	كله <sup>s</sup>	وهذا	واسجاس%	جوع*	ويكون	a
المخاض	اول	كله	وهذا	واستجاس	جوع	ويكون	c
المخاض	يدوا		وهذا	وهيوج	مجاعات	يكون	j <sup>c</sup>
المخاض	فاتحه		هذه	وهيوج	مجاعات	تكون	j <sup>B</sup>
المخاض	بدو	[امارات]	هذه	وهيوج	مجاعات	ويصير	n
الحبال	راس		وهذا	واضطراب	جوع	ويكون	i
الفن	اول	هي	فهذه	واختباطات	جوع	ويكون	e
المخاض	اوايل		هذه	وهيوج	مجاعات	ويكون	g
[الطلق]	بدوا		وذلك	وشغب	جوع	ويكون	d
المخاض	اول	كله	وهذا	وذعر	جوع	ويكون	r
المخاض	بداية		وهذه		الجوع	ويكون	k
الطلق	اول	هي	وهذه	وهيوج	مجاعات	وتكون	l
المخاض	اوايل		وهذه		الجوع	ويحدث	o
البلا	فايندا	البلاء	هذا	وشغب وفتن	جوع	ويكون	h
المخاض	فاتحه		هذه	وهيوج	مجاعات	وستكون	j <sup>a</sup>
المخاض	اول		هذا	وسجس	وجرع		b
							p/
المخاض	اول	كله	وهذا	واستجاس	جوع	ويكون	q

\* The Greek reads λυμοι (pl.). The Syriac can be confusing here. The reading could be singular or plural as the skeleton shape of the word does not change in either way. What changes is the addition of the two dots (Seyāmē) above the word. The word *جوع* in a non-dotted manuscript could either be *famine* or *famines*. This is one of the reasons why we read جوع (sing.) in some manuscripts and مجاعات (pl.) in others. Another reason could be that the word جوع is used as a collective noun.

% There is an important textual variant here: 1) MSS  $\aleph^2$  B D L  $\Psi$  579. 2427 lat sa<sup>mss</sup> bo only read λυμοι (families *k* and *o* agree with this reading); 2) the addition of και λυμοι και παραχαι in  $\Sigma$  pc. None of the Arabic families have a similar reading; 3) the addition of και παραχαι as with all the Arabic versions (with the exception of families *k* and *o*). This reading is witnessed by: A (W,  $\Theta$ )  $\aleph^{13}$ . 33 MT q sy sa<sup>mss</sup>. Family *l* disagrees with the Coptic and adds وهيج وهيج (however some manuscripts of family *l* omit this reading).

The Arabic versions use at least six words to render either the Greek παραχή or Syriac عجز (a) meaning which comes directly from Syriac عجز (meaning: عجز, اضطراب, تكرر – see *Al-Lubāb*, pp.1123-4) and is found in families *a* and *c*; هيج; اضطراب; اضطراب (disturbance) found in family *i*; اضطراب (disturbance) found in family *d*; اضطراب (disturbance) found in family *e*; اضطراب (disturbance) found in family *r*.

<sup>s</sup> Families *a*, *c* and *r* add كلة (παύσα) and is supported by:  $\Theta$   $\aleph^3$  543. 28. 91 etc. Family *r*, which is a bilingual Syriac-Arabic MS, does not have كلة in the Syriac text. This is another sign which shows that the Arabic text of Leipzig, University Library, Cod. Tischend. XII is copied from an earlier MS and is not a fresh translation.<sup>s</sup> Families *g* and *o* read read وابل pl. (αρχαι) with A  $\aleph$  MT b 1.

<sup>ε</sup> Family *i* reads راس الحبال يكون and follows the Harklean راس الحبال يكون.

## Mark 13:9a

تضربوا <sup>f</sup>	وفي	للشيع <sup>g</sup>	يسلموكم	% لانفسكم انهم	*انظروا انتم	a
وتضربون	والى	الى الدانه	سيسلموكم	انفسكم فانهم	احفظوا انتم	c
وتضربون	والمحافل	الى المجامع	سيسلمونكم	لذواتكم لانهم	فانظروا انتم	j <sup>c</sup>
		الى المجامع	سيسلموكم	انفسكم	فانظروا انتم	j <sup>B</sup>
وتضربوا	والمحافل	الى المحافل	سيسلمونكم	بانفسكم لانهم	فانظروا انتم	n
يجلبونكم	والمحافل	الى المجامع	يسلمونكم	في نفوسكم انه	فانظروا انتم	i
يجلبونكم	والمحافل	الى المجامع	سيسلموكم	لانفسكم	انظروا انتم	e
وتجلبون	والمحافل	الى القضاة	سوف يسلمونكم	انفسكم فانه	فابصروا انتم	g
وتجلبونكم	والمحافل	الى القضاة	يسلمونكم	الى انفسكم	انظروا انتم	d
وتعذبون	والمحافل	الى القضاة	تسلمون	انفسكم فانكم	فاحفظوا	r
وتعذبونكم	والمحافل	الى القضاة	يسلمونكم	انهم	انظروا انتم	k
وتعذبونكم	والمحافل	الى القضاة	فيسلمونكم	انفسكم	فانظروا انتم	l
وتعذبونكم	والمحافل	الى القضاة	سيسلمونكم	فانهم	انظروا	o
وتعذبونكم	والمحافل	الى القضاة	يسلمونكم	على انفسكم لانهم	فاحذروا انتم	h
وتعذبونكم	والمحافل	الى القضاة	سيسلمونكم	انفسكم	فانظروا انتم	j <sup>a</sup>
وتعذبونكم	والمحافل	الى القضاة	سيسلمونكم	لانفسكم	انظروا انتم	b
وتعذبونكم	والمحافل	الى القضاة	سيسلمونكم	انفسكم	انظروا انتم	p/
وتعذبونكم	والمحافل	الى القضاة	سيسلمونكم	انفسكم	انظروا انتم	q

\* The expression βλεπετε δε υμεις ευρους (which is found in all the Arabic versions with some minor variations) is omitted by: D W Θ f<sup>1</sup> 28 565 700 it sy<sup>s</sup>. Family o reads only انظروا and follows the Latin MS q which reads *videte*.

<sup>%</sup> The particle γαρ (an) is missing in families j<sup>B</sup>, e, d, j<sup>A</sup> and is supported by B L Ψ 2427 pc sa<sup>ms</sup> bo. Family l omits γαρ but adds δε (ف).

<sup>\$</sup> The Greek reads εἰς συνέδριον (to the Sanhedrin, pl.) and the Syriac Peshitta reads ܐܢܬܡ ܕܡܬܥܝܢܐ (the council/assembly) – see *Al-Lubāb*, pp. 252-3). Family a reads الشَّيْخ (شيعه) and means *followers*. It is hard to ascertain which language is behind it; Family c uses the same word as the Peshitta (ܐܢܬܡ ܕܡܬܥܝܢܐ); families j<sup>C</sup>, j<sup>B</sup>, n, k, o, j<sup>A</sup> follow the Greek or Latin (*concilii*). Family i possibly the Harklean (ܡܬܥܝܢܐ ܕܡܬܥܝܢܐ); families e, g, d, r, h follow the Peshitta; and family l follows the Coptic.

<sup>&</sup> Families a, j<sup>C</sup>, j<sup>B</sup>, n, k, l, o, j<sup>A</sup> do not have the attached pronoun ܡܢ. This shows that the manuscripts mentioned follow the Greek, (the Coptic for the case of family l, or possibly the Latin or Greek for the case of family o). Families c, i, e, g, d, r, h follow the Peshitta (which reads ܡܢ ܡܬܥܝܢܐ) (a few Greek Lectionaries have a similar reading see 118, 119, 149, etc. – Legg on Mark 13:9)). This Syriac expression is translated into Arabic by: (a) مجمع ; (b) مجمع ; (c) كنيسة (ت) ; (d) محفل.

<sup>£</sup> The Greek reads δέρω (beat and strike); The Syriac has ܠܚܝܩ (in *Al-Lubāb* it means: عذب, ضرب, جلد, حره, drag, whip, beat, punish or torment) see *Al-Lubāb*, 706-7). Families a, c, j<sup>C</sup>, n, k, l, o, j<sup>A</sup> read ضرب which could translate any *Vorlage*; families i, g, d have جلد (whip), and families e, r, h have عذب (to punish or torment) which might possibly follow the Peshitta. Family j<sup>B</sup> omits this reading and follows the Sinaiticus (the Curetonian is defective here). However, the rest of the verse does not seem to follow the Sinaiticus.



## Mark 13:9b

لهم	شهادة	منجلي	والمملوك	القواد	بين يدي	وتقفوا	a
عليهم	شهادة	علي	ونحوي السلطان	الملوك	بين يدي	وتقومون	c
عليهم	لشهادته	من اجلي	والمملوك	الولاة	بحضره	وتستقامون	j <sup>c</sup>
لهم	لشهادته	من اجل	والمملوك	الولاة	بحضره	وتقامون	j <sup>B</sup>
عليهم	لشهادتهم	من اجلي	والولاة	الملوك	لدى	وتقاموا	n
	شهادة	لاجلي	والمملوك	الولاة	وامام		i
لهم	لشهادتهم	من اجلي	والولاة	الملوك	ققدام		e
	لشهادتهم	منجل	والحكام	الملوك	امام	وتقفون	g
	لشهاداتهم	من اجلي	والمملوك	السلاطين	[بين يدي]	وتقومون	d
عليهم	شهادة	من اجل	ونحوي السلطان	الملوك	بين ايدي	وتقومون	r
لهم	شهادة	من اجل	والقواد	الملوك	امام	وتقامون	k
عليهم	شهادة	من اجلي	والمملوك	الحكام	قدام	وتقامون	l
عليهم	شهادة	بسببي	والولاة	الملوك	بحضره	وتشخصون	o
عليهم	الشهادة	منجلي	والحكام	الملوك	بين يدي	وتقفون	h
لهم	الشهادة	من اجلي	والمملوك	الولاة	بحضره	وتقامون	j <sup>a</sup>
عليهم	لشهادته	منجلي	والسلاطين	تقدموا	وقدام		b
							p/
عليهم	لشهادته	علي	ونحوي السلطان	الملوك	بين يدي	وتقومون	q

\* The Greek reads καὶ ἐπὶ ἡγεμόνων καὶ βασιλέων (and before governors and kings...) and families *a* (قواد وملوك), *j*<sup>C</sup>, *j*<sup>B</sup>, *i*, *j*<sup>A</sup> (الولا والملوك), *d* (الولا والملوك) follow the Greek. Family *l* follows the Coptic, and families *c*, *r* (الملوك وذوي السلطان), *n*, *e* (الملوك والولا), *g*, *h* (الملوك والحكام), *k* (الملوك والقواد) follow the Peshitta which reads *reges et praesides* instead of the majority of Latin and witnesses which have *praesides et reges*. (Family *o* also follows the Peshitta here, though in general, it does not).

## Mark 13:10

اولاً	في كل الامم	يكرز الانجيل	اولاً	ينبغي	اولاً	a
اولاً	في كل الامم	بشرى الانجيل	ان	سيكون	وفي جميع الامم	*وفي جميع الامم
اولاً	في كل الامم	ينادي بالانجيل	ان	وينبغي	وفي كل الامم	c
	في سائر الامم	ينادي بالانجيل	ان	وينبغي		j <sup>c</sup>
		يكرز بالبشاره	ان	وقيل كل شي		j <sup>b</sup>
		ينادي ببشاره الانجيل	اولاً	ينبغي	وفي جميع الشعوب	n
	بجميع الامم	تننذا بشارى	ان	ينبغي		i
	جميع الشعوب	بها	ان	من معه	غير ان بشرى	e
	جميع الامم	في جميع الامم	ان	قد [أقر]		g
	كل الامم	يدعوتي	ان	وينبغي		d
		ينادي بالانجيل	اولاً	ينبغي	وعلی كل الامم	r
		ينادي بالانجيل	اولاً	ينبغي	وللامم اجمعين	k
اولاً		ينادي بالانجيل	ان	ليجب	وعلی سائر الامم	l
اولاً	جميع الشعوب	يبشرها	ان	من معه		o
	ال[.]	ينادي	ان	وبشارتي	ولكن	h
	جميع الامم	يشاع هذا الانجيل	ان	وينبغي	وقيل كل شي لا بد	j <sup>a</sup>
		سيكرز ببشرى الانجيل				b
						p/
						q

\* The Greek (as well as the majority Latin witnesses for the case of family *o* and Coptic for family *l*) reads καὶ εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη πρῶτον δεῖ κηρυχθῆναι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. The Peshitta leaves the expression εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη (ܡܠܬܐ ܡܢ ܕܡܠܬܐ) until the end of the verse (as well as d ff<sup>2</sup> sa<sup>ms</sup>). Thus, families *j*<sup>C</sup>, *j*<sup>B</sup>, *n*, *e*, *g*, *d*, *r*, *h*, *j*<sup>A</sup> follow the Peshitta (or less likely Latin d ff<sup>2</sup>). Families *a*, *c*, *k* follow the Greek: family *a* reads πρῶτον δεῖ and agrees with **N**<sup>c</sup> B D Ψ 28. 892. 2427 *pc*; family *c* omits πρῶτον and lacks textual support; family *k* reads δεῖ πρῶτον and agrees with A L f<sup>13</sup> 33 MT. Family *i* follows the Harklean ܡܠܬܐ ܡܢ ܕܡܠܬܐ ܡܢ ܕܡܠܬܐ ܡܢ ܕܡܠܬܐ.



\* The omission of (προ-/ⲡⲣⲟⲩⲛⲁⲛⲁ) in families *c*, *f*<sup>c</sup>, *n*, *d*, *r*, *k*, *o*, *h* is worth noting. The Greek MSS M Γ 33. 59. 71 etc. read μεριμνῶτε instead of προμεριμνῶτε and agree with the Arabic reading of the families mentioned above. Some of the Old Latin MSS and also the Vulgate follow this reading (cf. Legg and Jülicher on this version) and show why family *o* omits it. Could there be some Peshitta manuscripts which omit this reading and agree with the Sinaiticus? Another possibility is that the omission of ⲡⲣⲟⲩⲛⲁⲛⲁ in purely stylistic. Family *r*, which is represented in the bilingual Syriac-Arabic MS Leipzig, University Library, Cod. Tischend. XII omits ⲡⲣⲟⲩⲛⲁⲛⲁ but is present in the Syriac parallel (Cf. folio 51r.)

The addition of ⲙⲏⲃⲉ ⲙⲉⲗⲉⲧⲉⲧⲉⲧⲉ (ⲡⲣⲟⲩⲛⲁⲛⲁ/ⲡⲣⲟⲩⲛⲁⲛⲁ) is found in: A X Y Γ Δ Π Φ I 118. 22. *f*<sup>13</sup> (exc. 69) 543. 28 al. and Syriac Peshitta and Harklean. All the Arabic versions support this reading. Family *l* disagrees with the Coptic here, but MS *l*<sup>2</sup> of family *l* omits this addition and shows once again that *l*<sup>2</sup> is closer to the Coptic than the others.

## Mark 13:11b

تكلّموا	ايّاه	الساعه	تاك	في	من الله*	أعطيتكم	الذي	ولكن	a
فتكلّموا	ذلك	الساعه	تاك	في		أعطيتكم	ما	ولكن	c
قولوا	ايّاه	الساعه	تاك	في		تلقّوه	مهما	لكن	j <sup>c</sup>
قولوا	ايّاه	الساعه	تاك	في		تلقّوه	مهما	ولكن	j <sup>b</sup>
قولوا	ايّاه	الساعه	تاك	في		تلقّوه	مهما	لكن	n
تكلّموا	بهذا	الساعه	تاك	في		نمنحون	ذلك الذي	بل	i
انطقوا	فهو	الساعه	تاك	في		يُعطاكم	شيء	لكن	e
تكلّموا	بذاك	الساعه	تاك	في		يوهب لكم	الشيء الذي	بل	g
تكلّموا	به	الساعه	تاك	في		تعطوا به	ما	ولكن	d
		ساعتين	تاك	في		يعطون	بما	لكن	r
تتكلّمون	الذي	الساعه	تاك	في		تعطون	الذي	فانكم	k
تتكلّمون	هذا الذي	الساعه	تاك	في		تعطونه		بل	l
تتكلّمون	ما	الان	ذلك	في		تلقّون		فانكم	o
		ساعتين	تاك	في		تلقّوه	بما	ولكن	h
تقولون	[ايّاه]	الساعه	تاك	في		تلقّونه	مهما	ولكن	j <sup>a</sup>
تكلّموا	ايّاه	الساعه	تاك	في		تعطون	الذي	لكن	b
فتكلّموا	تاك	الساعه	تاك	في		أعطيتكم	ما	ولكن	p <sup>i</sup>
									q

\* The addition of من الله has no textual support.

## Mark 13:11c

القدس	روح	ولكن	المتكلمين	الذين	انتم	ليس	لا انكم	a
القدس	روح	ولكن	تتكلمون	الذين	انتم	لستم	فانكم	c
القدس	الروح	بل	المتكلمون	الذين	انتم	فليس		j <sup>c</sup>
القدس	الروح	بل	المتكلمون	الذين	انتم	فليس		j <sup>B</sup>
القدس	الروح	بل	المتكلمون	الذين	انتم	فليس		n
القدس	روح	لكن	المتكلمون	الذين	انتم	فليس		i
القدس	روح	بل	المتكلمون	الذين	انتم	لستم انتم	لا انكم	e
القدس	روح	ولكن	تتكلمون	الذين	انتم	ليس	لا انكم	g
القدس	روح	ولكن	تتلقون	الذين	انتم	فليس		d
القدس	روح	لكن	المتكلمين		انتم	ولستم		r
القدس	روح	بل	المتكلمون		انتم	لستم	لا انكم	k
القدس	روح	لكن	بالمكلمين		انتم	وما		l
القدس	روح	بل	المتكلمين		انتم	ولستم		o
القدس	الروح	بل	تتكلمون	الذين	انتم	فليس		h
القدس	روح	بل	تتكلمون	الذين	انتم	ليس		j <sup>a</sup>
القدس	روح	بل	تتكلمون	الذين	انتم	ليس		b
القدس	روح	ولكن	تتكلمون	الذين	انتم	لستم	فانكم	p <sup>l</sup>
القدس	روح	ولكن	تتكلمون	الذين	انتم	لستم		q

\* This addition in families *n* and *h* could show the free nature of these two translations. However, it is worth noting that the Old Latin *l* adds *qui loquitur in vobis*.



## Luke 8:9

المتل	هذا		ما	قائلين*	تلاميذه	فسالوه	a
المتل	هذا		ما	وقالوا	تلاميذه	فسالاه	c
المتل	هذا	هو	ما	قائلين	تلاميذه	فسالاه	j <sup>c</sup>
المتل	هذا	هو	ما	قائلين	تلاميذه	فسالاه	j <sup>B</sup>
المتل	هذا		ما	قائلين	تلاميذه	فساليلون	n
المتل	هذا		ماذا	ثم قالوا	تلاميذه	فسالوه	i
المتل	هذا	هو	ما		تلاميذه	فسالوه	e
المتل	هذا		ان ما		تلاميذه	ثم ساله	g
المتل	هذا		ما		تلاميذه	وسالوه	d
المتل	هذا		ما	وقالوا	تلاميذه	وسالاه	r
المتل	هذا		ما	قائلين	تلاميذه	ثم ساله	k
المتل	هذا		ما	ان	تلاميذه	ثم ساله	l
المتل	هذا	هو	ما	قائلين	حواريوه	ثمت ساله	o
المتل	هذا		ما			??	h
المتل	هذا		ان ما	قائلين	تلاميذه	فاستنبحته	j <sup>a</sup>
المتل	هذا		ما		تلاميذه	فسالوه	b
المتل	هذا					-	p <sup>l</sup>
						-	q

\* The expression λεγοιτε is omitted in: p<sup>75</sup> S B D L W Ξ 1 33 131 157 579 700 1241 1342 1424 1582 2542 Lvt (e a aur b c d ff<sup>2</sup> g<sup>1</sup> gat) Lvg Ss Sc Sp Dtp Cs Cb Cg. Families e, g, d, l follow this reading. According to Jülicher the Old Latin f l q add *dicentes*. This reading is found in family o.

## Luke 8:10

فبامثال	فاما	سراير <sup>5</sup> ملك الله	علم	اعطى	لكم	قال	ا
فبالامثال يُقال & لهم <sup>٤</sup>	فاما اولايك	سراير ملكوت الله	ان تعلموا	اعطى	لكم %	فقال	c
بالامثال يخطبون	وباقى الناس	سراير ملكوت الله	ان تعرفوا	اعطى	لكم	فقال	j <sup>c</sup>
بامثال	وباقى الناس	سراير ملكوت الله	ان تعرفوا	اعطى	لكم	فقال	j <sup>B</sup>
فبامثال يخطبون	الباقين	سراير ملكوت الله	ان تعرفوا	اعطى	لكم	فقال	n
بالامثال يُقال لهم	الباقين	سراير ملكوت الله	معرفه	قد اعطى	لكم ان لكم	فقال	i
بالقصايد يُقبل	لاوليك الباقون	سراير ملكوت الله	معرفه	هو معطى	فلكم	ثم قال لهم	e
بالامثال	فانما يقال	سراير ملكوت الله	معرفه	وهب	لكم	فقال	g
بالامثال يُقال	لساير الناس	سراير ملكوت الله	معرفه	اعطيت	لكم	فقال	d
بامثال [يُقال لهم	[سايركم	سراير ملكوت الله	ان [تعلموا]	اعطى	لكم اياكم	فقال	r
فبامثال	الباقون	سراير ملكوت الله	علم	اعطى	لكم	فقال	k
بامثال	الباقون	سراير ملكوت الله	يعلم	قد حظيتم انتم	لكم	فقال	l
فبالامثال	فيكون القول لهم	سراير ملكوت الله	عرفان	وهب	لكم	فقال	o
		فاما اوليك	عرفان	وهب	لكم	فقال	h
بالامثال [اكرم]	وباقين	سراير ملكوت الله	ان تعلموا	اعطى	لكم	فقال	j <sup>a</sup>
فبامثال	للباقين	سراير ملكوت الله	ان تعرفون	اعطى	لكم	فقال	b
		فاما	ان تعرفون	اعطى	لكم	فقال	p <sup>l</sup>
		فاما اوليك	ان تعرفون	اعطى	لكم	فقال	q

\* The addition of *المخلص* in families *i* and *o* is a minor variant and lacks textual support.

<sup>5</sup> *αυτοις* (Lvg Ss Sc Sp Sh (mg) Sj (1 ms.)) is supported by: Θ 13 69 124 157 etc. Lvt (e aur b c f ff<sup>2</sup> g<sup>1</sup> gat 1 q r<sup>1</sup>) follow the majority Greek witnesses and family *l* the Coptic, and the rest the Syriac (and Old Latin for family *o*).

<sup>s</sup> The expression سر in singular (in families  $\beta^B, e, g, d, r$ ) follows the Peshitta. Family *i* has اسرار (pl.) and follows the Harklean. Family *l* follows the Coptic Bohairic. Family *o* possibly the Old Latin (a aur b c d f ff<sup>2</sup> g<sup>1</sup> gat 1 q r<sup>1</sup>), and families *a, c, j<sup>C</sup>, n, i, k, j<sup>A</sup>* the Greek (and possibly but less likely the Peshitta).

& The addition of لهم يقول بخطبون/ القول in families *c, j<sup>C</sup>,  $\beta^B, n, i, e, g, d, r$*  follow the Peshitta. A few manuscripts in family *l* follow the Coptic by omitting لهم القول له but MS *l<sup>A</sup>* retains it and might show a Peshitta influence. MSS *a, k, j<sup>A</sup>* follow the Greek. Family *o* follows either the Latin or the Greek.

<sup>ε</sup> The addition of هم is found in the Syriac Sinaiticus and Curetonian. However, it could have been added by a scribe for a syntactical reason.

[illegible]

\* The addition of *و* (ون) *يسمو* found in families *a*, *i*, *g*, *k*, *l*, *o*, with minor variations, is somewhat confusing. As far as we can tell it is supported by mainly the Coptic, some Harklean manuscripts and the Ethiopian version. In the case of family *l* it certainly follows the Coptic. Family *i* the Harklean, family *o* might have been influenced by family *k* and family *k* by family *g* (as it is argued elsewhere). Family *g* has additions and synonyms borrowed from

family *h*. The expression *يسمع* is, in this case, synonymous to *يُسمع* and its occurrence twice might be merely stylistic and not textual. Family *a* which adds *يُسمعون* لا seems not to have textual support. The Old Latin *d* and *I* replace *in-tellegant* with *audiant*.



## Luke 8:12

يؤمنوا فيخلصوا <sup>a</sup>	الكلمه من قلوبهم لكي لا	الشیطان <sup>c</sup> وياخذ	فياتي	ثم	الكلمه <sup>e</sup>	الذين يسمعون	الطريق هم	على	والذي	a
يؤمنون فيحيون	الكلمه من قلوبهم لكيما لا	الشیطان فياخذ	فياتي	ثم	الكلمه	الذين يسمعون	الطريق فهم	على ظهور %	الذي زرع *	c
يؤمنوا فينجوا	القول من قلوبهم ليلا	الفعال فينزع	يحي	ثم		الذين يسمعون	الطريق فهم	على قارعه	الذي	j <sup>c</sup>
يصدقوا فيخلصوا	القول من قلوبهم ليلا	الفعال فينزع	يحي	ثم		الذين يسمعون	الطريق هم	على قارعه	والذي	j <sup>b</sup>
يؤمنوا فيخلصوا	القول من قلوبهم لكي لا	الشیطان فيتنزع	يحي	ثم		الذين يسمعون	الطريق هم	على قارعه	وقع منه على	n
يؤمنون فينجون	الكلمه من قلوبهم حتى لا	الشیطان فيتنزع	يحي	وبعد ذلك	الكلمه	الذين يسمعون	الطريق فاوليك	على قارعه	والذي	i
يؤمنون ويحيون	الكلمه من قلوبهم ليلا	النعام فيتنزع	يحي	وبحي	الكلمه	الذين يسمعون	الطريق فهم	على قارعه	الذي	e
يؤمنوا ويعيشوا	الكلمه من قلوبهم كيلا	العدو ياخذ	يحي	وبحي	الكلمه	الذين يسمعون	الطريق فهم	على قارعه	الذي	g
يؤمنوا فينجوا	الكلمه من قلوبهم ليلا	العدو ياخذ	يحي	وبحي	الكلمه	الذين يسمعون	الطريق فهم	على قارعه	والذي زرع	d
يؤمنوا فيخلصوا	الكلمه من قلوبهم ليلا	العدو ياخذ	يحي	وبحي	الكلمه	الذين يسمعون	الطريق فهم	على قارعه	والذي زرع	r
يؤمنوا فيخلصوا	الكلمه من قلوبهم ليلا	العدو ياخذ	يحي	وبحي	الكلمه	الذين يسمعون	الطريق فهم	على قارعه	والذين	k
يؤمنوا فيخلصوا	الكلمه من قلوبهم ليلا	العدو ياخذ	يحي	وبحي	الكلمه	الذين يسمعون	الطريق فهم	على قارعه	الذي	l
يؤمنوا فيخلصوا	الكلمه من قلوبهم ليلا	العدو ياخذ	يحي	وبحي	الكلمه	الذين يسمعون	الطريق فهم	على قارعه	والذي يزرع	o
يؤمنوا فيكونوا ناجين	الكلمه من قلوبهم لكي لا	العدو ياخذ	يحي	وبحي	الكلمه	الذين يسمعون	الطريق فهم	على قارعه	والذي يزرع	h
يؤمنوا فينجوا	الكلمه من قلوبهم ليلا	العدو ياخذ	يحي	وبحي	الكلمه	الذين يسمعون	الطريق فهم	على قارعه	والذي يزرع	j <sup>a</sup>
يؤمنوا فيخلصوا	الكلمه من قلوبهم لكيما لا	العدو ياخذ	يحي	وبحي	الكلمه	الذين يسمعون	الطريق فهم	على قارعه	والذي وقع	b

\*The addition of زرع is surprising. Some Old Latin manuscripts (e.g. b c gat r<sup>1</sup>) add [σπαρυντες] but after την περσαν / περρας. The Arabic adds it after زرع. (Old Latin e reads *seminatum*, b c r<sup>1</sup> read *seminati*, and MS f reads *cecidit*).

% The addition of *ممر حافة / قارعة / جاده / حد / حافة* (the addition of *ممر* which means *the side* in this context, see *Al-Lubāb*, p. 519) which precedes *بجانبه* (*bōōc*). (One should not discount the possibility that some scribes were emphasizing the *beside* (and not only on) meaning of the Greek preposition *παρά*).

& The addition of *الكلمة اليونانية / اليونانية* (the addition of *الكلمة* is supported by X 124 174 213 472 577 1524 Lvt (e c) Ss Sp Sj (2mss) Dtp Cb (2mss: the first is Vatican, Copt. 9 copied in 1205 A.D. The Arabic in parallel contains the Alexandrian Vulgate (family *k*). It is possible that the Coptic is influenced by the Arabic. The second, is BnF, Copt. 14 copied in the 13/14<sup>th</sup> century. The Arabic in parallel contains the version of Ibn-'Assāl (family *l*). The Arabic text has the expression *الكلمة* as well) Et. Families *a, c, i, e, g, d, r, k, l, o, j<sup>A</sup>* follow this reading. This shows either the influence of the Peshitta on these manuscripts, or the freedom the scribes had to add an object to the verb to clarify the meaning. In verse 14 the same word reoccurs but it is witnessed by the Old Syriac and not the Peshitta. Families *j<sup>C</sup>, j<sup>B</sup>, n* omit it and follow the majority Greek witness.

§ Six different expressions are used here: a) الشيطان (devil) in families *a, c, n, r; b*) المصالح in families *j<sup>C</sup>, j<sup>B</sup>, j<sup>A</sup>; c*) النمام (slanderer) and most probably translates the Harklean *ܡܚܠܩܝܬܝܢ* (the evil) see *Al-Lubāb*, p. 34; d) العدو (the enemy) in families *e, g, d*, and follow literally the Peshitta; e) الشرير (the evil) in family *k; f*) ابليس (devil) in families *l* and *o*.

£ Family *j<sup>A</sup>* transposes *من قلوبهم* (be saved/ rescued) and follows the Greek MS D and the Old Latin *a aur b c d f ff<sup>2</sup> 1 q r<sup>i</sup>*. The Greek (as well as the Latin) reads *σωθησονται* (be saved/ rescued), and the Syriac Peshitta *ܡܢ ܩܠܒܗܝܡ* (live; Afel make live, save (See Kiraz, *Lexical Tools*, n. 117 and *Al-Lubāb*, p. 402). Families *c, e, g, d, r* follow the Peshitta and the rest of the families follow either the Greek or Syriac *Vorlage*. Family *g* omits this reading with no textual support.



## Luke 8:13a

بفرح	الكلمه %	يقبلوا	سمعوا	الذين اذا	فهم	الصخر	على	زرعوا*	الذي	واما	a
بفرح	الكلمه %	قبلوها	سمعوا	الذين اذا	فانهم	الصفاء	على		الذين	واما	c
بفرح	الكلام	يقبلوه	سمعوا	الذين اذا ما	فهم	الصخر	على		الذي	واما	j <sup>c</sup>
بفرح	الكلام	قبلوه	سمعوا	الذين اذا	فهم	الصخره	على		والذي		j <sup>B</sup>
بفرح قبلوه	القول		سمعوا	الذين اذا	هم	الارض الصخره	على	سقط	الذي	واما	n
	الكلمه		سمعوا	الذين متى ما		الصفاء	على		والذي		i
بفرح	الكلمه	يقبلون	سمعوا	هو اذا	فهلوي	الصخر	على		الذين	وهلوي	e
بفرح	الكلمه	يقبلون	سمعوا	الذين اذا	فهم هولاي	الصفاء	على		اوليك الذين	فاما	g
بفرح	الكلمه	يقبلونها	سمعوا	الذين اذا	فهم	الصفاه	على	زرع	والذي		d
بفرح	الكلمه	قبلوها	سمعوا	الذين اذا	هم	الصفاء	على		الذي	واما	r
بفرح	الكلمه	و يقبلونها	يسمعون	الذين	فهم	الصفاء	على		الذي	واما	k
بفرح	القول	يقبلون	سمعوا	الذين اذا	فهم	الصخره	على	سقط	الذي	واما	l
جناين	الكلمه	يقبلونها	يسمعون	الذين	فهم	صخر	على	المينور		فاما	o
بفرح	القول	يقبلون	سمعوا	الذين اذا	فهم	الصفاء			نور	واما	h
بفرح	الكلمه	يقبلونها	سمعوا	الذين اذا	هم	الصفاء	على		والذي		j <sup>a</sup>
											b
											p <sup>l</sup>
											q

\* Only the Old Latin manuscript r<sup>1</sup> adds *seminati sunt* as with families c, n, r, l and o. The Arabic addition does not necessarily follows the Old Latin witness. It could only be for clarification of meaning. In the case of families n and o there seems to be some Old Latin influence.

% The transposition of **الكلمه** to before the verb **سمعوا** (**ἀκούσασι**) instead of **يقولون** (**ῥέχουται**) is supported by the Old Latin b and r<sup>1</sup>, and Old Syriac (Sinaiticus and Curetonian). MSS c, f<sup>c</sup>, n, i, d, r, k, and o follow this reading. This transposition, from the part of the Arabic text, is either stylistic or based on one of the *Vorlagen* mentioned above. The Old Syriac adds **حدا** and reads **حدا سمعوا** (Greek equivalence: **τοὺ λεγόντων εὐθεως**). The addition of **حدا** is not supported by any of the Arabic versions. Thus we should discard any Old Syriac influence. We are left with two Latin witnesses (MSS b and r<sup>1</sup>). Families n and o are showing Old Latin influence. For the rest, the addition of **الكلمه** directly after **سمعوا** does not need to be supported by a *Vorlage* to justify its presence. The scribes seem to have had some freedom to add or transpose (as is the case here), when it is necessary, words to clarify the meaning of the text or to present an Arabic text which flows smoothly. In general, the *meaning* of the text is what seems to concern the scribes more than the literal word-for-word translation of the text. On the one hand, this variant (with many others) shows that the text was perceived as dynamic rather than static, and on the other hand justifies the divergence from the *Vorlage*.

## Luke 8:13b

يتنحروا <sup>a</sup>	وفي زمن	الي زمن	يؤمنوا <sup>%</sup>	الذين انما	اصل	لهو لا ي*	وليس	a
يكفرون بها	وفي زمن	حينما قليلا	ايمانهم	ولكن	اصل	لها فيهم اصل	وليس	c
يجحدون	وفي اوان	الى زمن يسير	يؤمنون	وانما	اصل	لهم	ليس	j <sup>c</sup>
يكفرون	وفي حين	فى وقت	فيؤمنون	حينما يسيرا يومنون	اصل	لهم	وليس	j <sup>B</sup>
يرتابون	وفي				اصل	فيهم اصل	وليس	n
ويجحدون	وفي اوان				اصل	يكون لهم	لا	i
يشكون	وفي وقت	زمنيا	ايمانهم	بل	اصل	لهم	واصل ليس	e
يشكون	وفي وقت	الى قليل	امانتهم	ولكن	اصل	لها	وليس	g
يقتنون	وفي وقت	لانساه	ايمانهم	وانما	اصل	لهم فيها اصل	وليس	d
يشكون	فى حين	فى رتابون عند	يؤمنون	انما	اصل	لهم	وليس	r
	العسر والبلا		يؤمنون	انما	اصل	لهم	ليس	k
يشكون	وفي زمن	الى زمن التجربه	يؤمنون	انما	اصل	لهم وهم	وهو لا ي	l
ينكرونه	وفي زمن	زمنيا يسيرا	يؤمنون	انما	اصل	لهم وهم	ولا	o
اضطهاد من يشكون	واذا حدث	الى زمن التجربه	يؤمنون	انما	بنبات	لها فيهم وهو	ولا	
اجل الكلمه								
في زمن الامتحان	وفي زمن	الى زمن	يؤمنون	وانما	اصل	لهم	لا	h
يتابعوا	وفي زمن		يامنوا	الا انهم لزمان	اصل	لهم	ليس	j <sup>a</sup>
							وهو لا ي	b
								p <sup>i</sup>
								q

\* The pronoun هو لا of families a, j<sup>c</sup>, k, l, j<sup>a</sup> is supported by the Greek οὐτοι (excl D, B\*, 1195, 1241, 2613) and the Coptic version (for the case of family l).

% The Greek (as well as the Coptic) reads πιστεύουσιν (يؤمنون) and agrees with families *a*, *j*<sup>c</sup>, *j*<sup>b</sup>, *n*, *k*, *l*, *o*, *j*<sup>a</sup>. The Syriac Peshitta reads ܡܠܝܟܝܬܗ (الملكه) and not ܡܠܝܟܝܬܗ (الملكه) (as is the case with the Sinaiticus, Curetonian and the Hark-lean) and families *c*, *i*, *e*, *g*, *d*, *r* follow the Peshitta.

& The Greek reads ἀφίστανται (leave, go away, or commit apostasy). The Syriac ܡܠܝܟܝܬܗ (passive participle of the extended form *Ethp<sup>el</sup>* and means be offended, Greek equivalence : *οκωδελίζονται*. In *Al-Lubāb* ܡܠܝܟܝܬܗ means شك فيه شك فيه (p.605)). Families *i*, *e*, *d*, *k*, *o* have the verb شك (doubt), and family *r* ريب (doubt). They all follow the Peshitta. Family *a* has نجا (form *V* which means go away) and follows the Greek. Families *c* and *j*<sup>b</sup> have كفر (to blaspheme), family *j*<sup>c</sup> has جحد (to disclaim, refuse, renounce, deny) and may also follow the Greek. Family *n* has يرتلون ويرجحون يرتلون ويرجحون (doubt and renounce) and follows both the Syriac and Greek. Family *l* has يرتك and follows the Coptic. Family *g* has يرتلون ويرجحون يرتلون ويرجحون possibly follows the Syriac and Greek.

## Luke 8:14a

إذا سمعوا <sup>١</sup> & الكلمة <sup>٢</sup>	الذين	هو لاي	هم	الشوك	بين *	سقط	الذي	فاما	a
يسمعون	الذين		فانهم	الشوك	بين	سقط	الذي	واما	c
يسمعون	الذين		فهم	الشوك	فما بين	وقع	الذي	وانما	j <sup>c</sup>
يسمعون	الذين		فهم	الشوك	فيما بين	وقع	والذي		j <sup>B</sup>
إذا سمعوا	الذين		هم	الشوك	بين	وقع	والذي	وذلك	n
يسمعون	الذين		هم	الشوك	بين	سقط	الذي		i
الكلمه	الذين		هم	الشوك	بين	وقع	والذي	واما ذلك	e
الكلمه	الذين	هو لا	فهو	الشوك	بين	وقع	الذي		g
إذا سمعوا	الذين		فهم	الشوك	بين	وقع	والذي		d
يسمعون	الذين		هم	الشوك	بين	سقط	والذي		r
الكلمه	الذين		هم	الشوك	في	وقع	والذي	واما	k
الكلمه	الذين	هاولاء	فهم	الشوك	في	سقط	الذي	فاما	l
يسمعون	الذين		فهم	الاشوك	بين	بخر	الذي		o
يسمعون	الذين		هم	الشوك	بين	وقع	ما	واما	h
الكلمه	الذين		هو	الشوك	في	وقع	والذي		j <sup>a</sup>
									b
									p <sup>l</sup>
									q

\* The Greek has the preposition εις which could either be translated as *في* (in) or *بين* (among, between). The Syriac has ܠܐܝܢ (and not ܠܐ) and can only be translated as *بين* (between). Families *a* and *k* follow the Greek, and *l* the Coptic.

% The scribe of family *i* transposed the verb وقع with the Greek.

& Families *a*, *i*, *d* read سمعوا (ἀκούσαντες - aorist) and agree with the majority Greek witnesses. The Syriac reads سمعوا (ἀκούσαντες - present) as well as the Greek MS K Π 2 21 33 115 131 265 343 489 etc. Lvt (a aur b c l q) and Cs Cb (mss.) and the rest of the Arabic families agree with this reading. (Families *j*<sup>C</sup> and *j*<sup>A</sup> do not follow the Syriac because الكلمة is omitted).

§ The addition of الكلمة is supported by the Peshitta, the Greek MSS Θ *f*<sup>1</sup> *pc*, the Old Latin a c *f* *r*<sup>1</sup>, the Syriac Curetonian, and the Coptic Sahidic and one Bohairic witness. Family *a*, which is translated from the Greek, follows Θ *f*<sup>1</sup>.

£ The addition of القول/الكلمة is supported by Θ *f*<sup>1</sup> *pc* a c *f* *r*<sup>1</sup> *sy*<sup>Cp</sup> *sa* *bo*<sup>ms</sup>. Families *j*<sup>C</sup> and *j*<sup>A</sup> disagree with this reading.

## Luke 8:14b

يُثْمِرُوا ثَمَرَتِهِمْ	ولا	يَخْتَنِقُوا	ذَاهِبِينَ*	الدنيا	ولذات	وغنا	هموم	في	فيئالهم	وهم	a
اَنْبَاتًا	فلا	تَخْفَهَا		الدنيا	وشهوه	الغنا					c
تُكْمَل ثَمَرَاتِهِمْ	فلا	يَخْتَنِقُونَ			ولذاته	و[يساره]	بهموم العالم	وَيَخْتَنِقُونَ*فَيَخْتَنِقُونَ		يَنْظَلِقُونَ*	j <sup>c</sup>
اَثْمَارِهِمْ	ولا	يَخْتَنِقُونَ			ولذاته	وغناه	هموم لعالم	فِي		وَلتَصْرِفُهُمْ	j <sup>B</sup>
ثَمَرِهِمْ	وما	يَخْنَقُوهُ			ولذاته	وغناه	مهمات العالم وفي غناه	فِي		الْأَنْبَصْرِفُهُمْ	n
										انهم	i
يُعْطُونَ	وَلثَمَرًا	وَيَخْتَنِقُونَ	يَمْضُونَ	العالم	شهورات ولذات هذا	ومن الغنى ومن	الافكار	فَمِنْ			e
يُعْطُونَ	وَلثَمَرًا	يَخْتَنِقُونَ		العالم	ويشهورات	[تنتا]	الالهتنام[والم]	وَفِي			e
يُوتُونَ ثَمَرًا	ولا	يَخْتَنِقُونَ		الدنيا	ويشهورات	ومالهم والغنى					g
يُعْطُونَ الْاَثْمَارَ	ولا	يَخْتَنِقُونَ		الدنيا	ويشهورات	الغنا			فِيخْنَقُهَا		d
يُثْمِرُونَ ثَمَرًا	ولا			العالم	ويشهورات	والغنا	الهم	وَفِيهِمْ			r
يَأْتُونَ بِثَمَرَةٍ	فلا	يَخْتَنِقُهُم	الْذَاهِبِينَ فِيهَا يَخْنَقُهُم	معيشتهم	ويشهورات	الغني	ومن اجل هم	وَمِنْ اَجْلِ هُمْ			k
يَأْتُونَ بِثَمَرِهِ	فلا	يَخْتَنِقُونَ	السَّاعِينَ فِيهَا	هذه الحياه	ولذات	والغنى	الالهتنام	وَيَخْنَقُهُمْ			l
يَأْتُونَ بِثَمَرٍ	فلا	يَخْتَنِقُونَ الْكَلِمَةَ	الْذَاهِبِينَ فِيهَا يَخْنَقُونَ الْكَلِمَةَ	معيشتهم	ويشهورات	الغنا		وَبِسَبَبِ			o
											h
تُكْمَل اَثْمَارُهُمْ	فلا			الدنيا	ولذات	و[يسار]	هموم	وَيَخْتَنِقُونَ مِنْ		وَيَنْظَلِقُونَ	j <sup>a</sup>
يُكْمَلُوا ثَمَرَاتِهِمْ	ولا	فَيَخْنَقُوهُمْ	يَنْظَلِقُوا	العالم	ويشهورات	والغنا	وقتنه				b
							الهموم				p <sup>l</sup>
											q

\* The main variant in this section is the verb πορεύμενοι which is supported by almost all Greek witnesses. It is omitted by the Peshitta (as well as the Persian Diatessaron, old Latin e<sup>r1</sup> and three late Greek lectionaries). It is

found in families *a*, *k*, *o* (ذاهين/الناهين), *j*<sup>c</sup> and *j*<sup>a</sup> (يظلقون), *j*<sup>b</sup> and *n* (تصرفهم). Family *i* has يعضون and possibly reflect the Harklean version; family *l* reads الساعين and possibly follows the Coptic. The rest of the families (*c*, *e*, *g*, *d* and *r*) follow the Syriac Peshitta.



[illegible]

\* The addition of [πεον] is supported by Lvt (c), the Curetonian and the Persian Diatessaron. It is most probable that the addition of *وزع/وقع/سقط* is explanatory and does not reflect any of the *Vorlagen* mentioned above. The scribes might have thought that the phrase *واما الذي في الارض* is obscure, and added a verb to give the full meaning of the phrase.



## Luke 8:15b

هم ياتون ثمر احمودا	ورجا*	بالصبر	انباتا	ويثمروا	فيحفظوها	a
		بصبر		وينبتون	فيمسكونها	c
		بصبر		فيثمرون	ويتمسكون به	j <sup>c</sup>
				ويثمرون	ويضبطونه	j <sup>B</sup>
		وبصبر		ويعطون	ويضبطوه حسنا	n
		بالصبر			يتمسكون بها	i
		بصبر			ويحفظون	e
		بالصبر			فيمسكونها	g
		بالصبر			ويمسكونها	d
		والرجا		والرجا	بالصبر	ويثمرون
بالصبر	ويثمرون		فيحفظونها		k	
		بالصبر	ويثمرون	فيتمسكون به	l	
		بالصبر	ويثمرون	فيحفظونها	o	
		بالصبر	ويثمرون	ويتمسكون به	h	
		بالصبر	ويثمرون	فيمسكونها	j <sup>a</sup>	
ثمرات طيبه		بصبرهم	ويقرّبون	فيمسكونها	b	
					p/	
					q	

The addition of رجا (hope) after صبر (patience) might be seen as if it has no textual support. But the Syriac could possibly show the reason behind this addition. The Syriac reads ܡܫܬܝܚܐܝܬܐ (endurance, patience) from the root ܡܫܬܝܚܐ which means with the *P<sup>acal</sup>* form *hope* (Kiraz, *Lexical Tools*, n. 162 and 412). The scribes of families c, d and r have inserted both meaning in their texts. This shows a possible relationship between these three families.

## Luke 15:11

اثنين	له	كان	انسان	ايضا	قال	١٠
اثنين	له	كان	رجل		قال	١١
اثنين	له	كان	انسان			١٢
اثنين	له	كان	كانسان			١٣
اثنين	له	كان	انسان ما			١٤
اثنين	له	كان	انسان واحدا			١٥
اثنين	له	كان	رجلا احد			١٦
اثنين			لرجل			١٧
اثنين	له	واحد	لرجل			١٨
اثنين	له	كان	رجلا			١٩
اثنين	له	كان	انسان			٢٠
اثنين	له	كان	رجلا			٢١
اثنين			لأحد الرجال			٢٢
اثنين	له	كان	انسان			٢٣
اثنين	له	كان	رجل			٢٤

The Greek (as well as the majority Latin MSS) reads Εἶπεν δὲ and families *a, o, j<sup>A</sup>* follow this reading. Family *l* follows the Coptic (Πεξαϥ Δε); families *i, e, g, d, r* follow the Peshitta which reads ܡܥܕ ܡܥܕܐ ܡܥܕܐ, (families *i* and *e* omit ܡܥܕ cf. with Old Latin *r<sup>1</sup>*); family *c*, which normally follows the Peshitta, omits ܡܥܕ and ܡܥܕ but retains the particle ܡܥܕ (again). This reading is similar, but not identical, to the Arabic Diatessaron (where the latter

adds **ل** and omits **ع** (يسوع). Families *j*<sup>C</sup>, *j*<sup>B</sup> and *n* omits **Εἰπεν** **δε** and agree with the Greek MSS **E<sub>suppl</sub>** 69 788 983 1352. Family *k* reads **قال**, which either renders **Εἰπεν** **δε** of the majority Greek witnesses or [**καὶ εἰπεν**] of **Lvt** (b) and the Arabic Diatessaron.

Luke 15:12

العمر	لهم	فقسم	قسم الغنا <sup>١</sup>	من	ما يصير لي	اعطني	يا ابتاه	للأب %	الشاب منهم %	له ابنه *	فقال	a
ماله	لها	فقسم	بيتك	من	من	اعطني حصتي الذي يتوطني	يا ابتاه	لأبيه	الأصغر		فقال	c
ماله	بينهما	فقسم	نعمتك	من	من	اعطني الذي يخصني	يا ابني	لأبيه	الشاب		فقال	j <sup>c</sup>
	فيما بينهما	فقسم	نعمتك	من	من	اعطني الذي يخصني	يا ابني	لأبيه	الشاب		فقال	j <sup>B</sup>
جزوه	بين	فوزع	نعمتك	من	من	اعطني الذي يخصني	يا ابني	لأبيه	الشاب		فقال	n
مقتناه	لهم	فقسم	خاص مالك	من	من	أهب لي سهمي الذي يصح لي	يا ابني	لأبيه	الأصغر فيهم	ذلك الابن	فقال	i
ماله	بينهم	فقسم	بيتك	من	من	اعطني الذي يحصل لي	يا اب	لأبيه	الأصغر	له ابنه	فقال	e
ماله	بينهما	فقسم	بيتك	من	من	اعطني الحصة التي تصيبني	يا ابني	لأبيه	الأصغر	له ابنه	فقال	g
ماله	بينهما	وقسم	بيتك	من	من	اعطني حصتي الذي يصيبني	يا ابتاه	لأبيه	الصغير	له ابنه	فقال	d
ماله	لها	فقسم	بيتك	من	من	اعطني القسمه التي تصيبني	يا ابتاه	لأبيه	الأصغر	له ابنه	فقال	r
ماله	بينهما	فقسم	مالك	من	من	اعطني نصيبني	يا ابني	لأبيه	الأصغر	له ابنه	فقال	k
العيش	بينهما	فقسم	الميراث	من	من	اعطني نصيبني	يا ابني	لأبيه	الأصغر	له ابنه	فقال	l
	بينهما	فقسم	مالك	من	من	اعطني نصيبني	يا ابني	لأبيه	الأصغر	له ابنه	فقال	o
	بينهما	فقسم	مالك	من	من	اعطني نصيبني	يا ابني	لأبيه	الأصغر	له ابنه	فقال	h
ماله	بينهما	فقسم	الميراث	من	من	اعطني الذي يصيبني	يا ابني	للأب	الأصغر		فقال	j <sup>a</sup>
ماله	لهم	فقسم	نصيبني	من	من	ما يصير لي	يا ابتاه	لأبوه	الشاب منهم		فقال	b
												p <sup>l</sup>
												q

\* The addition of *his son* (his son) is only found in the Peshitta and the Persian Diatessaron. Families *c, i, e, g, d, and r* agree with the Peshitta. (family *i* omits the pronoun *ه*).

% Behind the expression *منهم* (pl.) (instead of the correct form *منهما* (dual)) stands the Greek *αὐτῶν*. Family *a* follows closely the Greek (e.g. *قسم الغنا* (e.g. *قسم الغنا*)).

& The expression الاب is omitted in families *c, e, g, d*, and *r* and is replaced by ال and agrees with the Peshitta version. Family *i* (which agreed above with the Peshitta by adding the term "son"), adds the expression اب and agrees with the Harklean version. It is becoming clear that family *i* is either translated from the Peshitta and Harklean versions, or translated from one of the two versions and then corrected against the other. Families *a* and *j*<sup>A</sup> read الاب and follow literally the Greek τῷ πατρὶ. Families *j*<sup>C</sup>, *j*<sup>B</sup>, *n, k, l* and *o* read الاب (τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ) and agree with the 1675 Cs Cb Et. We have seen above that families *l* follows the Coptic version. Families *j*<sup>C</sup>, *j*<sup>B</sup>, *n, k* and *o* should not necessarily follow 1675 Cs Cb Et. The addition of the attached pronoun \* to the noun اب in Arabic is expected, not only because it is uncomfortable not to use it in this context without a pronoun, but also because it might be confused with *God*, who is normally addressed as اب without a singular pronoun attached to it.

<sup>s</sup> The expression قسم الغنا follows the Greek μέρος τῆς οὐσίας. Families *k, o* read مالك and *j*<sup>A</sup> read الميراث and all so follow the Greek. Families *c, e, g, d, r* read بيتك (lit. our house) and follow the Peshitta *j*<sup>C</sup>, *j*<sup>B</sup>, and *n* read نعمةك (blessing, favor and also benefit and wealth) and follow the Greek.

<sup>ε</sup> ὁ δε (translated in family *l* as هو) is supported by N<sup>2</sup> A B L 579. 892. 1241 pc bo. Family *l* follows the Bohairic version. The rest of the families agree with: N\* D W Θ Ψ f<sup>1,13</sup> MT latt sy.

Luke 15:13a

الى بلدة <sup>s</sup> يعيده	وسافر	فذهب مسافر	الشباب	جمع كل شي	ايام قليلة*	ايام	ويعد	فلما كان	a
الى ارض يعيده	وسافر	بلغه	الصغير كل شي	جمع	ايام قليل	ايام	يعد	ومن	c
الى كوره يعيده	وسافر	له	الشباب كل ما	جمع	ايام غير كثيره	ايام	يعد	ومن	j <sup>c</sup>
الى بلد يعيد	وسافر	له	الصغير كل ما	جمع	ايام ليست كثيره	ايام	يعد	ومن	j <sup>b</sup>
الى بلد يعيد	ورحل ناقل	له	الصغير كل ما	جمع	ايام قليل	ايام	يعد	ومن	n
الى بلد يعيد	وسافر	حصل له ووضي	الصغير كل شي	جمع كل شي	ايام ليس كثيره ثم	ايام	يعد	ومن	i
الى بلد يعيد	وسافر	كان له	الصغير كل شي	جمع	ايام قليل	ايام	يعد	ومن	e
الى بلد يعيد	وسافر	اصابه	الصغير كلما	جمع	ايام قليل	ايام	يعد	ومن	g
الى بلاد يعيد	فانطلق	اصابه	الصغير كل شي	جمع	ايام يسيره	ايام	يعد	فلما كان	d
الى مكان يعيد	فذهب	اصابه	الصغير كل شي	جمع	ايام قليل	ايام	يعد	ومن	r
الى كورة يعيده	وسافر	وسافر	الصغير كل شي	جمع	ايام ليست يكثره	ايام	يعد	ومن	k
الى كورة يعيده	وسافر	وسافر	الصغير كل شي	جمع	ايام قليل	ايام	يعد	ومن	l
الى بلدة شاسعه	وظعن	له	الصغير كل شي	جمع	ايام قليل	ايام	يعد	ومن	o
الى كوره يعيده	وسافر	وسافر	الاحدث	جمع كل شي	ايام غير كثيره	ايام	يعد	ومن	h
الى بلاد يعيده	فانطلق	فانطلق	الشباب	جمع كل شي	ايام قليل	ايام	والى	ومن	j <sup>a</sup>
									b
									p <sup>i</sup>
									q

\* The Greek, Latin, Syriac Harklean, and Coptic read οὐ πολλὰς (not many) and the Peshitta reads ملأ (few). Family j follows the Greek; family i the Harklean; family l the Coptic. The rest of the Arabic families c, e, g, d, r) or give the alternative read قلائل / قلائل / يسيره meaning of the Greek (in this case families a, n, k and o).



% The expression ⲁⲓⲛⲓⲃⲟⲥ (ⲁ...ⲓⲃⲟⲥ) follows the Greek (and Latin) (as in families *j*<sup>C</sup>, *j*<sup>B</sup>, *n*, *i*, *k*, *o* and *j*<sup>A</sup>). Family *l* follows the Coptic. The Syriac Peshitta (as well as the Old Syriac and three manuscripts of the Arabic Diatessaron) has ⲁⲓⲛⲓⲃⲟⲥ ⲁⲓⲛⲓⲃⲟⲥ (ⲁⲓⲛⲓⲃⲟⲥ – ⲁⲓⲛⲓⲃⲟⲥ) and families *c*, *e*, *g*, *d*, and *r* follow the Peshitta. Family *a* omits ⲁⲓⲛⲓⲃⲟⲥ for the following possible reasons: 1) a scribal mistake; 2) because the reading follows the Harklean or a few Armenian MSS; or 3) most probably, because of the occurrence of ⲁⲓⲛⲓⲃⲟⲥ before ⲓⲃⲟⲥ (in Greek) and which, if translated into Arabic, would sound awkward (ⲁⲓⲛⲓⲃⲟⲥ). Moreover, it is clear from the immediate context that the expression ⲁⲓⲛⲓⲃⲟⲥ (young man) refers to the son, so re-mentioning it is superfluous. One should not assume based on this variant an Armenian or Harklean influence on this family.

& The expression ⲁⲓⲛⲓⲃⲟⲥ (*Kurath*) in families *j*<sup>C</sup>, *k* and *j*<sup>A</sup> renders the Greek *χώρα*. Family *l* follows the Coptic.

§ Family *o* reads ⲁⲓⲛⲓⲃⲟⲥ. It could possibly be a translation of the Latin term *longus*.



the adverb ἄσώτως, expressions like شاطر شاطر are used. For the Syriac ܬܢܝܪܐ (تنيير، تنيير) – wasting, squandering; from the same root comes ܬܢܝܪܐ (bird) words like كالتيور، بخ، كالتيور are used.

## Luke 15:14

ينقص %	وتبدا*	تلك	البلده	في	شديد	جوع	البلد	حدث	صار	وافناه	له	كان	كل ما	انفق	فلما	a
ينقص ويندم &	فجعل	تلك	الكوره	في	شديدا	جوعا	البلد	حدث	اصاب	له	كان	كان	كل شي	انفق	فلما	c
يعوز	هو ان	ذلك	البلد	في	شديد	جوع	البلد	حدث	حدث	له	كان	كان	ما	انفق	فلما	j <sup>c</sup>
الاعواز والعدم	واشتمله	ذلك	البلد	في	شديه	مجاوعه	البلد	حدث	حدث	معه	كان	كان	ما	استقرغ	فلما	j <sup>B</sup>
العوز والعدم	فاشتمله	ذلك	الصفق	في	شديدا	جوعا	البلد	حدث	حدث	معه	كان	كان	كل شيا	انفق	فلما	n
يتصعاك	وهو بيا	ذلك	الصفق	في	صعبت	جوعا	البلد	حدث	حدث	له	كان	كان	كل شي	انفق	فلما	i
يعوزه	ويدي	تلك	البلده	في	عظيم	جوع	البلد	حدث	صار	له	كان	كان	كل شي	انفق	فلما	e
العوز	ويدي	ذلك	البلاد	في	عظيمه	مجاوعه	البلاد	حدث	حدث	له	كان	كان	كل شي	انفق	فلما	g
يفتقر	ويدي	ذلك	البلاد	في	كبير	جوعا	البلاد	حدث	صار	له	كان	كان	كل شي	انفق	فلما	d
العوز وجعل [يندمر]	واصابه	تلك	الكوره	في	شديه	جوع	الكوره	حدث	في تلك	له	كان	كان	كل شي	انفق	فلما	r
فاقتقر	واصابه	تلك	الكوره	في	شديد	جوع	الكوره	حدث	في تلك	له	كان	كان	كل شي	انفق	فلما	k
يعوز	هو ايضا ان	تلك	الكوره	في	شديد	جوع	الكوره	حدث	في تلك	له	كان	كان	كل شي	انفق	فلما	l
الفقر	وفاق به	تلك	البلده	في	عظيمه	مجاوعه	البلده	حدث	حدث	له	كان	كان	كل شي	انفق	فلما	o
يعوز	هو ان	تلك	الكوره	في	شديد	جوع	الكوره	حدث	حدث	له	كان	كان	كل ما	انفق	فلما	h
يعدم	فبدا	تلك	البلاد	في	شديد	جوع	البلاد	حدث	صار	معه	كان	كان	كل شي	انفق	فلما	j <sup>a</sup>
		تلك	البلاد	في	شديد	جوع	البلاد	حدث	صار	معه	كان	كان	كل شي	انفق	فلما	b
																p <sup>l</sup>
																q

\* The omission of ῥῶτρο in family k agrees with the Greek MS 1675.

% Five different words are used to render the Greek ὑστερον or/and Peshitta (a) نقص (families a, and c); (b) عوز (families j<sup>c</sup>, j<sup>B</sup>, n, i, e, r, l, j<sup>A</sup>); (c) صعلك (family i), the Harklean reads لصعي (inf. of عوز) see *Al-Lubāb* p. 990; (d) فقر (families d, k, o).

& The addition of ويندم (and regret) in family c and possibly [يندمر] (complain) in family r lack textual support.

## Luke 15:15

خنازير	الى حقوله* يرعا	وارسله	القرية	تلك	واضطره الامر الى انه ذهب وجاء الى بعض	فذهب	a
خنازيره	الى قراه ليرعا	فارسله	البلد	تلك	فالحق باحد[بك]	فذهب	c
خنازير	الى حقوله ليرعى	فانقذ	الكوره	تلك	واتصل باحد من	فمضى	j <sup>c</sup>
خنازير	الى حقوله ليرعى	فانقذه	البلده	تلك	ولاصل واحد من	وذهب	j <sup>B</sup>
الخنازير	الى ضيعته ليرعا	فارسله ذاك	المدينه ودخل في خدمته	تلك	وقطان مدن	واضطره الامر الى انه ذهب وجاء الى بعض	n
خنازير	الى قريته ليرعا	فارسله ذلك الرجل الى قريته	البلد	تلك	ابنا مدينه	ومضى	i
خنازير	الى الحقل ليرعا	وانه ارسله	المدينه التي في ذلك البلد	تلك	اهل مدينه	فذهب	e
الخنازير	الى القرية ليرعى	وذاك ارسله	البلاد	تلك	اهل مدينه	وانطلق	g
خنازير	الى القرية ليرعا	ذلك فارسله	البلاد	تلك	اهل مدينه	فانطلق	d
الخنازير	الى قريته ليرعى له	فارسله	البلد	تلك	اهل مدينه	ولحق برجل من	r
خنازير	الى حقله ليرعى	فارسله	كوره	تلك	عظما	وانقطع الى رجل من	k
خنازير	الى الحقل ليرعى	فارسله	الكوره	تلك	اهل مدينه	وانقطع الى رجل من	l
خنازير له	الى حقله ليرعى	فبعث به	البلده	تلك	عظماء	فانقطع الى رجل من	o
خنازير	الى حقوله ليرعى	فبعثه	الكوره	تلك	اهل	فمضى	h
الخنازير	الى ارضه ليرعا	فارسله	البلاد	تلك	اشراف مدن	وانقطع الى احد	j <sup>a</sup>
						ثم انه	b
							p <sup>i</sup>
							q

\*The Greek reads τοὺς ἀγροὺς αὐτοῦ (pl. – fields and possibly country side). The Syriac Peshitta (as well as the Sinaiticus and Curetonian) have ܡܕܢܝܬܐ (singl. field, village). Families a, j<sup>c</sup>, j<sup>B</sup>, j<sup>a</sup> reads حقوله (fields in pl. + pronoun), and follows the Greek; family c has قراه (his countries) and could possibly be a fusion of both Greek and Syriac readings; family n reads ضيعته (τον ἀγρον αὐτου), and agree with the Greek MSS 60, 343,

716, 827, 983, 1012, 1229, 1452, Old Latin (e a aur b c f ff<sup>2</sup> g<sup>1</sup> gat I l q r<sup>1</sup>) and also Lvg Dta Cs Ar Gg Go; families *i* reads قريته (his country) and possibly follows the Harklean and/or the Peshitta. The Harklean reads ܡܠܝܬܐ ܡܠܝܬܐ (his field). The attached pronoun ܐ translates the Harklean ܡܠܝܬܐ, and the term قريته follows the Peshitta ܡܠܝܬܐ ܡܠܝܬܐ; family *e* reads الحقل (field and omits ܡܠܝܬܐ), and families *g*, *d*, *r* read قريته (country in singl. and omits ܡܠܝܬܐ), and follow the Peshitta; Family *l* reads الحقل and follows the Coptic Bohairic.

## Luke 15:16

يعطيه	احد	يكون	ولم	الخبازير	تاكل	الخروب الذي	من	بطنه	*يملا	وكان يشتهي	a
يعطيه	احد	يكن	فلم	الخبازير منه	تاكل	الخروب الذي كانت	من	بطنه	يملا	وكان يشتهي	c
يعطيه	احد	يكن	فلم	تأكله فلم	الخبازير	الخروب التي كانت	من	جوفه	يملا	وكان يمتنى	j <sup>c</sup>
يعطيه	احد منه		فلم	تأكله فلم	الخبازير	الخروب الذي كانت	من	جوفه	يملا	وكان يشتهي	j <sup>B</sup>
يصل الى	كان	كان	وما	تأكله وما	الخبازير	الخروب الذي كانت	من	بطنه	يملا	وكان يشتهي	n
يعطيه	انسان	كان	وما	تأكله	الخبازير	الخروب الذي كان	من	بطنه	ليملي	وكان شديد الشهوه	i
يو اصله	احد	كان	ولم	الخبازير	تأكله	الخروب الذي كانت	من	بطنه	يملي	وكان يشتهي	e
يعطيه	احد	يكن	ولم	تأكله ولم	الخبازير	الخروب التي كانت	من	بطنه	يملا	فكان يشتهي	g
يعطيه	احد	يكن	ولم	الخبازير	تاكل	الخروب التي كانت	من	بطنه	يملا	وقد كان يشتهي	d
يعطيه	احد	يكن	ولم	الخبازير	ترعاه	الخروب التي كانت	من	بطنه	يملا	وكان يشتهي	r
يعطيه	احد	يكن	فلا	تأكله فلا	الخبازير	الخروب التي كانت	من	بطنه	يملا	وكان يشتهي	k
يعطي	احد	يكن	فلم	تأكله فلم	الخبازير	الخروب الذي كانت	من	بطنه	يملا	وكان يشتهي	l
يعطيه	احد	يكن	فلا	تأكله فلا	الجبازير	الخروب التي كانت	من	جوعته	سد	وكان يتطلب	o
يعطيه	احد	يكن	فلم	تأكله فلم	الخبازير	الخروب التي كانت	من	بطنه	يملا	فكان يود	h
كان يعطيه	احد	وليس	وليس	الخبازير	تاكل	الخروب الذي كانت	من		يشبع	وكان يشتهي	j <sup>a</sup>
											b
											p <sup>i</sup>
											q

\* The phrase  $\gamma\epsilon\mu\sigma\alpha\iota\ \tau\eta\eta\ \kappa\omicron\upsilon\lambda\alpha\iota\alpha\ \nu\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$  (γἑμσαι την κούλαιαν αὐτοῦ), which is found in all the families above, with the exception of family *o*, agrees with MSS A Θ Ψ MT lat sy<sup>s.p.h.</sup> bo. Family *o* reads  $\sigma\alpha\tau\upsilon\sigma\alpha\iota$  (to fill (or satisfy) his hunger), which could translate the Greek  $\chi\omicron\rho\tau\alpha\sigma\theta\eta\iota\alpha\iota$  or possibly the Old Latin *saturari* of MSS e d and f. This reading is also supported by P<sup>75</sup> N B D L f<sup>1.13</sup> 579 1241 2542 *pc* (sy<sup>c</sup> and Jerusalem) sa and the Ethiopian MSS.

[illegible]



\* The phrase  $\text{فَلَمَّا رَجَعَ إِلَيْهِ فَلَمَّا}$  translates the Coptic  $\text{ⲉⲧⲁⲛ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ}$  literally. This shows once again that the Coptic Bohairic version is the *Vorlage* of family *l*.

% In family *a* the particle  $\text{كَيْف}$  ( $\text{πῶς}$ ) is used instead of  $\text{كَلَا}$  ( $\text{πῶς}$ ). This variant follows the Greek MSS X Θ 1844, 12211 *al*.

& the adverb  $\text{الآن}$  found in families *c, e, g, d* (but its location varies from one family to another), is supported by the Peshitta.

§ The expression  $\text{فِي بَيْتِ بَيْتِ}$  ( $\text{ἐν τῇ οὐκία - δόμῳ}$ ) is supported by **Lvg** (2 ms.) **Sp Dta Dtp Ar**. Families *c, j<sup>B</sup>, n, i, e, g, d, r* follow this reading.

£ Family *a* (and possibly family *d*) reads  $\text{يفضلون}$  ( $\text{περισσεύουσιν}$ ) instead of  $\text{يفضل}$  ( $\text{περισσεύονται}$ ) and follows **NDL W Θ Ψ f<sup>33</sup> 33 MT**. The verb  $\text{περισσεύονται}$  is supported by **P<sup>75</sup> AB P<sup>f</sup> 579. 1241 pc**.

© The expression  $\text{هَاهُنَا}$  ( $\text{ὧδε}$ ) is omitted in **A W MT sa<sup>ms</sup>**. Families *j<sup>C</sup>* and *j<sup>B</sup>* follow this reading.

Luke 15:18

وَقَدَامَكَ	السما	في	اخطبت	قد	يا ابتاه	له	واقول	ابي	وانصرف الى	اقوم
ونين يديك	السما	في	اخطات	قد	يا ابتاه	له	فاقول	ابي	فانذهب الى	اقوم
ونين يديك	السما	في	اخطات	قد	يا ابني	له	ولاقولن	ابي	وانطلق الى	لاقومن
ونين يديك	السما	في	اخطات	قد	يا ابني	له	فاقول	ابي	ولامضين الى	لاقومن
وقدامك	السما	في	اخطات	قد	يا ابتاه	له	واقول	ابي	وامضين الى	لاقومن
وقدامك	السما	في	اخطات		يا ابتاه	له	واقول	ابي	وامضي الى	اقوم
وقدامك	السما	في	اخطبت	قد	يا ابتاه	له	واقول	ابي	واذهب الى	فاقوم
وامامك	السما	في	اخطات		يا ابتاه	له	ولاقولن	ابي	واذهبن الى	لاقومن
ونين يديك	السما	في	اخطات	قد	يا ابتاه	له	واقول	ابي	وانطلق الى	انهض
ونين يديك	السما	في	اخطات	قد	يا ابه	له	واقول	الاب	فاتني الى	اقوم
وقدامك	السما	في	اخطات		يا ابه	له	واقول	ابي	وامضني الي	اقوم
وقدامك	السما	في	اخطات		يا ابه	له	واقول	ابي	فامضني الى	اقوم
ونين يديك	السما	في	اخطات	لقد	يا ابتاه	له	واقول	ابي	وامضني الى	انهض
وامامك	السما	في	اخطات	قد	ايها الاب	له	ولاقولن	ابي	وانطلقن الى	لاقومن
ونين يديك	السما	في	اخطبت	قد	يا ابتاه	له	فاقول	ابي	وانصرف الى	اقوم

اني  
لكن

\* The addition of بيت in family *d* is supported by one Peshitta manuscript and the Arabic Diatessaron.

## Luke 15:19-20a

ابوه	الى	فقام	اجرارك	من	اصنعني كواحد	اقلني	ابنك	لك	ادعا	ان	باهل	ولست	a
ابيه	الى	فقام	اجرارك		اجعلني كاحد		ابنا	لك	ادعا	ان	اهل	ولست	c
ابيه	الى	فنهض	اجرارك		فاجعلني كاحد		ابنا	لك	ادعي	ان	كفو ايضاً	ولست	j <sup>c</sup>
ابوه	عند	وقام	اجرارك	من	اجعلني كواحد		ابنا	لك	ادعا	ان	اهلا	ولست	j <sup>B</sup>
ابيه	عند	نهض	اجرارك ثم انه		واجعلني كاحد		ابنا	لك	ادعا	ان	اهلا	ولست	n
ابيه	عند	وقام	اجرارك	من	اجعلني مثل واحد		ابنك		ادعا	ان	استحق	ولا	i
ابيه	الى	فقام	اجرارك	من	اجعلني كواحد		ابنك		ادعا	ان	انا مستحق	وليس	e
ابيه	نحو	نهض	اجرارك ثم	من	اجعلني مثل واحد		ابنك		اسمي	ان	اهلا	ولست	g
ابيه	الى	فقام	اجرارك		صبرني مثل بعض		ابنك		ادعا	ان	اهل	ولست	d
اباه	الى	فنهض	اجرارك		فاجعلني كاحد		ابنا	لك	ادعا	ان	باهل	ولست	r
ابيه	الى	فقام	اجرارك		اجعلني كاحد		ابنا	لك	ادعي	ان	مستحقاً	ولست	k
ابيه	الى	قام	اجرارك ثم		فاجعلني مثل احد		ابنك		ادعي	ان	بمستحق	ولست	l
ابيه	الى	فقام	اجرارك		هيني % كاحد		ابنا	لك	ادعي	ان	اهلاً	ولست	o
ابيه	اجرارك	فنهض	اجرارك		اجعلني كاحد		ابنك		ادعي	ان	باهل ايضاً	فلست	h
ابوه	الى	فقام	اجرارك		اجعلني كاحد		ابنا	لك	اسما	ان	باهل	ولست	j <sup>a</sup>
													b
													p <sup>l</sup>
													q

\* The addition of *هيني* (the *an* of Luke 15:19) is also found in the Arabic Diatessaron. See families *e* and *d* above.  
 % Family *o* reads *هيني* (grant me) which seems to lack textual support.

## Luke 15:20b

وقبله	وسقط على عنقه	اليه	واحض	فتحنن عليه	فتحنن عليه	ابصره	ابوه	منه	ايصره	بصيره *	فبين ان	a
وقبله	فاعتقه	فسعا	فاحضر	فرحمه	فرحمه	راه	ابوه	منه	راه	بصيره *	فبين ما	c
وجعل يقبله	فاحتضنه	ويادر	فاحضر	فتحنن	فتحنن	راه	ابوه	منه	راه	بصيره *	فلما	j <sup>c</sup>
وقبله	فانكب عليه	ويادر	فاحضر	فتحنن	فتحنن	راه	ابوه	منه	راه	بصيره *	واذا	j <sup>b</sup>
وقبل راسه وعينيه <sup>s</sup>	فوقع على عنقه	واحد مسرعا اليه	فاحضر	فتحنن	فتحنن	تأمله	ابوه	منه	تأمله	بالبقر	حصل	n
وقبله	فوقع على عنقه	واحد مسرعا اليه	فاحضر	فرحمه	فرحمه	ابصره	ابوه	منه	ابصره	في البعد بعيدا	حصل	i
وقبله	فوقع على وجهه	فعدا	فاحضر	وتحنن	وتحنن	نظره	ابيه	منه	نظره	يعيد	كان	e
وقبله	فوقع على وجهه	فعدا	فاحضر	فرحمه	فرحمه	راه	ابوه	منه	راه	يعيد	هو	g
وقبله	فاعتقه	اليه	فاحضر	ورحمه	ورحمه	نظر اليه	ابوه	منه	نظر اليه	يعيد	هو	d
وقبله	فاعتقه	اليه	فاحضر	فرحمه	فرحمه	نظره	ابوه	منه	نظره	يعيد	هو	r
وقبله	فاعتقه	اليه	فاحضر	فرحمه	فرحمه	نظره	ابوه	منه	نظره	يعيد	هو	k
وقبل فاه <sup>s</sup>	فوقع على عنقه	واحد مسرعا اليه	فاحضر	فتحنن	فتحنن	راه	ابوه	منه	راه	يعيدا	كان	l
مقبلا اياه	واضمه	اليه	فاحضر	فرحمه	فرحمه	نظره	ابوه	منه	نظره	جاء	هو	o
وجعل يقبله	ووقع على عنقه	واحد مسرعا اليه	فاحضر	فتحنن	فتحنن	راه	ابوه	منه	راه	بالبعد	كان	h
فقبله	فتعلق برقبته	واحد مسرعا اليه	فاحضر	فرق	فرق	نظر اليه	ابوه	منه	نظر اليه	يعيد	هو	j <sup>a</sup>
												b
												p <sup>i</sup>
												q

\* j<sup>c</sup> reads (come near), j<sup>b</sup> غير بعيد (not far), n بالقرب (close to). This variant shows the close relationship between these three families. Family i reads بعيدا and translates the Harklean Vorlage literally.

<sup>s</sup> This phrase shows the free nature of this version.

& Families *c, i, g, d, r, o* read رَحِمَ (to have mercy and also to have compassion), instead of حَنُو (to feel for, sympathize, feel compassion). رَحِمَ renders the Syriac ܪܚܡ. It is remarkable that family *o* also reads رَحِمَ, and it possibly translates the Latin *misericordia* which means *pity, compassion* and also *mercy*. (The Greek word σπλάγχνυζομαι might also carry the meaning of *mercy* see Liddell-Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon, ad loc.*)

§ The addition of عَيْنِهِ (his head and eyes) shows that this translation is free and loose. The expression قَبَّلَ فَاهُ (he kissed his mouth) found in family / literally translates the Bohairic version.

John 6:30

	a	c	j <sup>C</sup>	j <sup>B</sup>	n	i	e	g	d	r	k	l	o	h	j <sup>A</sup>	b	p <sup>I</sup>	q
تصنع	فقالوا % له	قالوا له	فقالوا له	فقالوا له	فقالوا له	فقالوا له	فقالوا له	فقالوا له	فقالوا له	فقالوا له	فقالوا له	فقالوا له	فقالوا له	فقالوا له	فقالوا له	فقالوا له	فقالوا له	فقالوا له
تعمل	اي	اي	ما	فايت	ما هي	ماذا الان او	ماذا	ايت	ايت	ايت	اي	ايه	ايه	فايت	اي	اي	اي	اي
تعمل	علامه	ايه	الايه التي	ايه التي	ايه التي	ايه	ايه	ايه	ايه	ايه	ايه	ايه	ايه	ايه	ايه	ايه	ايه	ايه
تعمل	تصنع % انت	تعمل انت	تعملها انت	تصنع انت	تصنع انت	تصنع انت	تصنع انت	تصنع انت	تصنع انت	تعمل	تعملها	تصنع انت	تصنعها انت	انت فاعلها	تصنع انت	تصنع انت	تصنعها انت	تصنعها انت
تعمل	حتى	حتى	حتى		لكي					حتى	حتى	لكي	انكون لها من الشاهدين ونومن بك	انكون لها من الشاهدين ونومن بك	لنرى ونومن بك	لنرا ونومن بك	لنرا ونومن بك	لنرا ونومن بك
تعمل	نرا ونومن %	ننظر ونومن بك	ننصرها وننصفك	لنرى ونومن بك	لنرى ونومن بك	لننظر ونومن بك	لننظر ونومن بك	لنراها ونومن بك	ننصر ونومن بك	نرى ونومن بك	لنراها ونومن بك	نرى ونومن بك	لنراها ونومن بك	لنرى ونومن بك	لنرى ونومن بك	لنرا ونومن بك	لنرا ونومن بك	لنرا ونومن بك
تعمل	ما	بما	ما	ما	ما هو الذي	ما	ما	ما	ما	ما	ما	ما	اي	ما	ما	ما	بما	بما
تعمل										الذي	الذي	الذي	عمل	الذي				
تعمل	انت																	

\* The expression اجابوه lacks textual support.

%The conjunction ف (Εἰποὺ οὖν) is omitted in the Syrs.c.p. and also the Greek MSS 248, 254 and Old Latin q. Families c, n, e, g, d, r, k agree with this reading. Families a, j<sup>C</sup>, j<sup>B</sup> and j<sup>A</sup> add οὖν with the Greek. Family l omits it and

agrees with the Coptic MSS D<sub>1</sub>\* Δ<sub>1</sub> E F J L M P Q S (Horner, 397). Family *i* adds ايضا and lacks textual support. Family *o* adds الجلو.

‡The addition of ها (أهـ) in families j̄, r, l lacks textual support. Family *g* reads ترينا (show us) instead of تصنع (you do/make) with no textual support.

§ The omission of انت (أنت- أنت) in families j̄<sup>c</sup>, i, g, d, r, k, o lacks textual support, and is probably omitted to avoid tautology.

‡ The omission of بك (أنت) in family *a* lacks textual support.





## John 6:32

a	فَقَالَ لَهُمْ يَسُوعُ	امِين	امِين	اقول	لكم	انه ليس	موسى	اعطاكم الخبز	من السماء	ولاكن ابني يعطيكم	خبز	الحق	من السماء
c	قال لهم يسوع	امِين	امِين	اقول	لكم	ليس	موسى	اعطاكم الخبز	من السماء	ابني يعطيكم	خبز	الحق	من السماء
j <sup>c</sup>	فَقَالَ لَهُمْ اَيُّسُوعُ	حقاً	حقاً	اقول	لكم	ليس	موسى	اعطاكم الخبز	من السماء	ابني يعطيكم	خبز	الحقيقي	من السماء
j <sup>B</sup>	قال لهم ايسوع	الحق	الحق	اقول	لكم	ليس	موسى	اعطاكم الخبز	من السماء	ابني يعطيكم	خبز	الحقيقي	من السماء
n	قال لهم ايسوع	امِين	امِين	اقول	لكم	ليس	موسى	اعطاكم الخبز	من السماء	ابني يعطيكم	خبز	الحقيقي	من السماء
i	لأن قال لهم هو المخلص	الحق	الحق	اقول	لكم	ان ليس	موسى	اعطاكم الخبز	من السماء	ابني وهب لكم	خبز	الحق	من السماء
e	فَقَالَ لَهُمْ يَسُوعُ	الحق	الحق	اقول	لكم	ان	موسى	يعطيكم الخبز	من السماء	ابني كان يعطيكم	خبز	الحق	من السماء
g	قال لهم ايسوع	الحق	الحق	اقول	لكم	انه ليس	موسى	اعطاكم المن	من السماء	ابني الذي يعطيكم	خبز	الحق	من السماء
d	قال لهم يسوع	امِين	امِين	اقول	لكم	انه ليس	موسى	اعطاكم خبز	من السماء	ابني يعطيكم	خبز	الحق	من السماء
r	قال لهم يسوع	الحق	والحق	اقول	لكم	ان ليس	موسى	اعطاكم الخبز	من السماء	ابني يعطيكم	خبز	الحق	من السماء
k	قال لهم يسوع	الحق	الحق	اقول	لكم	ان ليس	موسى	اعطاكم الخبز	من السماء	ابني الذي يعطيكم	خبز	الحق	من السماء
l	قال لهم يسوع	الحق	الحق	اقول	لكم	انه ليس	موسى	اعطاكم الخبز	من السماء	ابني الذي يعطيكم	خبز	الحق	من السماء
o	قال لهم المخلص	الحق	حقاً	اقول	لكم	ان ليس	موسى	هو الذي اعطاكم الخبز	من السماء	ابني هو الذي ينحكم خبز	خبز	الحق	من السماء
h													
j <sup>a</sup>	فَقَالَ لَهُمْ اَيُّسُوعُ	امِين	امِين	اقول	لكم	ليس	موسى	اعطاكم الخبز	من السماء	يوتيكم	الخبز الحقيقي	من السماء	
b	فَقَالَ لَهُمْ يَسُوعُ	امِين	امِين	اقول	لكم	ليس	موسى	اعطاهم الخبز	من السماء	ابني اعطاهم	خبز	الحق	من السماء
p <sup>f</sup>	فَقَالَ لَهُمْ يَسُوعُ	امِين	امِين	اقول	لكم	ليس	موسى	اعطاكم الطعام	من السماء	ابني الذي اعطاكم	الطعام الصادق	من السماء	
q													

\* The phrase *in family i* most probably translates the Harklean  $\epsilon\kappa\tau\omicron\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ . It also occurs, as in the Harklean version, after  $\epsilon\kappa\tau\omicron\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  (the Greek reads similarly but omits  $\tau\omicron\kappa$ ). Family *e* reads *twice* and is probably a scribal mistake.

John 6:33

a	لَان	خَبِرَ اللهَ	الذي	يُنْزِلُ	مَنْ	السَّمَاءِ	وَيُعْطِي	حَيَاةَ	لِلْعَالَمِ
c	اَنْ	خَبِرَ اللهَ		الْأَنْزَالَ	مِنْ	السَّمَاءِ	وَيُعْطِي	الْحَيَاةَ	لِلْعَالَمِ
jc	لَانْ	خَبِرَ اللهَ		الْمُنْحَدِرِ	مِنْ	السَّمَاءِ	الْمُعْطَى		الْعَالَمِ
jB	لَانْ	خَبِرَ اللهَ	الذي	تَنْزِلُ	مِنْ	السَّمَاءِ	وَيَمْنَحُ		الْعَالَمِ
n	لَانْ	خَبِرَ اللهَ	الذي	تَنْزِلُ	مِنْ	السَّمَاءِ	وَيَمْنَحُ	الْحَيَاةَ	لِلْعَالَمِ
i	لَانْ*	خَبِرَ اللهَ	الذي	تَنْزِلُ	مِنْ	السَّمَاءِ	وَيُعْطِي	الْحَيَاةَ	لِلْعَالَمِ
e		فَخَبِرَ اللهَ	الذي	تَنْزِلُ	مِنْ	السَّمَاءِ	وَأَعْطَى%	الْحَيَاةَ	لِلْعَالَمِ
g	لَانْ	خَبِرَ اللهَ	الذي	تَنْزِلُ	مِنْ	السَّمَاءِ	وَيَهْبِ	الْحَيَاةَ	لِلْعَالَمِ
d		وَحَبِرَ اللهَ	الذي	تَنْزِلُ	مِنْ	السَّمَاءِ	وَيُعْطَى	الْحَيَاةَ	لِلْعَالَمِ
r	وَأَمَّا	خَبِرَ اللهَ	الذي	مَنْ بِهِ عَلَى خَلْقِهِ		السَّمَاءِ	فَهُوَ	الْحَيَوَةَ	لِأَهْلِ الْعَالَمِ
k	لَانْ	خَبِرَ اللهَ	الذي	تَنْزِلُ	مِنْ	السَّمَاءِ	وَيَهْبِ	الْحَيَاةَ	لِلْعَالَمِ
l	لَانْ	خَبِرَ اللهَ	الذي	يُنْزِلُ	مِنْ	السَّمَاءِ	مُعْطَى	الْحَيَاةَ	لِلْعَالَمِ
o	لَانْ	خَبِرَ اللهَ	الذي	تَنْزِلُ	مِنْ	السَّمَاءِ	وَيَهْبِ	الْحَيَوَةَ	لِلْعَالَمِ
h									
jA	لَانْ	خَبِرَ اللهَ	الذي	يُنْزِلُ	مِنْ	السَّمَاءِ	وَيَمْنَحُ	الْحَيَاةَ	لِلْعَالَمِ
b	اَنْ	خَبِرَ اللهَ	الذي	تَنْزِلُ	مِنْ	السَّمَاءِ	وَيُعْطَى	الْحَيَاةَ	لِلْعَالَمِ
pI	؟	طَعَامَ اللهَ بِحَقِّ	الذي	تَنْزِلُ	مِنْ	السَّمَاءِ	وَيُعْطَى	الْحَيَاةَ [...]	لِلْعَالَمِ
q									

\*The Addition of  $\circ$  in family  $i$  reflects the Harklean version. It reads in  $\alpha m$ .

% Family *e* reads واعطى (and gave) instead of يعطى (present tense), and lacks textual support.

& The addition of  $\mathbb{K}$  (*entire world*) lacks textual support.

John 6:34-35a	لهم يسوع <sup>٥</sup>	فقال	في كل حين <sup>%</sup>	ابدا	الخبز	من هذا <sup>٥</sup>	اعطينا	يا رب*	يا	قالوا له	a
	لهم يسوع	فقال	في كل حين		الخبز	هذا	اعطنا	رب	يا	فقالوا له	c
	لهم ايسوع	فقال	في كل حين		الخبز	هذا	اعطنا	سيدنا	يا	فقالوا له	j <sup>c</sup>
	لهم	قال	في كل حين		الخبز	هذا	اعطنا	سيدنا	يا	فقالوا له	j <sup>B</sup>
	لهم ايسوع	قال	على الدائم و في كل حين	الان	الخبز	هذا	فاعطينا	رب	يا	وقالوا له	n
	لهم هو المخلص	قال			الخبز	هذا	اعطينا	سيدنا	يا	قالوا له	i
	لهم يسوع	قال			الخبز	هذا	اعطينا	في كل حين <sup>%</sup>	يا	فقالوا له	e
	لهم ايسوع	قال			الخبز	هذا	اعطنا	حين	يا	فقالوا له	g
	لهم يسوع	قال	في كل حين		الخبز	هذا	فاعطينا	في كل حين	يا	قالوا له	d
	لهم يسوع	قال			الخبز	هذا	اعطنا	ربنا	يا	قالوا له	r
	لهم يسوع	فقال			الخبز	هذا	اعطنا	سيد	يا	قالوا له	k
	لهم يسوع	قال	كل حين		الخبز	هذا	اعطنا	الرب	ايها	قالوا له	l
	لهم المخلص	فقال			الخبز	هذا	اعطنا	مولانا	يا	قالوا له	o
	لهم ايسوع	فقال			الخبز	هذا	ايتنا	سيدنا	يا	فقالوا له	h
					الخبز	هذا	اعطينا	رب	يا	فقالوا له	j <sup>a</sup>
					الطعام	هذا	اعطنا	ربنا		قالوا له	b
											p <sup>j</sup>
											q

\* The Greek reads κύριε, the Latin *domine*, and the Syriac ܕܡܪܝܬܐ (*our Lord/master*). Families a, c, n, d, k follow the Greek; families j<sup>c</sup>, j<sup>B</sup>, i, e, g, r, o and j<sup>A</sup> seem to follow the Syriac here.

% The transposition of *في كل حين* / وقت في كل حين in three different places (families *i*, *e*, *d* before the verb اعطى, *g*, *k*, *o* (and *j*<sup>A</sup> but without the prep. في) directly after the verb اعطى/اتي and families *a*, *j*<sup>C</sup>, *j*<sup>B</sup>, *n*, *r*, (and *l* but without the prep. في) after the verb اعطى is purely stylistic. Both Greek and Syriac manuscripts insert it before the verb اعطى: (πρότερον δὲς - صلواتك - صلواتك).

& The preposition من in families *a*, *j*<sup>C</sup>, *g*, *r*, *k*, and *o* is also found in the Syriac Sinaiticus, but it is unlikely that the above families were influenced by it.

\$ Families *i* and *o* read المخلص (the savior) instead of يسوع/يسوع.

## John 6:35

يَعْطِشُ	لا	يُومِنُ	وَمَنْ	يَجُوعُ	الَّذِي	يَأْتِي	الْحَيَاةَ	خُبْزَ	أَنَا هُوَ	لَهُمْ يَسُوعُ	فَقَالَ*	a
أَبَدًا	يَعْطِشُ	يُومِنُ	وَمَنْ	يَجُوعُ	الَّذِي	يَأْتِي	الْحَيَاةَ	خُبْزَ	أَنَا هُوَ	لَهُمْ يَسُوعُ	فَقَالَ	c
وَقْتُ مَنْ أَوْ قَاتَهُ	يَعْطِشُ فِي	يُومِنُ	وَمَنْ	يَجُوعُ	الَّذِي	يَأْتِي	الْحَيَاةَ	خُبْزَ	أَنَا هُوَ	لَهُمْ يَسُوعُ	فَقَالَ	j <sup>c</sup>
أَبَدًا	يَعْطِشُ	يُومِنُ	وَمَنْ	يَجُوعُ	الَّذِي	يَأْتِي	الْحَيَاةَ	خُبْزَ	أَنَا هُوَ	لَهُمْ يَسُوعُ	فَقَالَ	j <sup>B</sup>
أَبَدًا	يَعْطِشُ	يُومِنُ	وَمَنْ	يَجُوعُ	الَّذِي	يَأْتِي	الْحَيَاةَ	خُبْزَ	أَنَا هُوَ	لَهُمْ يَسُوعُ	فَقَالَ	n
الْبَيْتَ	يَعْطِشُ	يُومِنُ	وَمَنْ	يَجُوعُ	الَّذِي	يَأْتِي	الْحَيَاةَ	خُبْزَ	أَنَا هُوَ	لَهُمْ يَسُوعُ	فَقَالَ	i
الْأَبَدَ	يَعْطِشُ إِلَى	يُومِنُ	وَمَنْ	يَجُوعُ	الَّذِي	يَأْتِي	الْحَيَاةَ	خُبْزَ	أَنَا هُوَ	لَهُمْ يَسُوعُ	فَقَالَ	e
أَبَدًا	يَعْطِشُ	يُومِنُ	وَمَنْ	يَجُوعُ	الَّذِي	يَأْتِي	الْحَيَاةَ	خُبْزَ	أَنَا هُوَ	لَهُمْ يَسُوعُ	فَقَالَ	g
أَبَدًا	يَعْطِشُ	يُومِنُ	وَمَنْ	يَجُوعُ	الَّذِي	يَأْتِي	الْحَيَاةَ	خُبْزَ	أَنَا هُوَ	لَهُمْ يَسُوعُ	فَقَالَ	d
الدَّهْرَ	يَعْطِشُ	يُومِنُ	وَمَنْ	يَجُوعُ	الَّذِي	يَأْتِي	الْحَيَاةَ	خُبْزَ	أَنَا هُوَ	لَهُمْ يَسُوعُ	فَقَالَ	r
الْأَبَدَ	يَعْطِشُ إِلَى	يُومِنُ	وَمَنْ	يَجُوعُ	الَّذِي	يَأْتِي	الْحَيَاةَ	خُبْزَ	أَنَا هُوَ	لَهُمْ يَسُوعُ	فَقَالَ	k
الْأَبَدَ	يَعْطِشُ إِلَى	يُومِنُ	وَمَنْ	يَجُوعُ	الَّذِي	يَأْتِي	الْحَيَاةَ	خُبْزَ	أَنَا هُوَ	لَهُمْ يَسُوعُ	فَقَالَ	l
الْأَبَدَ	يَعْطِشُ إِلَى	يُومِنُ	وَمَنْ	يَجُوعُ	الَّذِي	يَأْتِي	الْحَيَاةَ	خُبْزَ	أَنَا هُوَ	لَهُمْ يَسُوعُ	فَقَالَ	o
أَبَدًا	يَعْطِشُ	يُومِنُ	وَمَنْ	يَجُوعُ	الَّذِي	يَأْتِي	الْحَيَاةَ	خُبْزَ	أَنَا هُوَ	لَهُمْ يَسُوعُ	فَقَالَ	h
لِلدَّهْرِ	يَعْطِشُ	يُومِنُ	وَمَنْ	يَجُوعُ	الَّذِي	يَأْتِي	الْحَيَاةَ	خُبْزَ	أَنَا هُوَ	لَهُمْ يَسُوعُ	فَقَالَ	j <sup>a</sup>
	يَعْطِشُ	يُومِنُ	وَمَنْ	يَجُوعُ	الَّذِي	يَأْتِي	الْحَيَاةَ	خُبْزَ	أَنَا هُوَ	لَهُمْ يَسُوعُ	فَقَالَ	b
	يَعْطِشُ	يُومِنُ	وَمَنْ	يَجُوعُ	الَّذِي	يَأْتِي	الْحَيَاةَ	طَعَامَ	أَنَا هُوَ	لَهُمْ يَسُوعُ	فَقَالَ	p <sup>l</sup>
	يَعْطِشُ	يُومِنُ	وَمَنْ	يَجُوعُ	الَّذِي	يَأْتِي	الْحَيَاةَ	طَعَامَ	أَنَا هُوَ	لَهُمْ يَسُوعُ	فَقَالَ	q

\* MSS  $\Sigma$  D N  $\Gamma$   $\Theta$   $\Psi$   $\mu^{33}$  1241. 1844. 12211 *al sy<sup>h</sup>* *sa<sup>mss</sup>* read  $\epsilon\dot{\iota}\pi\omicron\nu$   $\omicron\upsilon\dot{\nu}$  and MSS A <sup>f</sup> MT *sy<sup>hmg</sup>* read  $\epsilon\dot{\iota}\pi\omicron\nu$   $\delta\epsilon$ . The Peshitta (as well as the Sinaiticus and the Curetonian) and the Coptic omit this conjunction. Families  $j^B$ , *n*, *e*, *g*, *d*, *r* seem to follow the Peshitta and family *l* the Coptic. The rest follows the Greek.

## John 18:19

تلاميذه	وعن	تلاميذه	عن	يسوع	سال	الكنهه	راس	فسال	وان	a
وتعليمه	ومن اجل	تلاميذه	من اجل	ليسوع		الكنهه	راس	سال	ثم	c
تعليمه	وعن	تلاميذه	عن	ايسوع	فسال	الكنهه	رئيس		وان	j <sup>c</sup>
تعليمه	وعن	تلاميذه	عن	يسوع	سائل	الكنهه	رئيس		واما	j <sup>B</sup>
تعليمه	وعن	تلاميذه	عن	ليسوع		الكنهه	رئيس		وان	n
تعليمه	وعن	تلاميذه	عن	ايسوع	سائل	الكنهه	راس		فاما	i
تعليمه	وعن	تلاميذه	عن	يسوع	فسائل	الكنهه	عظيم		فاما	e
تعليمه	وعن	تلاميذه	عن	ايسوع		الكنهه	راس	وسال	فاما	g
تعليمه	وعن	تلاميذه	عن	يسوع	فسال	الكنهه	عظيم		فاما	d
تعليمه	وعن	تلاميذه	عن	يسوع	فسال	الكنهه	رئيس		فاما	r
تعليمه	وعن	تلاميذه	عن	المخلص	اخذ يسائل	الاحبار	*كابر		فاما	k
تعليمه	وعن	تلاميذه	عن	ايسوع	يسل	الكنهه	رئيس		فاجعل	l
وتعليمه	وتعليمه	تلاميذه	عن	ليسوع		الكنهه	راس	سال	حبيبذ	h
وتعليمه	وتعليمه	تلاميذه	عن	يسوع		الكنهه	راس	فسال	فاجعل	j <sup>a</sup>
وتعليمه	وتعليمه	تلاميذه	عن	يسوع		الكنهه	راس		حبيبذ	b
										p <sup>l</sup>
										q

\* The expression *of family o* kابر الاحبار possibly translates the Latin *pontifex*.

## John 18:20a

والهيكل	وفي	في الجماعه	في كل حين	في	علايه وانا <sup>s</sup>	العالم <sup>g</sup>	كلمت	انا	فاجابه يسوع <sup>a</sup>	a
الهيكل	وفي	في الجماعه	ولم ازل	علم <sup>e</sup>	وانا	الجموع	كلمت	علايه	فاجاب يسوع	c
الهيكل	وفي	في المجمع	علمت	علمت	وانا	العالم	خاطبت	مجاهره	فاجاب يسوع	j <sup>c</sup>
الهيكل	وفي	في المجمع	كنت اعلم	علمت	انا	العالم	كلمت	علايه	فاجابه	j <sup>B</sup>
الهيكل	وفي	في المحافظ	كنت اعلم	علمت	ولكل حين	الناس	كنت اخاطب	قال له ايسوع انا نهرا جهارا	قال له ايسوع انا نهرا جهارا	n
الهيكل	وفي	في المجمع	علمت	علمت	ويكل حين	هذا الشعب	تكلمت مع	عيان بيان	فقال له يسوع فانا	i
الهيكل	وفي	في المفضل	علمت	علمت	في كل حين	الشعب علايه	كلمت	انا انما	فقال له ايسوع انا انما	e
الهيكل	وفي	في الكنيسه	علمت	علمت	وفي كل حين	الامم	تكلمت مع	علايه	فقال له ايسوع انا انما	g
المجامع	وفي	في الهيكل	علمت	علمت	وفي كل وقت	العالم	كلمت	انا	فاجابه يسوع	r
الهيكل	وفي	في المجمع	علمت	علمت	وكننت اعلم	العالم باعلان	خاطبت	انا	فاجابه يسوع	k
المجامع	وفي	في الهيكل	علمت	علمت	وفي كل وقت	ظاهرا	شافهت	انا	فاجابه يسوع	I
الهيكل	وفي	في الحفل كنت اعلم	علمت	علمت	وفي كل وقت	العالم	كلمت	انا	فاجابه المخلص	o
الهيكل	وفي	في الجماعات	علمت	علمت	وفي كل حين	علايه	كلمت	انا	فاجابه ايسوع	L
الهيكل	وفي	في الجماعات	علمت	علمت	وفي كل حين	علايه	كلمت	انا	فاجابه يسوع	j <sup>a</sup>
الهيكل	وفي	في الجماعات	علمت	علمت	وفي كل حين	علايه	كلمت	انا	فاجابه يسوع	b
الهيكل	وفي	في الجماعات	علمت	علمت	وفي كل حين	علايه	كلمت	انا	فاجابه يسوع	p <sup>i</sup>
الهيكل	وفي	في الجماعات	علمت	علمت	وفي كل حين	علايه	كلمت	انا	فاجابه يسوع	q

\* Families *n*, *e*, *g* and *d* follow either the Peshitta or the Sinaiticus by replacing ἀπεκρίθη (he answered) with ἵνα (he said). (the Sinaiticus omits the conjunction α as is the case with family *n*). Families *a*, *j<sup>c</sup>*, *j<sup>B</sup>*, *k* and *j<sup>a</sup>* follow the Greek (or Latin) in inserting ἀπεκρίθη. Tischendorf points out that MS N\* reads καὶ ἀπεκρίθη and manuscript *a* ἀπεκρίθη δέ. Families *j<sup>c</sup>*, *j<sup>B</sup>*, *k* and *j<sup>a</sup>*, possibly coincidentally, agree with this variant. Family *j<sup>c</sup>* omits ἀντὶ and agrees, according

to Tischendorf, with C 74, 44<sup>ev</sup> a b. The reading in family *c* could be the fusion of both Greek and Syriac readings or follows with some variation the Latin edition *fos* (cf. Tischendorf, *ad loc*). Family *l* reads فاجابه يسوع قايلا and follows the Coptic "Jesus answered him saying" (for the variant Coptic readings see Horner, p. 545). Family *o* reads فاجابه المخلص قايلا (and the saviour answered him saying) and might follow the Latin *fos*. (Jülicher does not make this distinction and has for the Old Latin *Respondit ei (illi q, omit [a] b) Iesus*).

% Family *f*<sup>3</sup> omits يسوع and lacks textual support.

& The Greek reads κόσμος, the Sinaiticus and Harklean read حلصم (world), but the Peshitta reads حمة (nation, people). Families *c, n, e, g, d* probably follow the Peshitta here.

§ The addition of انا (ἐγώ) in families *a, f, c, f*<sup>3</sup>, *f*<sup>4</sup> follows the Greek. The Syriac (except the Harklean) omits it, as is the case with the rest of the Arabic families.

£ The omission of δ.δ.ά.α.κ.ω in family *a* has no textual support.

# Families *k* and *o* transpose this phrase and read المجمع وفي البيكل وفي (in the temple and in the synagogues). This reading lacks textual support and could show the possible relationship between these two families.



John 18:20b

لم اتكلم	في خفية	اتكلم	لم شي وفي خفيه	كلهم	اليهود	تجتمع	حيث	a
	في خفية	اتكلم	ولم شي	كلهم	اليهود	تجتمع	حيث	c
	في السر	تكلمت	وما شيء	كلهم دائماً*	اليهود	تجتمع	حيث	j <sup>c</sup>
	في السر بل ظاهراً	تكلمت	وما شيئا	يلتأمون	اليهود	يلتأم	حيث	j <sup>B</sup>
		تكلمت	وما شيئا	يلتأمون	اليهود	يلتأم	حيث	n
		تكلمت	وما شيئا	يلتأمون	اليهود	يلتأم	حيث	i
	خفياً	تكلمت	وما شيئا	يلتأمون	اليهود	يلتأم	حيث	e
	خفياً	تكلمت	وما شيئا	يلتأمون	اليهود	يلتأم	حيث	g
	خفياً	تكلمت	وما شيئا	يلتأمون	اليهود	يلتأم	حيث	d
	خفياً	تكلمت	وما شيئا	يلتأمون	اليهود	يلتأم	حيث	r
	خفياً	تكلمت	وما شيئا	يلتأمون	اليهود	يلتأم	حيث	k
	خفياً	تكلمت	وما شيئا	يلتأمون	اليهود	يلتأم	حيث	l
	خفياً	تكلمت	وما شيئا	يلتأمون	اليهود	يلتأم	حيث	o
	خفياً	تكلمت	وما شيئا	يلتأمون	اليهود	يلتأم	حيث	h
	خفياً	تكلمت	وما شيئا	يلتأمون	اليهود	يلتأم	حيث	j <sup>a</sup>
	خفياً	تكلمت	وما شيئا	يلتأمون	اليهود	يلتأم	حيث	b
	خفياً	تكلمت	وما شيئا	يلتأمون	اليهود	يلتأم	حيث	p <sup>l</sup>
	خفياً	تكلمت	وما شيئا	يلتأمون	اليهود	يلتأم	حيث	q

\* The expression  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omicron\tau\epsilon$  (πάντοτε) in family  $j^B$  is supported by  $C^3 D^s \Psi 0250 MT q^{syh}$ .

## John 18:21

انا*	قلت	يعلّموا ما	وهو لا	كلمتهم	اي شي	الذين سمعوا	سل	تسائي	لم	a
انا	قلت	يعرفوا ما	فهو لا	كلمتهم	اي شي	الذين سمعوا	سال	تسائي	لماذي	c
انا	قلته	يعلمون ما	فهو لا	خطبتهم به	اي شيء	الذين سمعوا	سال	تسائي	لماذي	j <sup>c</sup>
	قلته	يعرفون ما	فهو لا	خطبتهم	ماذا	الذين سمعوا	سائل	تسائي	لم	j <sup>B</sup>
	قلت وخطبت	يعرفوك جميع ما	وهو	اقواله		الذين سمعوا		تسائي	فلم	n
										i
	قلت	يعرفون كل شي	هم	تكلمت معهم فيها	ماذا	الذين سمعوا	سائل	تسائي	ماذا	e
	قلت	يعرفون كلشي	هولا	كلمتهم به فيها	ما	الذين سمعون	سائل	تسائي	ما يالك	g
	قلت	يعرفون كل ما		كلمتهم هاولي	بما	الذين سمعوا	سال	تسائي	لايش	d
										r
انا	قلته	يعرفون ما	هم	كلمتهم به فهو لا	ما	الذين سمعوا	سل	تسائي	ما يالك	k
انا	قلتها	يعلمون اللواتي	هاولاء	قلته لهم فيها	ماذا	الذين سمعوا	سل	تسائي	فلماذا	l
	كنت قابله	يقفون ما	فهم	كلامي		الذين سمعوا	كن مسايل	وما يالك عاكف على تسائي	وما يالك	o
										h
انا	كنت اقولها	يعلمون التي	[ها هو اولا]	خطبتهم	كاذ	الذين سمعوا	سل	تسائي	عما	j <sup>a</sup>
	كلمتهم به	يعرفون الذي	فهم	كلمتهم	كلمتهم الذي	الذين كانوا يسمعون	سل	تسائي	ايشي	b
	قلت	يعلموا كل الذي	فهم	كلمتهم	ماذا	الذين سمعوا	سل	تسائي	فلم	p <sup>l</sup>
										q

\* The nominative pronoun انا (ἐγώ) is omitted in the Syriac Peshitta and Sinaiticus. Families c, n, e, g, d, o read similarly.

## John 18:22

تجيب	وقال له هكنا	هناك	احدى الخدام	كان واقف	لطمه	وقوف	واحد من الخدم	هنا	فلما قال	a
تجيب	وقال هكنا	وقال هكنا	يسوع	يسوع	قد اكتم	الوقوف	اذا	هنا	فلما قال لهم	c
تجارب	وقال هكنا	لطمه	العلمان الواقفين	لطمه	لطمه	الوقوف	اذا	هنا	فلما قال	c
رييس الكهنه	وقال هكنا	قايلا	(ل)يسوع	قايلا	قايلا	حاضر	كان واحداً من الخدام	هنا	فلما قال	j <sup>c</sup>
رييس الكهنه	وقال له بهنا	وقال له بهنا	الخدام	الخدام	لطمه	حاضر	كان واحداً من الخدام	هنا	فلما قال	j <sup>B</sup>
رييس الكهنه	وقال له بهنا	وقال له بهنا	الخدام	الخدام	لطمه	حاضر	كان واحداً من الخدام	هنا	فلما قال	n
لريس الكهنه	لريس الكهنه	لريس الكهنه	ليسوع <sup>s</sup>	ليسوع <sup>s</sup>	لطمه	حاضر	كان واحداً من الخدام	هنا	فلما قال	i
عظيم الكهنه	عظيم الكهنه	عظيم الكهنه	ليسوع <sup>s</sup>	ليسوع <sup>s</sup>	لطمه	حاضر	كان واحداً من الخدام	هنا	فلما قال	e
عظيم الكهنه	عظيم الكهنه	عظيم الكهنه	ليسوع <sup>s</sup>	ليسوع <sup>s</sup>	لطمه	حاضر	كان واحداً من الخدام	هنا	فلما قال	g
عظيم الكهنه	عظيم الكهنه	عظيم الكهنه	ليسوع <sup>s</sup>	ليسوع <sup>s</sup>	لطمه	حاضر	كان واحداً من الخدام	هنا	فلما قال	d
عظيم الكهنه	عظيم الكهنه	عظيم الكهنه	ليسوع <sup>s</sup>	ليسوع <sup>s</sup>	لطمه	حاضر	كان واحداً من الخدام	هنا	فلما قال	i
عظيم الكهنه	عظيم الكهنه	عظيم الكهنه	ليسوع <sup>s</sup>	ليسوع <sup>s</sup>	لطمه	حاضر	كان واحداً من الخدام	هنا	فلما قال	k
عظيم الكهنه	عظيم الكهنه	عظيم الكهنه	ليسوع <sup>s</sup>	ليسوع <sup>s</sup>	لطمه	حاضر	كان واحداً من الخدام	هنا	فلما قال	l
عظيم الكهنه	عظيم الكهنه	عظيم الكهنه	ليسوع <sup>s</sup>	ليسوع <sup>s</sup>	لطمه	حاضر	كان واحداً من الخدام	هنا	فلما قال	o
عظيم الكهنه	عظيم الكهنه	عظيم الكهنه	ليسوع <sup>s</sup>	ليسوع <sup>s</sup>	لطمه	حاضر	كان واحداً من الخدام	هنا	فلما قال	h
عظيم الكهنه	عظيم الكهنه	عظيم الكهنه	ليسوع <sup>s</sup>	ليسوع <sup>s</sup>	لطمه	حاضر	كان واحداً من الخدام	هنا	فلما قال	j <sup>a</sup>
عظيم الكهنه	عظيم الكهنه	عظيم الكهنه	ليسوع <sup>s</sup>	ليسوع <sup>s</sup>	لطمه	حاضر	كان واحداً من الخدام	هنا	فلما قال	b
عظيم الكهنه	عظيم الكهنه	عظيم الكهنه	ليسوع <sup>s</sup>	ليسوع <sup>s</sup>	لطمه	حاضر	كان واحداً من الخدام	هنا	فلما قال	p
عظيم الكهنه	عظيم الكهنه	عظيم الكهنه	ليسوع <sup>s</sup>	ليسوع <sup>s</sup>	لطمه	حاضر	كان واحداً من الخدام	هنا	فلما قال	q

The divergence above, primarily the transposition of phrases, is mainly stylistic (for example the phrase in the Greek, Syriac and Coptic follow the same word order. In this respect, families c, j<sup>B</sup>, e, g, k are the closest to the *Vorlagen*.

\* Family o replaces ταῦτα δὲ αὐτοῦ εἰπόντος with وعدها and lacks textual support.

<sup>%</sup>The addition of ايسوع/يسوع in families /<sup>c</sup> and / is supported by the Bohairic version.

<sup>&</sup>The addition of القول in families  $j^C$  and  $n$  lacks textual support.

<sup>s</sup> The addition of *هـ* *h* on *خ* *x* follows the Peshitta and the Sinaïticus *ܡܬܝܬܝܐ* and Old Latin *mattheus* and q. Family *c* reads *ܡܬܝܬܝܐ* which could render either the Greek or Syriac *Vorlage*.

£ The expression  $\mathfrak{A}$  in families  $a, n, e, g, d, o$  is supported by the Peshitta and the Sinaiticus.

## John 18:23

فلماندا	فلماندا	البيس وان	على	فاشهد	تكلمت	بيسما	تكلمت	ان كنت	قال له	يسوع	وان	a
تضررتي	تضررتي	الردا وان	على	فاشهد	تكلمت	بيس ماقلت	تكلمت	ان كنت	وقال	فاجاب يسوع	فاجاب يسوع	c
تضررتي	تضررتي	وان	برداوته علي	فاشهد	تكلمت	فاشهد	تكلمت	ان كنت		اجابه يسوع	اجابه يسوع	j <sup>c</sup>
تضررتي	تضررتي	بالمكر وان	علي	فاشهد	تكلمت	مكراً	تكلمت	ان كنت		اجابه يسوع	اجابه يسوع	j <sup>B</sup>
ضررتي	ضررتي	بالمكر وان	على	فاشهد	تكلمت	بيسما	تكلمت	ان كنت	وقال	اجابه يسوع	اجابه يسوع	n
												i
تضررتي	تضررتي	البيس وان	على	اشهد	تكلمت	بيس	تكلمت	فان كنت	وقال له	اجاب يسوع	اجاب يسوع	e
لطمتي	لطمتي	السو وان	على	فاشهد	تكلمت	بيس ما تكلمت	تكلمت	ان كنت	وقال له	اجاب ايشوع	اجاب ايشوع	g
						به						d
لايش	لايش	السو وان	على	فاشهد	تكلمت	بسو	تكلمت	ان كنت	وقال له	فاجاب يسوع	فاجاب يسوع	r
												k
تضررتي	تضررتي	بالردي وان		فاشهد	تكلمت	بردي	تكلمت	ان كنت		اجابه يسوع	اجابه يسوع	l
ضررتي	ضررتي	بالردي وان		فاشهد	تكلمت	ردياً	تكلمت	ان كنت	وقال له	فاجاب يسوع	فاجاب يسوع	l
تضررتي	تضررتي	بالردي وان		فاشهد	تكلمت	بردي	تكلمت	ان كنت	وقال له	فاجابه المخلص قايل	فاجابه المخلص قايل	o
												h
												j <sup>a</sup>
تضررتي	تضررتي	السو وان	على	فاشهد	تكلمت	بسوء	تكلمت	ان كنت		اجاب ايسوع	اجاب ايسوع	b
تضررتي	تضررتي	السو وان	على	فاشهد	تكلمت	بيسما	تكلمت	ان كنت	وقال له	اجابه يسوع	اجابه يسوع	b
			منجل									p <sup>i</sup>
ضررتي	ضررتي	الشر وان	على	فاشهد	تكلمت	بيس ما تكلمت	تكلمت	ان كنت	وقال له	اجابه يسوع	اجابه يسوع	q

Families  $j^c$ ,  $j^b$  and  $k$  read  $\text{اجابه يسوع}$  ( $\alpha\pi\epsilon\kappa\rho\acute{\iota}\theta\eta$   $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omega}$   $\text{Ἰησοῦς}$ ) and follow B C\* L  $\Theta$  1241 *pc*. and the majority Latin witnesses; family  $j^a$  reads similarly but omits  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omega}$ ; family  $a$  reads  $\text{له قال له يسوع}$  ( $\acute{o}$   $\delta\epsilon$   $\text{Ἰησοῦς ἐπείπεν αὐτῷ}$ ) and agrees with  $\aleph$  W  $\beta^{13}$  579 *pc* ( $r^1$ ); family  $l$  follows the Coptic which reads “Jesus answered, he said to him” (the Arabic adds the conjunction  $\text{ف}$  at the beginning); the Syriac Peshitta reads  $\text{ܐܠܗܝܫܘܥ ܗܘܐ ܗܝܠܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ}$  (Jesus answered and said to him) and families  $c$ ,  $n$ ,  $e$ ,  $g$ ,  $d$ ,  $o$  agree with this reading (with some minor variations).

## John 18:24

قيافا	الكهنة	راس	قيافا	الى	مربوطا	حناس	فيمث به	a
	الكهنة	راس	قيافا	الى	مربوطا	حنا	فارسله	c
	الكهنة	رئيس	قيافا	الى	مربوطا	حنان	فانقذه	j <sup>c</sup>
	الكهنة	ريس	قيافا	الى	مربوطا	حنا	فارسله	j <sup>B</sup>
	الكهنة	ريس	قيافا	% عند صهره	مكيوفا	حنان	ارسله	n
مقموط	الكهنة	ريس	قيافا	الى	وهو مربوط	ليسوع*	ارسل	i
	الكهنة	عظيم	قيافا	الى	موقفا	بايشوع	فوجه	e
			قيافا	الى		يسوع	وارسل	g
	الكهنة	عظيم	قيافا	الى		يسوع	ارسل	d
	الكهنة	رييس	قيافا	الى	موقفاً	حنان	ارسله	r
	الاحبار	كاب	قيافا	الى	معتقلا	المخلص	وارسل	k
			قيافا	الى		حنان	ارسله	I
			قيافا	الى		حنان	وارسل	o
	الكهنة	رييس	قيافا	الى	موقفا	حناس	فارسله	h
	الكهنة	راس	قيافا	الى		حنا	فارسله	j <sup>a</sup>
	الكهنة	راس	قيافا	الى	ماسورا	يسوع	فارسل	b
			قيافا	الى			حنا	p/
							قما	q

\* The Peshitta adds <sup>ل</sup>and families *e, g, d, k* and *o* agree with this reading.

The addition of <sup>ل</sup> (to his son-in-law) in family *n* shows the free nature of this version. Cf. John 18:13.

John 18:25

ليست انا	نلك وقال	فكفر	تلاميذه انت	من	وانت	لعاك	فقالوا له	يتسخن	قالبم %	سمعان* بطرس	وكان	a
ليس انا	وقال	فجحد	تلاميذه	من	وانت	لعل	فقالوا له	يصطلي	واقفا	سمعان الصفا	وكان	c
لست انا	وقال	هانكر	تلاميذه	من	انت	هل	فقالوا له	يتسخن	واقف	سمعان بطرس	وكان	j <sup>c</sup>
لست انا	وقال	فجحد	تلاميذه	من	انت	لعاك	فقالوا له	يتسخن	واقفاً	سمعان بطرس	وكان	j <sup>B</sup>
ما انا منهم	وقال	فجحد	تلاميذ ايسوع	من	وانت	وانت	قال له الواقفين معه لا تكون	قال له الواقفين معه لا تتسخن	قابليما عند النار يتسخن	بطرس	وفيما كان	n
ليس انا	وقال	كفر	تلاميذه ثم انه	من	ايضا انت	لعل	فقالوا له	يدفا	فكان واقف	سمعان الصفا	وكان	i
لست به	هو وقال	فكفر	تلاميذه	واحد من	انت ايضا	لعاك	فقالوا له	يصطلي	كان قابليما	وشمعون الصفا	وكان	e
لم اكن	وقال	فكفر	تلاميذه	احد	انت	لعاك	فقالوا له	يتسخن	كان قابليما	وسمعان الحجر	وكان	g
لست انا	وقال	هانكر	تلاميذه	من	انت	لعاك	فقالوا له	يصطلي	واقفا	سمعان الصفا	وكان	r
لا	وقال	فجحد	تلاميذه اما هو	من	انت ايضا	العلاك	فقالوا له	يصطلي	قابليما	سمعان بطرس	وكان	k
وجعل يقول لست انا	وقال وجعل يقول لست انا	فانكر	تلاميذه	من	ايضا من	عساك	فقالوا له	يصطلي	كان قابليماً	والصفا	وكان	l
لست انا	وقال	فانكر	تلاميذه انت	من		لعاك	فقالوا له	يصطلي	قابليما	سمعان الصفا	وكان	h
لست	وقال	فكفر	تلاميذه	من	وانت	لعاك	فقالوا له	يصطلي	قابليما	بطرس	وكان	j <sup>a</sup>
												b
												p <sup>l</sup>
												q

\* The expression Σίμων in families n and o is omitted and agrees, according to Tischendorf, with X b<sup>scr</sup>.

% The Greek reads Πέτρος, the Coptic Πέτρος, the Peshitta ܡܬܪܝܐ (the Sinaiticus omits and the Harklean reads with the Greek [ܡܬܪܝܐ]), and Latin *Petrus*. Families a, j<sup>c</sup>, j<sup>B</sup> and n follow the Greek (or Latin); family l the Coptic; families c, e, g, d, k, o, j<sup>a</sup> follow the Peshitta (and less likely the Greek).

\* Family l omits the εἰμί as is the case with the Bohairic version (and the Syriac Sinaiticus).



## John 18:26a

بطرس، انذه	قطع	الذي	كان	نسب	كان	نسب	الكهنة	راس	عبيد	من	واحد	فقال*	a
انذه	قطع	الذي	كان	قريب	كان	قريب	الكهنة	راس	عبيد	من	واحد	فقال	c
انذه	قطع	الذي	كان	نسب	ذاك العبد	نسب	الكهنة	رئيس	عبيد	من	واحد	ثم قال	j <sup>c</sup>
انذه	قطع	الذي	كان	قريبه	لذاك	قريبه	الكهنة	رئيس	عبيد	من	واحد	فقال	j <sup>b</sup>
انذه	قطع	الذي	كان	نسبها	لذاك	نسبها	الكهنة	رئيس	عبيد	من	واحد	فقال له%	n
انذه	قطع	الذي	كان	نسب	ذاك	نسب	الكهنة	رئيس	عبيد	من	واحد	فقال له	i
انذه	قطع	الذي	كان	نسب	ذاك	نسب	الكهنة	عظيم	عبيد	من	واحد	فقال له	e
انذه	قطع	الذي	كان	نسب	ذاك	نسب	الكهنة	راس	عبيد	من	واحد	فقال له	g
انذه	قطع	الذي	كان	نسب	ذاك	نسب	الكهنة	راس	عبيد	من	واحد	فقال له	d
انذه	قطع	الذي	كان	قريب	ذاك	قريب	الكهنة	عظيم	عبيد	من	واحد	فقال له	r
انذه	قطع	الذي	كان	قريب	ذاك	قريب	الكهنة	عظيم	عبيد	من	واحد	فقال له	k
انذه	قطع	الذي	كان	قريب	ذاك	قريب	الكهنة	رئيس	عبيد	من	واحد	فقال له	l
انذه	قطع	الذي	كان	نسب	ذاك	نسب	الاجبار	عظيم	عبيد	من	واحد	فقال له	o
انذه	قطع	الذي	كان	نسبها	ذاك	نسبها	الكهنة	راس	عبيد	من	واحد	فقال له	h
انذه	قطع	الذي	كان	نسبها	ذاك	نسبها	الكهنة	راس	عبيد	من	واحد	فقال له	j <sup>a</sup>
فقال لبطرس	قطع	الذي	كان	يناسب	ذاك	يناسب	الكهنة	راس	عبيد	من	واحد	فقال له	b
													p <sup>l</sup>
													q

\* Families a, c, j<sup>c</sup>, j<sup>b</sup>, n, i, d (maybe), l add οὐν and agree, according to Tischendorf, with 1. q<sup>scv</sup> 2<sup>pe</sup> 8<sup>pe</sup> 60. 74. 89. arm. This agreement could be merely coincidental.

% The addition of ⲙⲁ / ⲁ in families *n*, *e*, *g*, *d*, *k*, *o* agree with the Peshitta. The Coptic manuscripts are divided here; according to Horner, MSS B D<sub>1,2</sub> E F<sub>1,7</sub> K M<sup>r</sup> N O<sub>1</sub> P Q S T V add ⲙⲁⲓⲕ (ⲁⲓ), and family *l* agrees with this reading.

& The Greek, Latin, Coptic and the Harklean read Πέτρος, the Peshitta ܡܥܬܪܐ (Simon) and the Sinaiticus has both readings: ܡܥܬܪܐ ܡܥܬܪܐ. Families *a*, *c*, *j*<sup>C</sup>, *j*<sup>B</sup>, *n*, *l*, *o* and *j*<sup>A</sup> follow the first reading (Πέτρος) and families *e*, *g*, *d*, and *k* follow the Peshitta. It is significant that traces of the Peshitta is clearly seen in family *k* as the text progresses towards the end. Elsewhere, I have argued that family *k* was originally translated from the Peshitta and then corrected against the Greek *Vorlage*.

John 18:26b-27									
الديك	صاح	سوا <sup>a</sup>	و	بطرس <sup>a</sup> ايضا	ايضا	فكفر	معهم*	البيستان	في
الديك	صاح	حنيذ	و	الصفاء	ايضا	فجحد	معهم	البيستان	في
الديك	صاح	الحين	وفي	بطرس	ايضا	فلنكر	معهم	البيستان	في
الديك	صاح	الحين	وفي	بطرس	ايضا	فلنكر	معهم	البيستان	في
الديك	صاح	الحين	وفي	بطرس	ايضا	فلنكر	معهم	البيستان	في
الديك	صاح	تلك الساعة	وفي	سمعان	ايضا	كفر	فاليضا	البيستان	في
الديك	صاح	تلك الساعة	وفي	شمعون	ايضا	كفر	معهم	البيستان	في
الديك	صاح	تلك الساعة	وفي	سمعان	ايضا	كفر	و ايضا	البيستان	في
الديك	صاح	ذلك الوقت	وفي	سمعون	ايضاً	فلنكر	معهم	البيستان	في
الديك	صاح	فلوقت	وفي	بطرس	ايضا	فلنكر	معهم	البيستان	في
الديك	صاح	ذلك الوقت	وفي	الصفاء	ايضا	فجحد	معهم	البيستان	في
الديك	صاح	على المكان	و	بطرس	ايضا	فجحد	معهم	البيستان	في
الديك	صاح	ومكانه	و	بطرس	ايضا	فكفر	معهم	البيستان	في

\* Families a, c, j<sup>c</sup>, j<sup>b</sup> and n place the expression معه (μετ' αὐτοῦ) after the Greek (and also Latin, and Harklean versions). Families e, g, d, k, l and o place it before  $\text{ⲙⲉⲧⲁⲩ}$  and agree with the Peshitta and the Coptic versions.

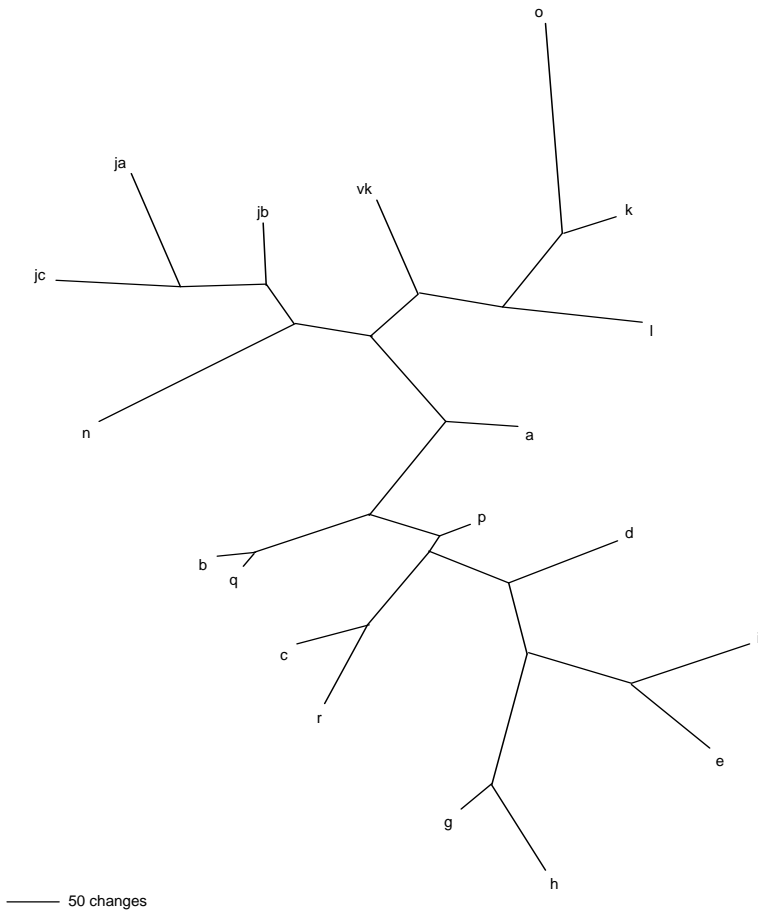
% This is another significant variant and similar to the one in John 18:26a. The Greek, Latin (but some omit), Coptic and the Harklean read Πέτρος, the Peshitta (as well as the Sinaiticus) has ܡܬܪܝܢܐ (Simon). Families *a*, *c*, *f*<sup>C</sup>, *j*<sup>B</sup>, *n*, *l*, *o* and *j*<sup>A</sup> follow the first reading (Πέτρος), and families *e*, *g*, *d*, and *k* follow the Peshitta.

§ The Greek reads εὐθέως (immediately, at once), and the Syriac ܡܕܝܢܐ (lit. in this hour). Families *e*, *g*, *d* (and possibly *k* and *o*) follow the Syriac. The rest can follow either *Vorlagen*.

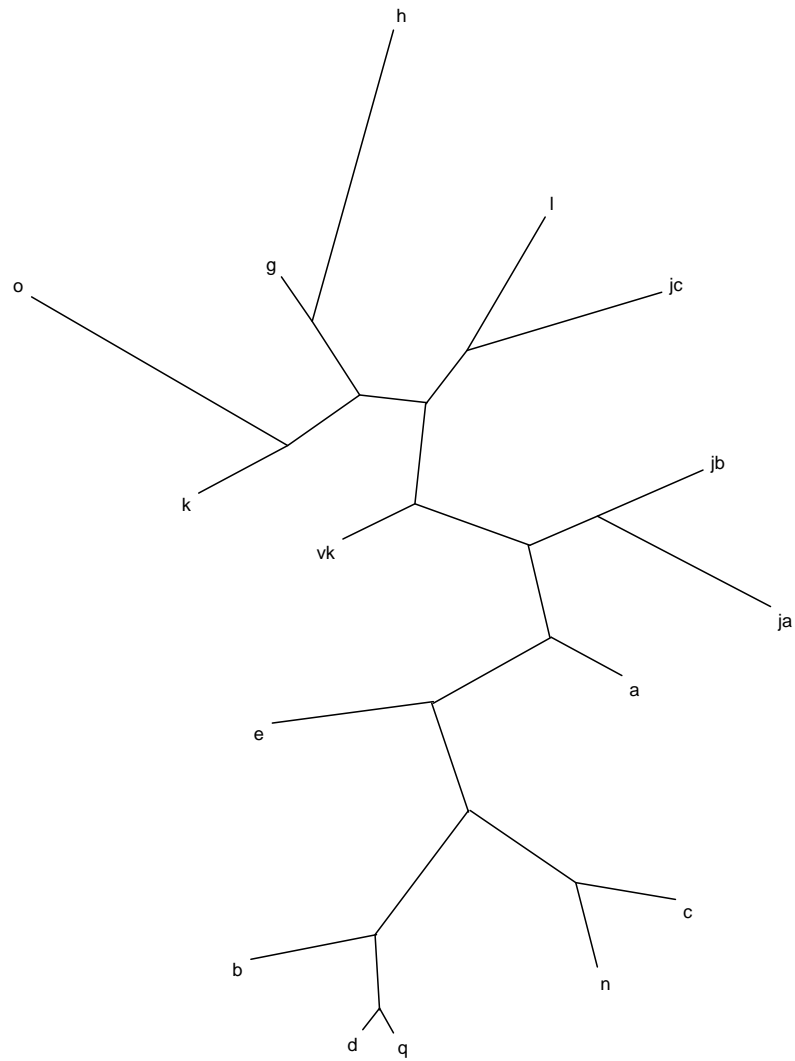
## 15. Appendix Four: The Stemmas

### THE OUTCOME OF THE ANALYSIS

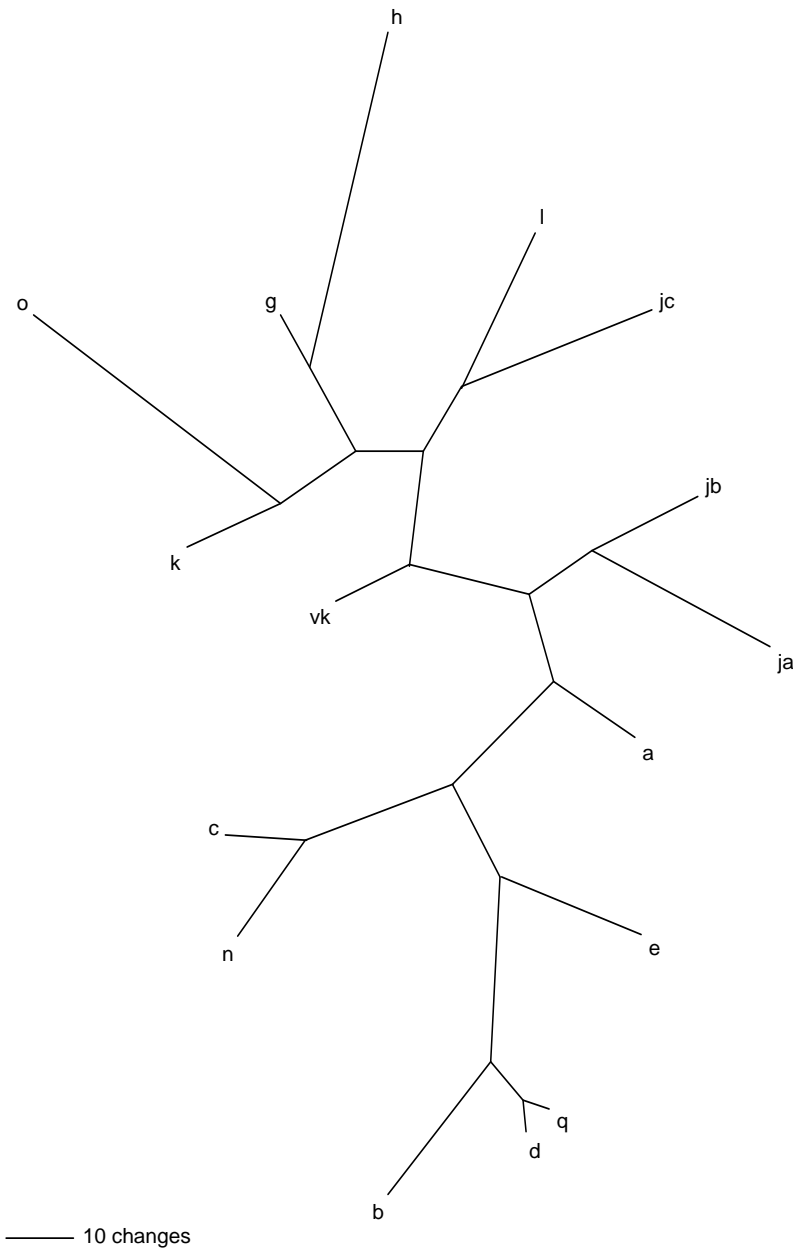
TREE 1: Matthew – Mark – Luke & John - All test passages (one tree found)



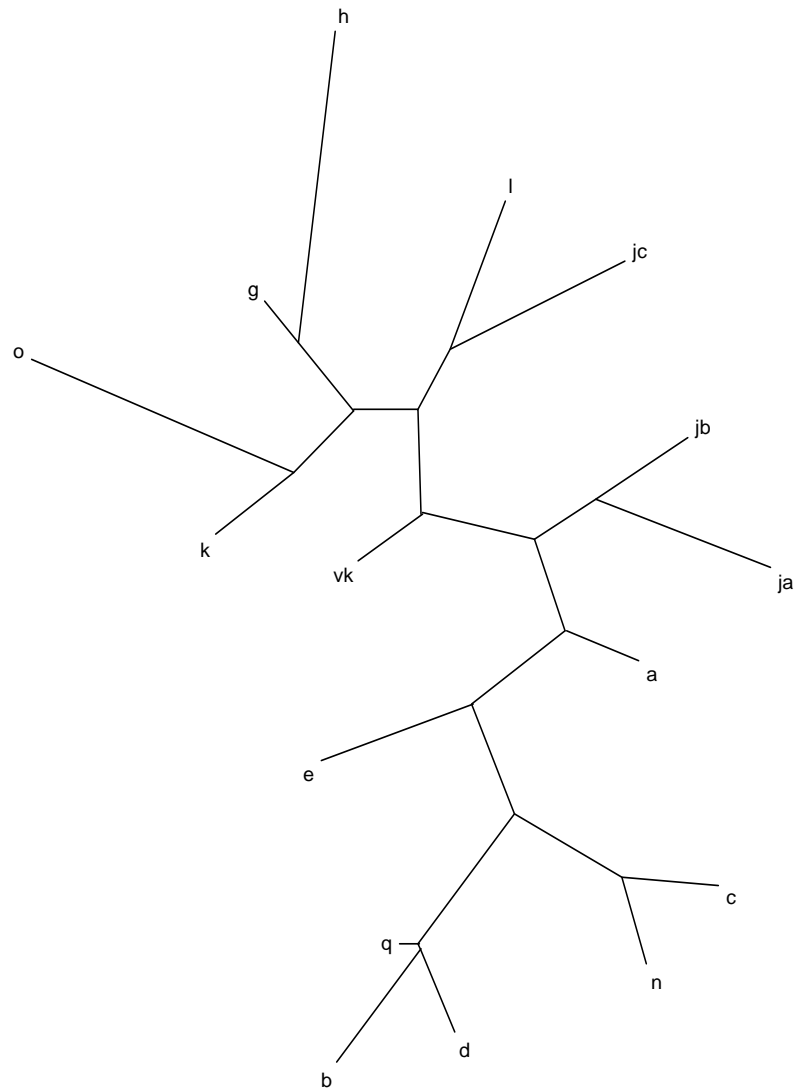
TREE 2: Matthew – both test passages (1<sup>st</sup> tree)



TREE 3: Matthew – both test passages (2<sup>nd</sup> tree)

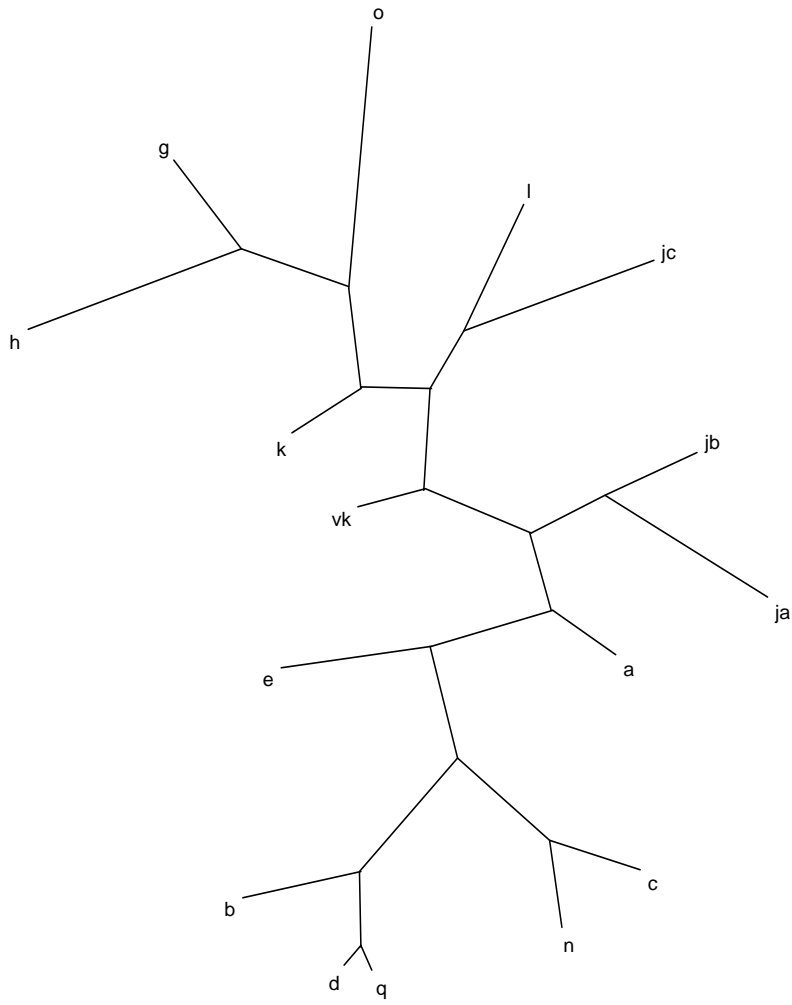


TREE 4: Matthew – both test passages (3<sup>rd</sup> tree)

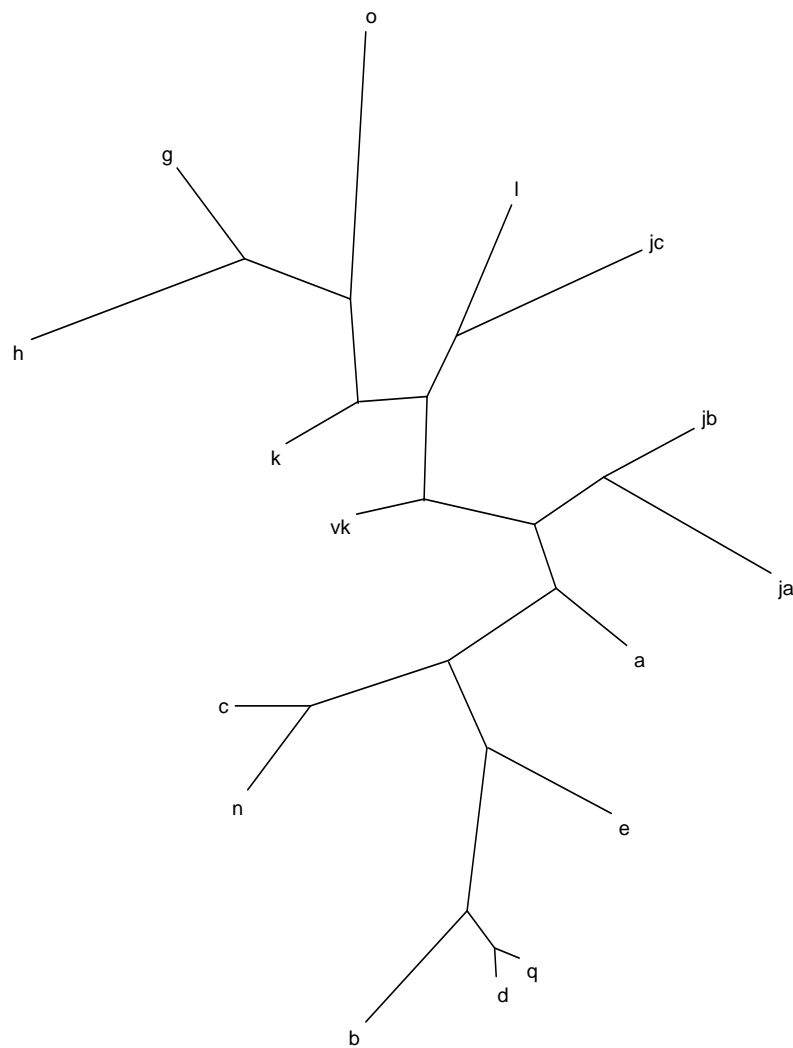




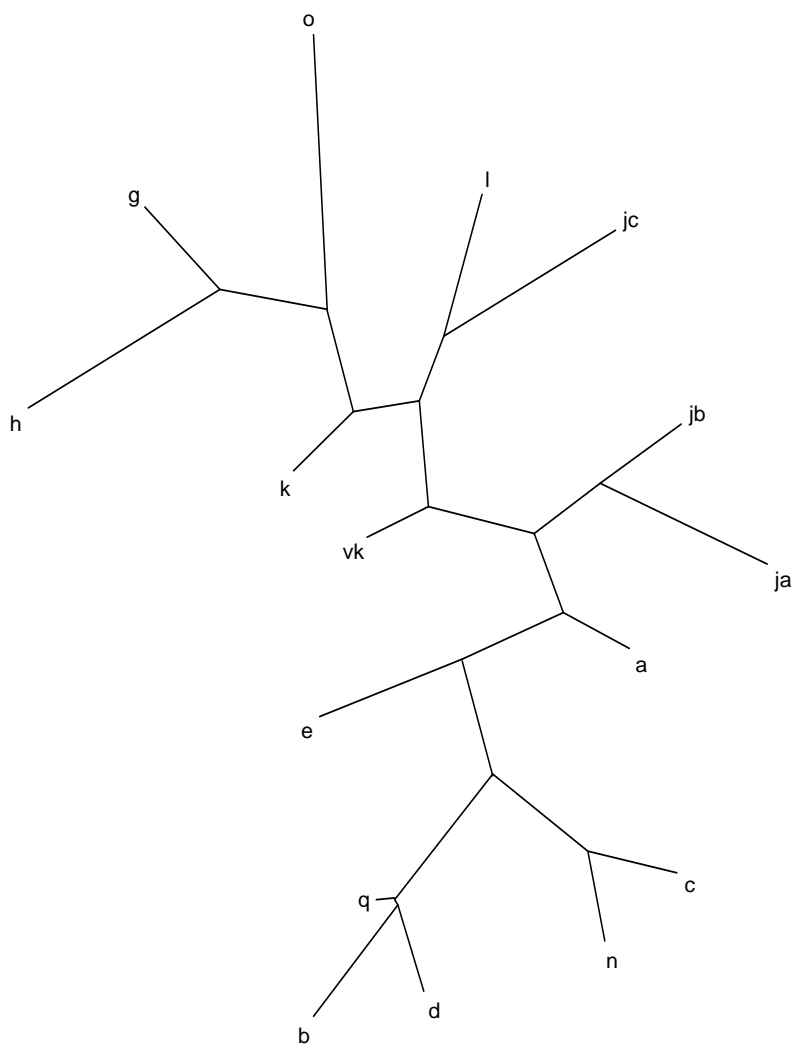
TREE 5: Matthew – both test passages (4<sup>th</sup> tree)



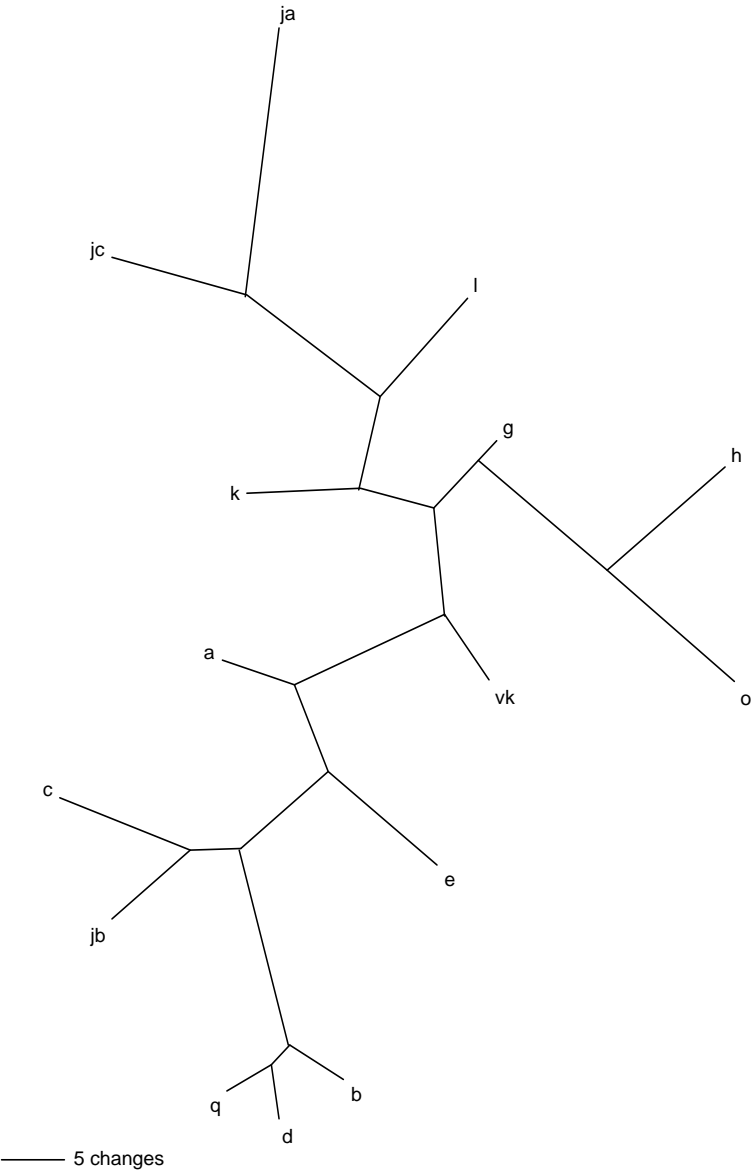
TREE 6: Matthew – both test passages (5<sup>th</sup> tree)



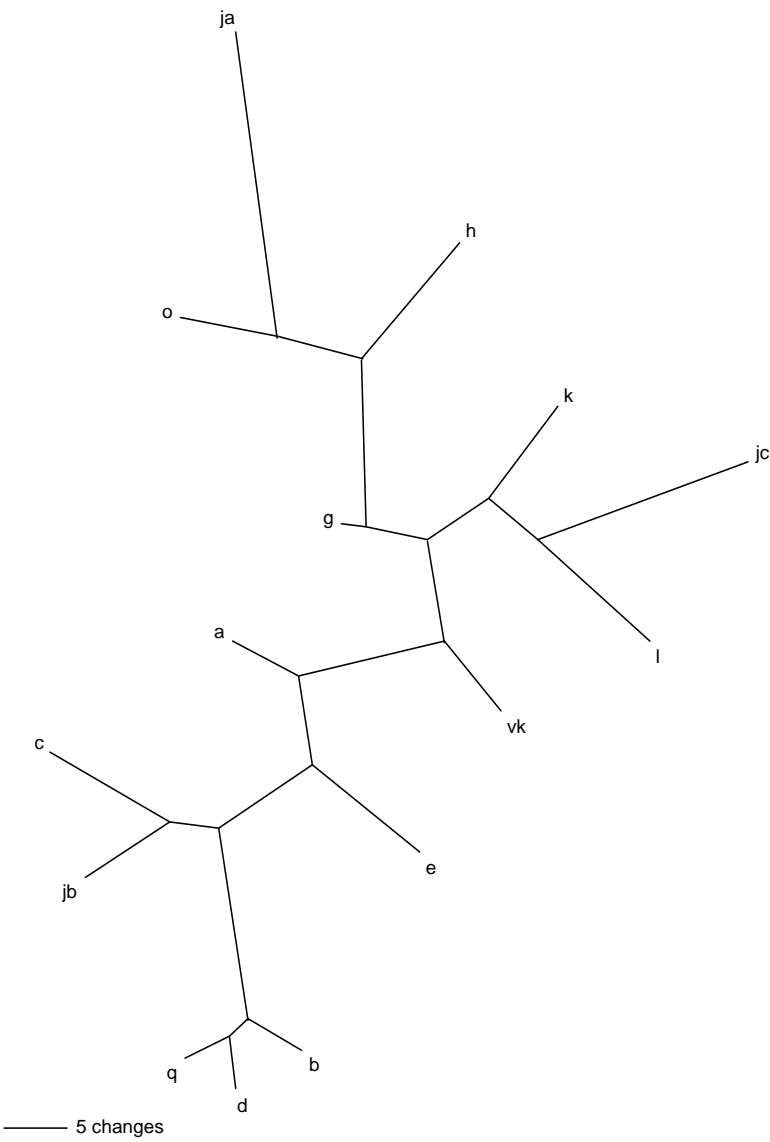
TREE 7: Matthew – both test passages (6<sup>th</sup> tree)



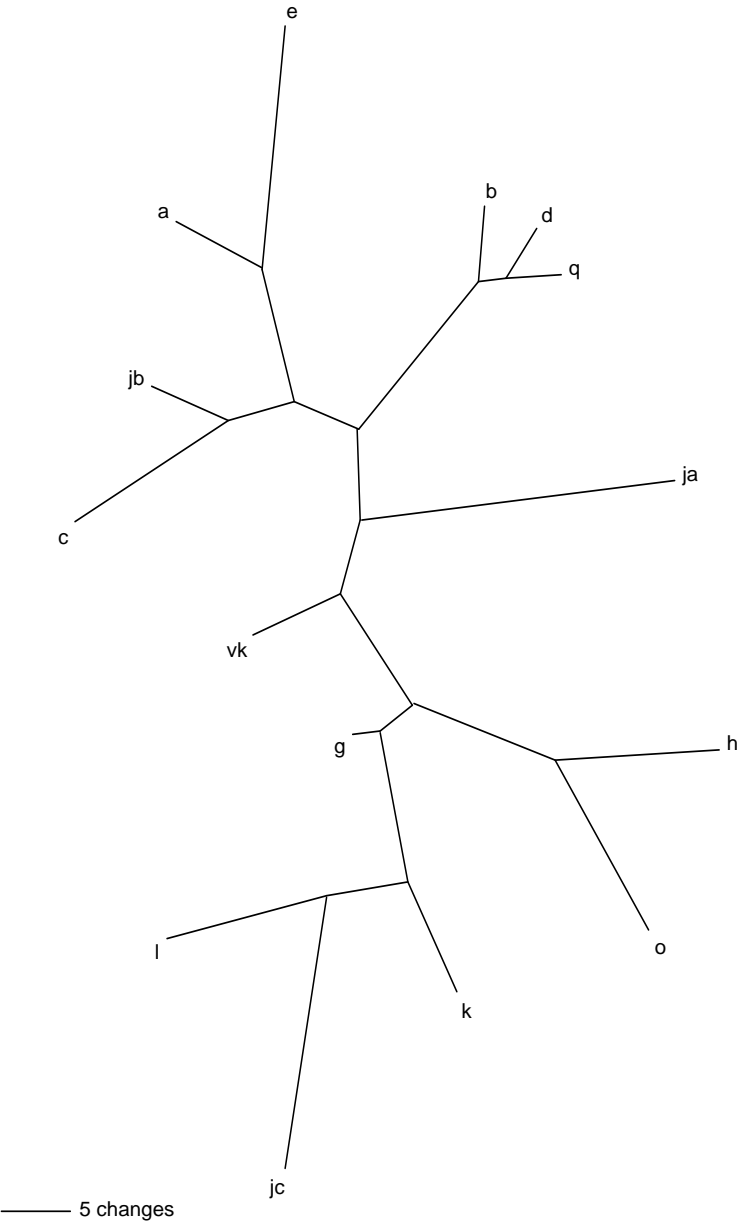
TREE 8: Matthew – test passage 1 (1<sup>st</sup> tree)



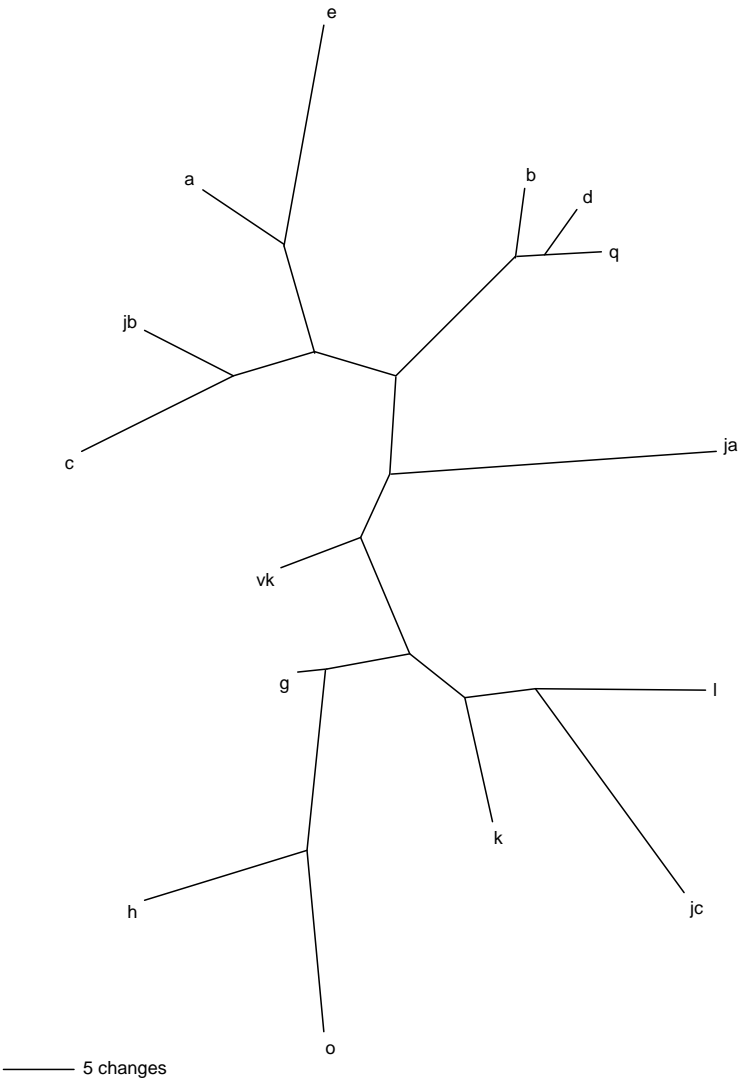
TREE 9: Matthew – test passage 1 (2<sup>nd</sup> tree)



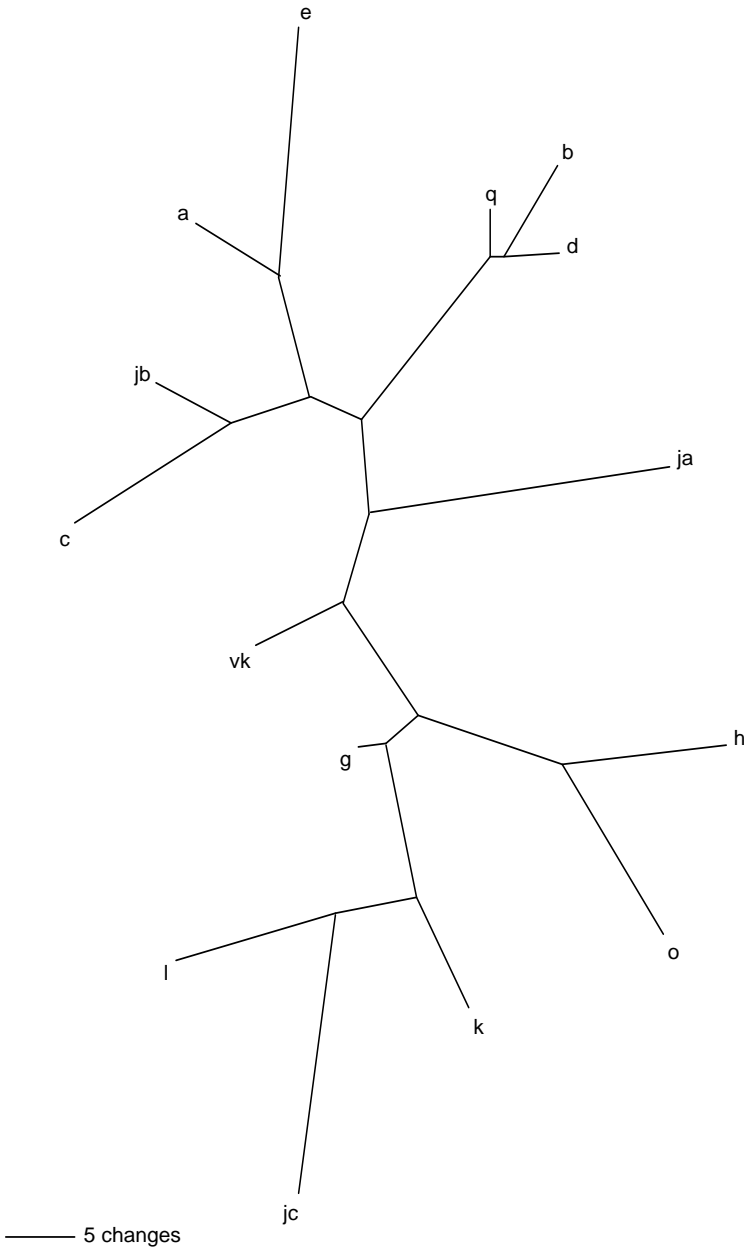
TREE 10: Matthew – test passage 1 (3<sup>nd</sup> tree)



TREE 11: Matthew – test passage 1 (4<sup>th</sup> tree)

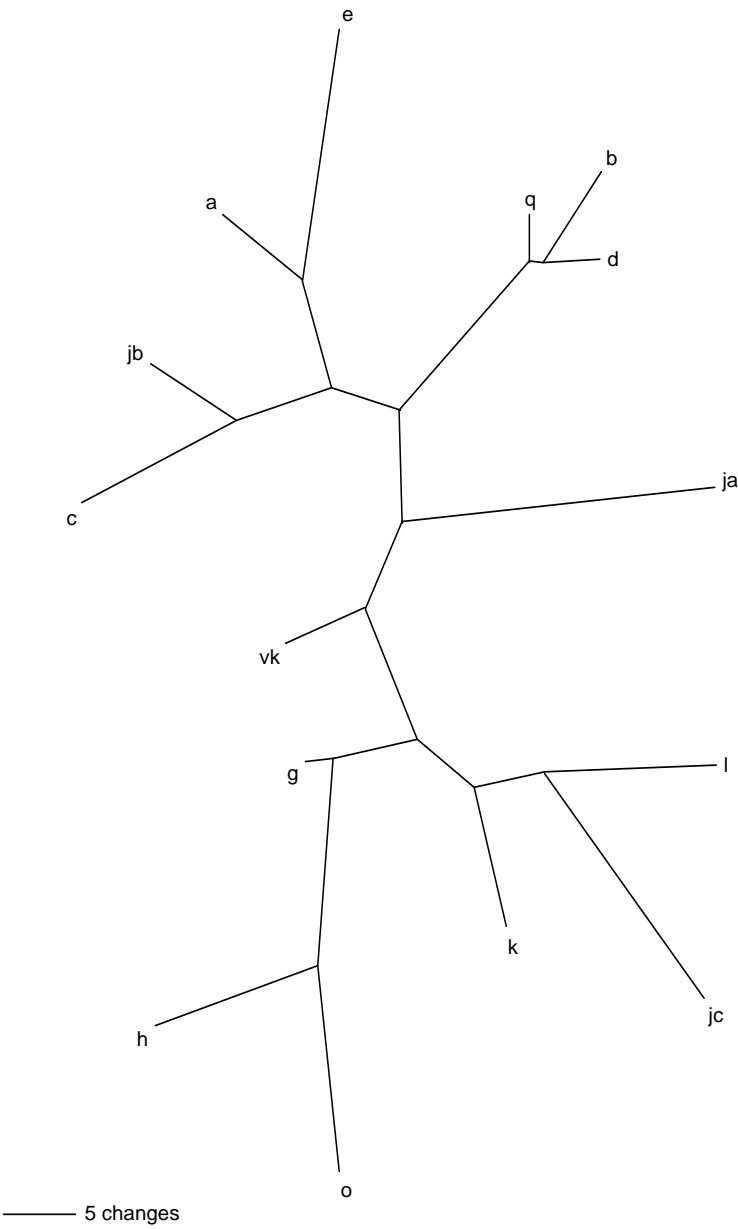


TREE 12: Matthew – test passage 1 (5<sup>th</sup> tree)

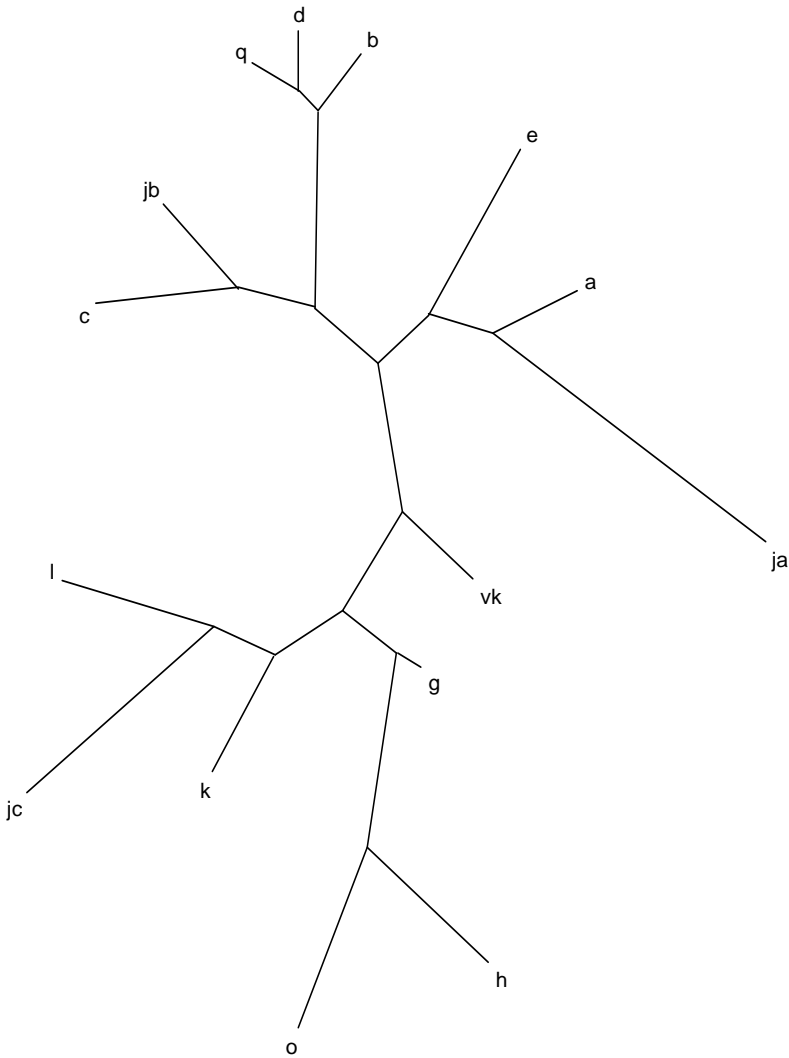




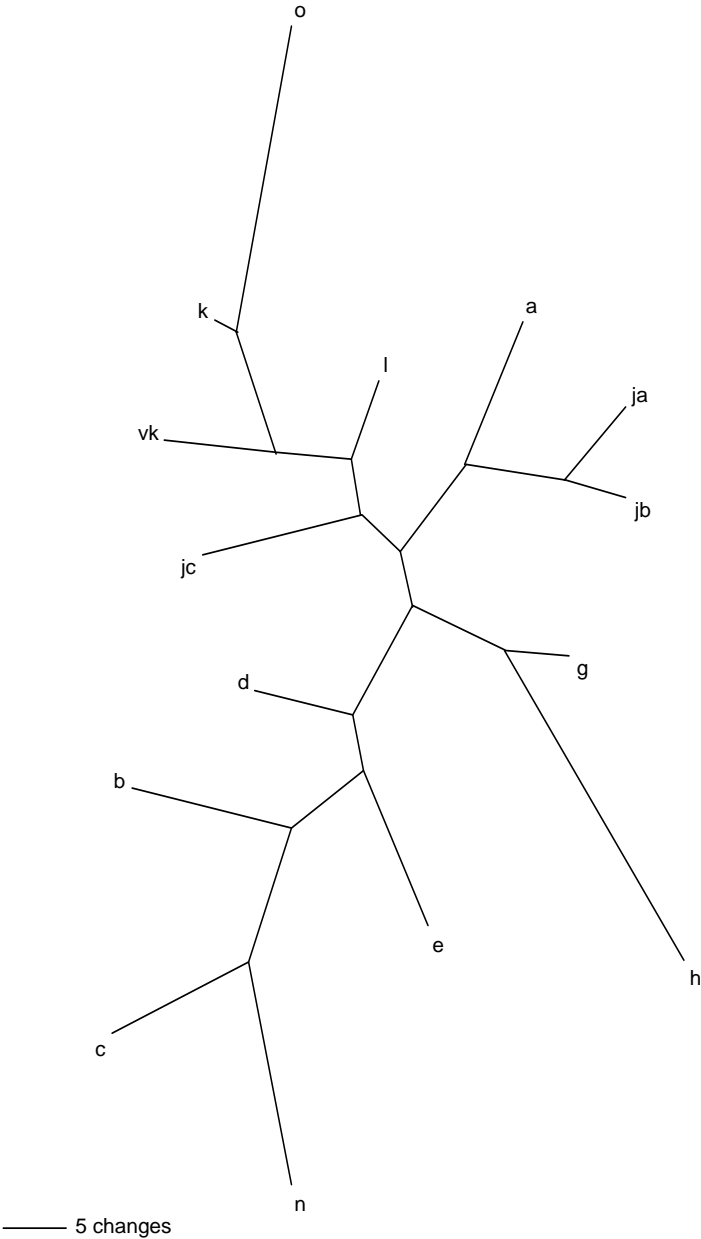
TREE 13: Matthew – test passage 1 (6<sup>th</sup> tree)



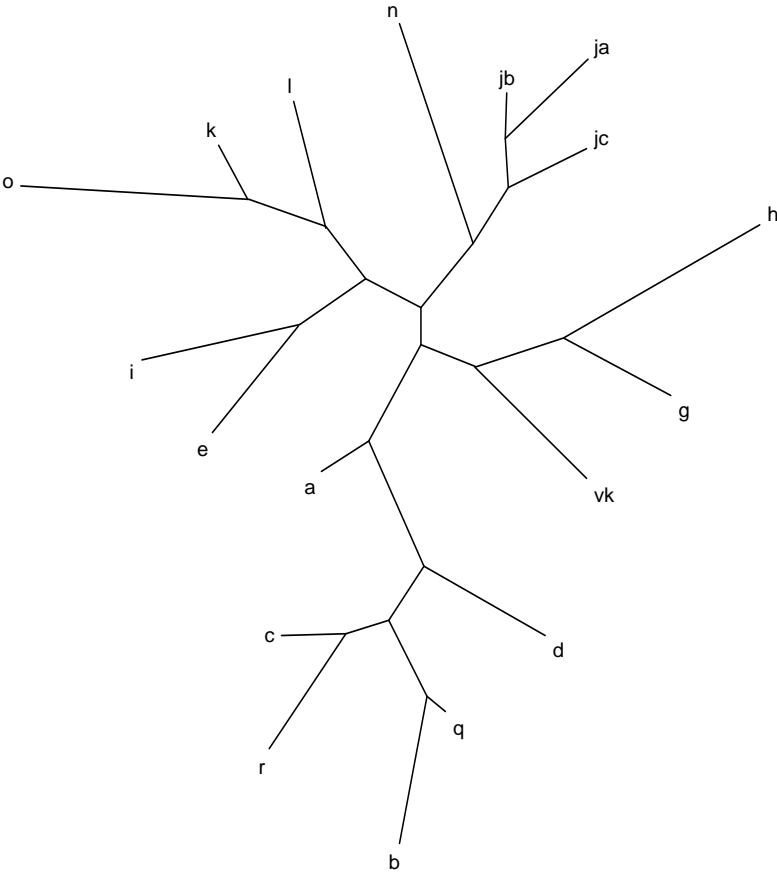
TREE 14: Matthew – test passage 1 (7<sup>th</sup> tree)



TREE 15: Matthew – test passage 2 (one tree found)

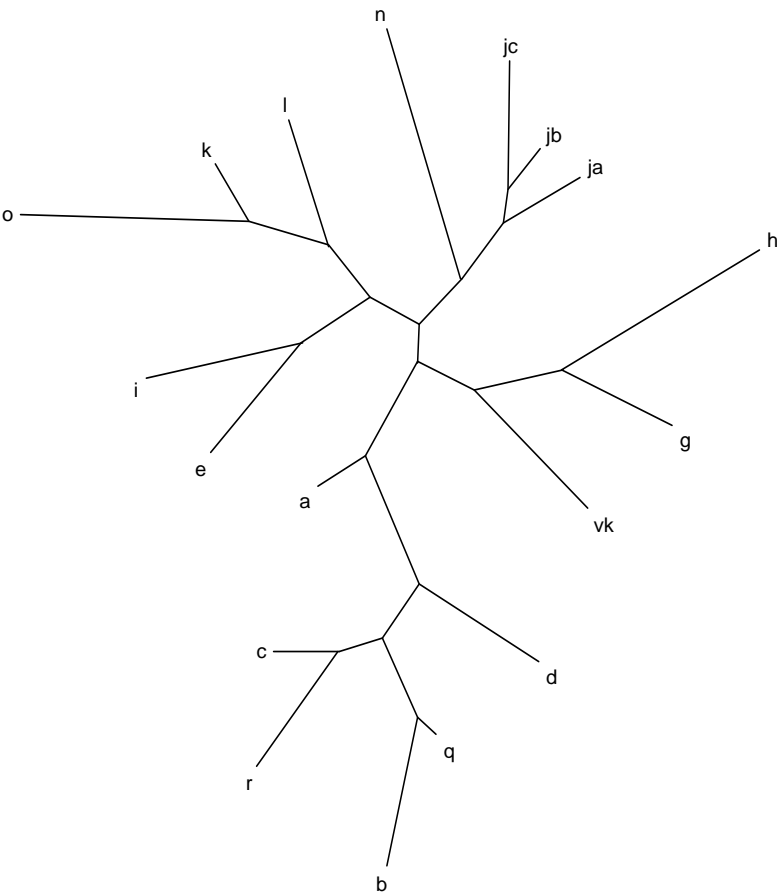


TREE 16: Mark – both test passages (1<sup>st</sup> tree)

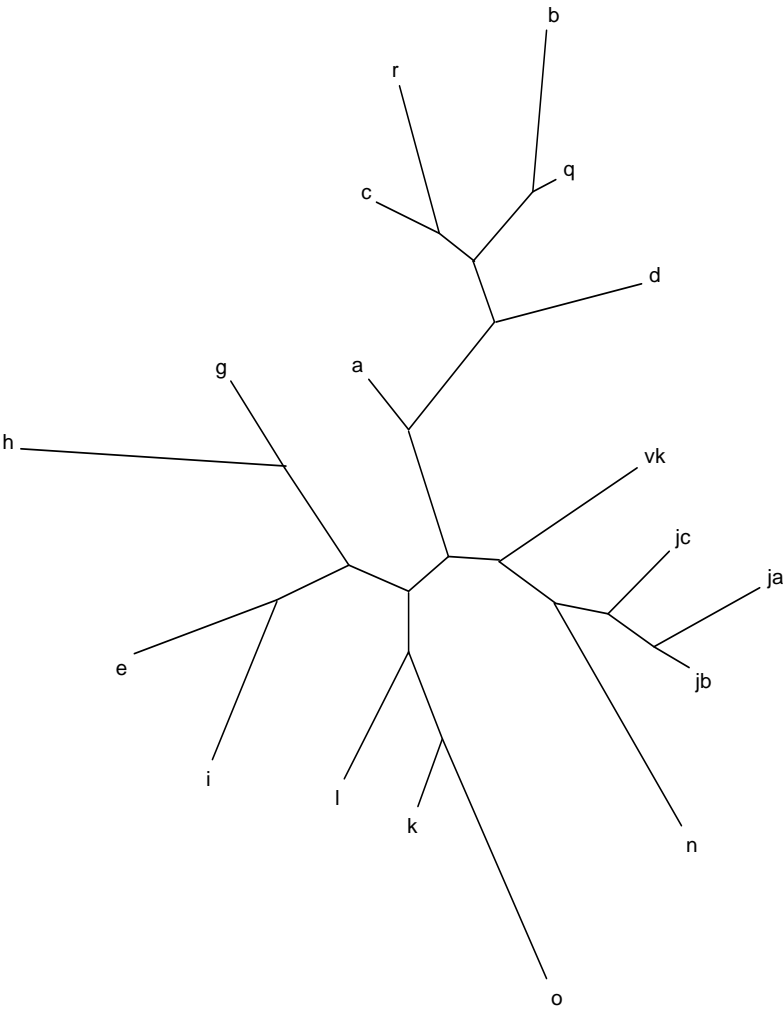


— 10 changes

TREE 17: Mark – both test passages (2<sup>nd</sup> tree)

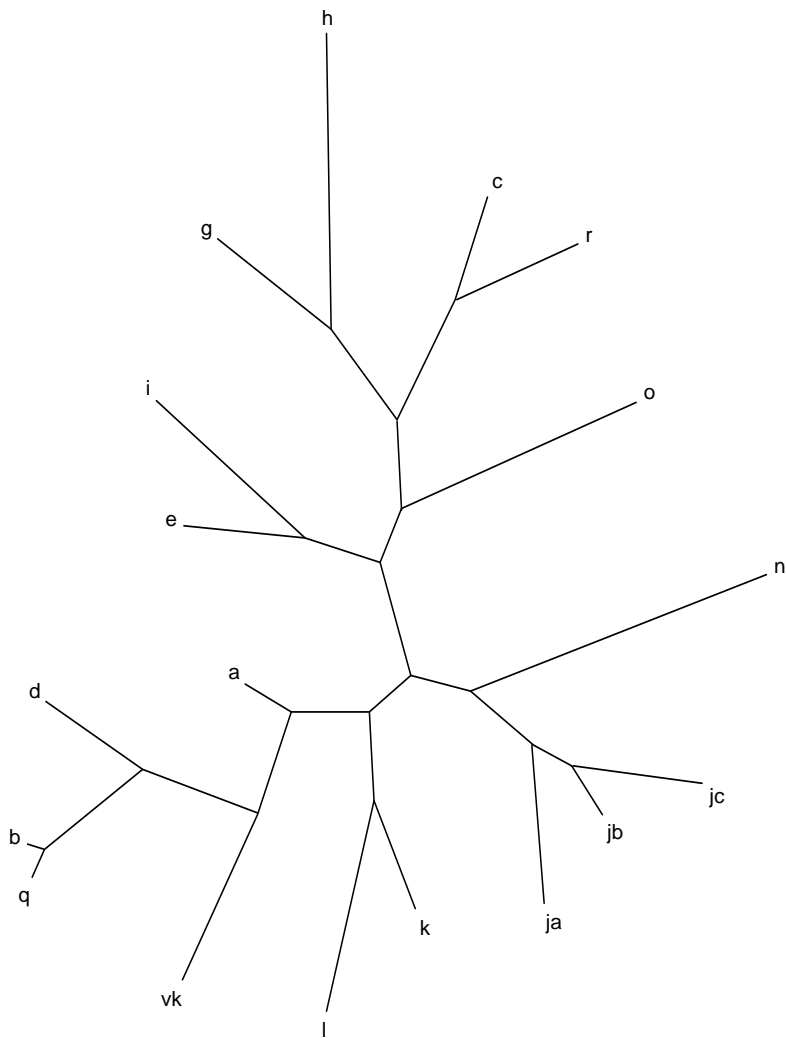


TREE 18: Mark – both test passages (3<sup>rd</sup> tree)



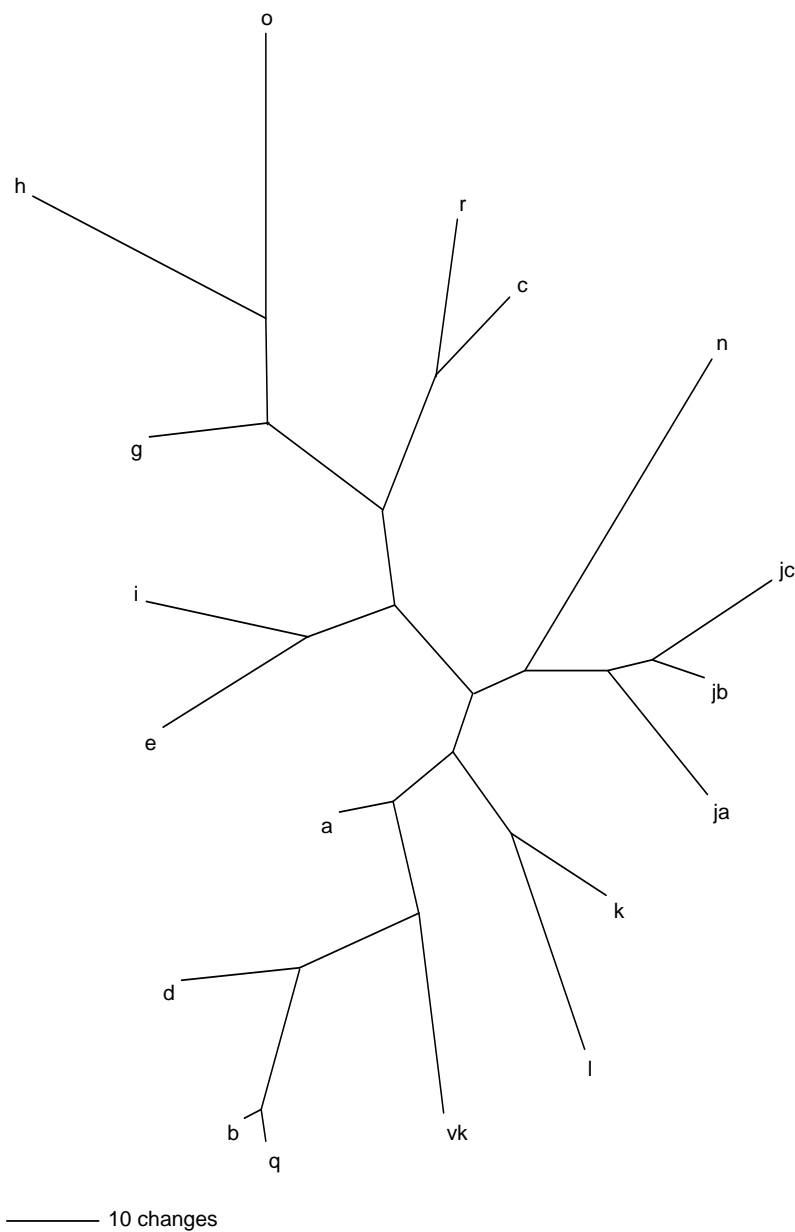
— 10 changes

TREE 19: Mark – test passage 1 (1<sup>st</sup> tree)



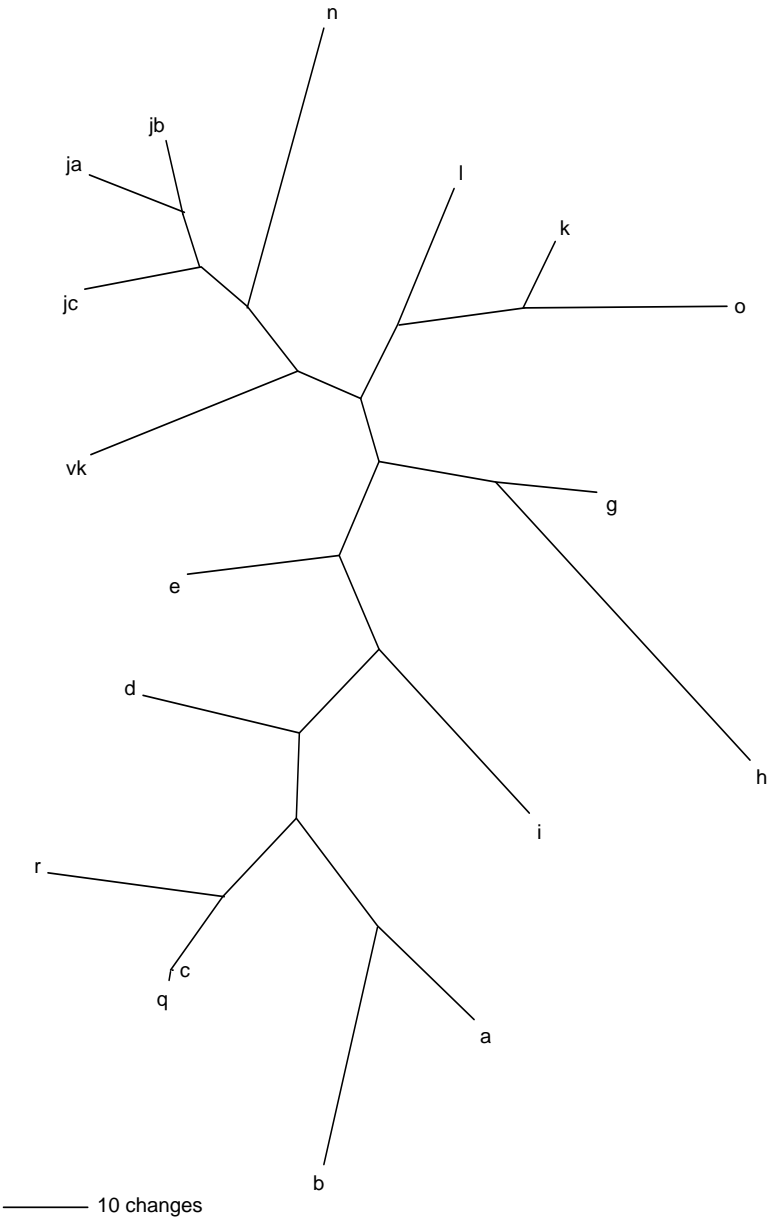
———— 10 changes

TREE 20: Mark – test passage 1 (2<sup>nd</sup> tree)

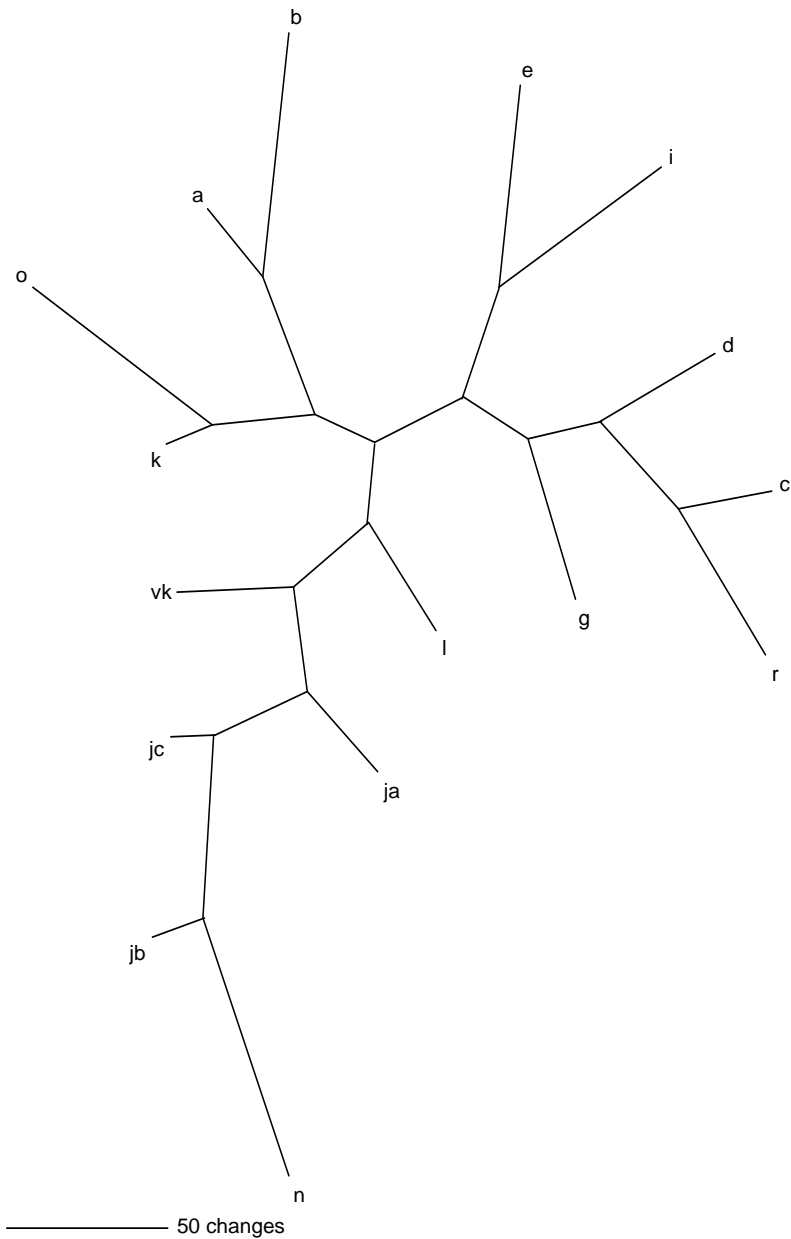




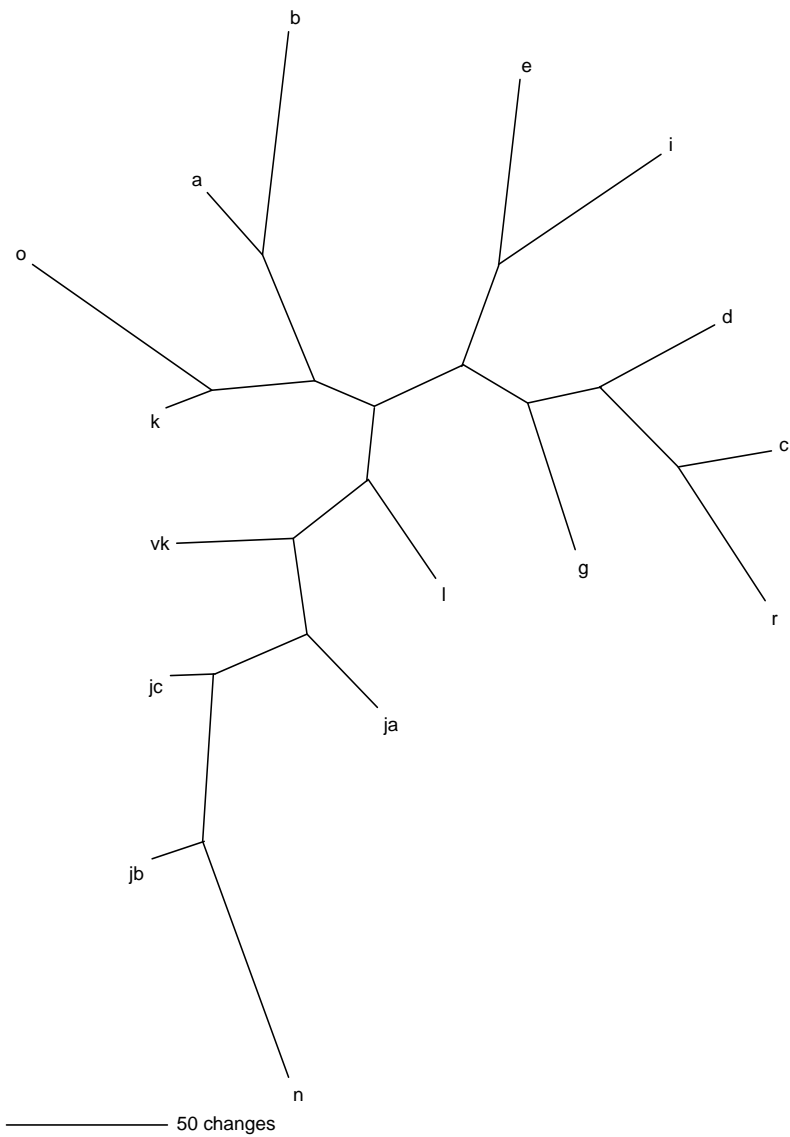
TREE 21: Mark – test passage 2 (one tree found)



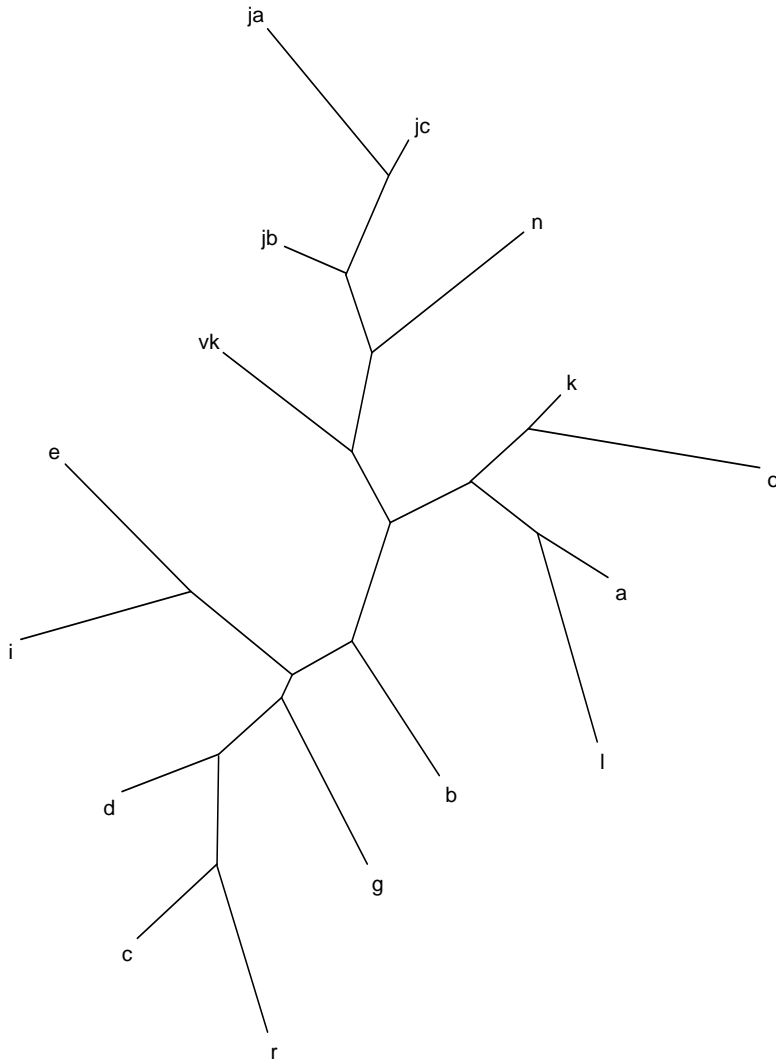
TREE 22: Luke – both test passages (one tree found)



TREE 23: Luke – test passage 1 (1<sup>st</sup> tree)



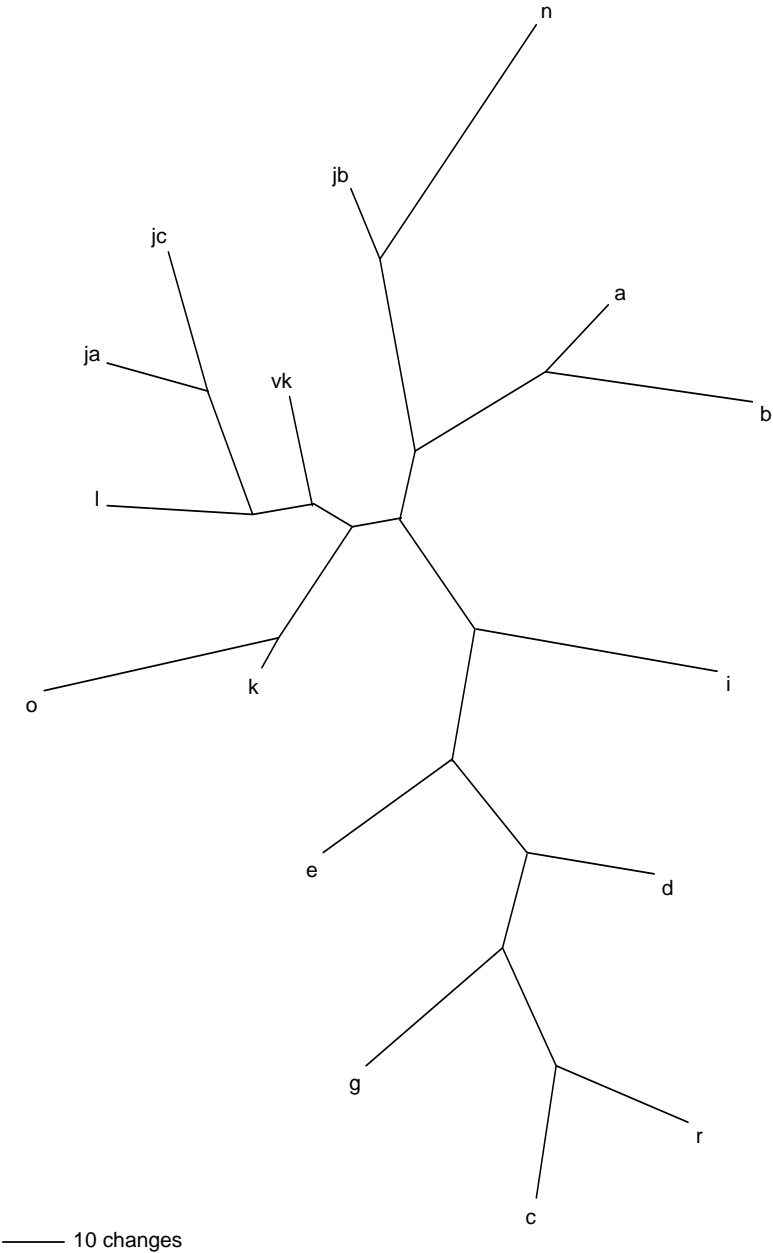
TREE 24: Luke – test passage 1 (2<sup>nd</sup> tree)



\_\_\_\_\_ 10 changes

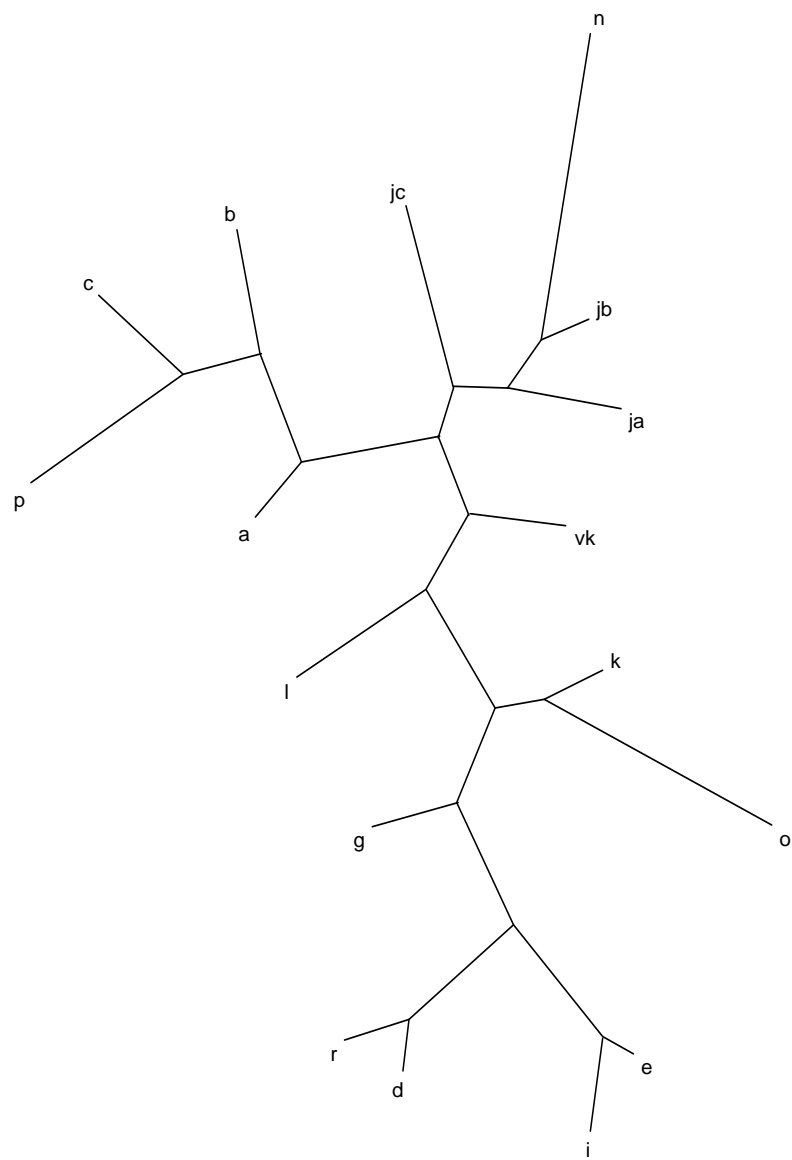


TREE 26: Luke – test passage 2 (2<sup>nd</sup> tree)



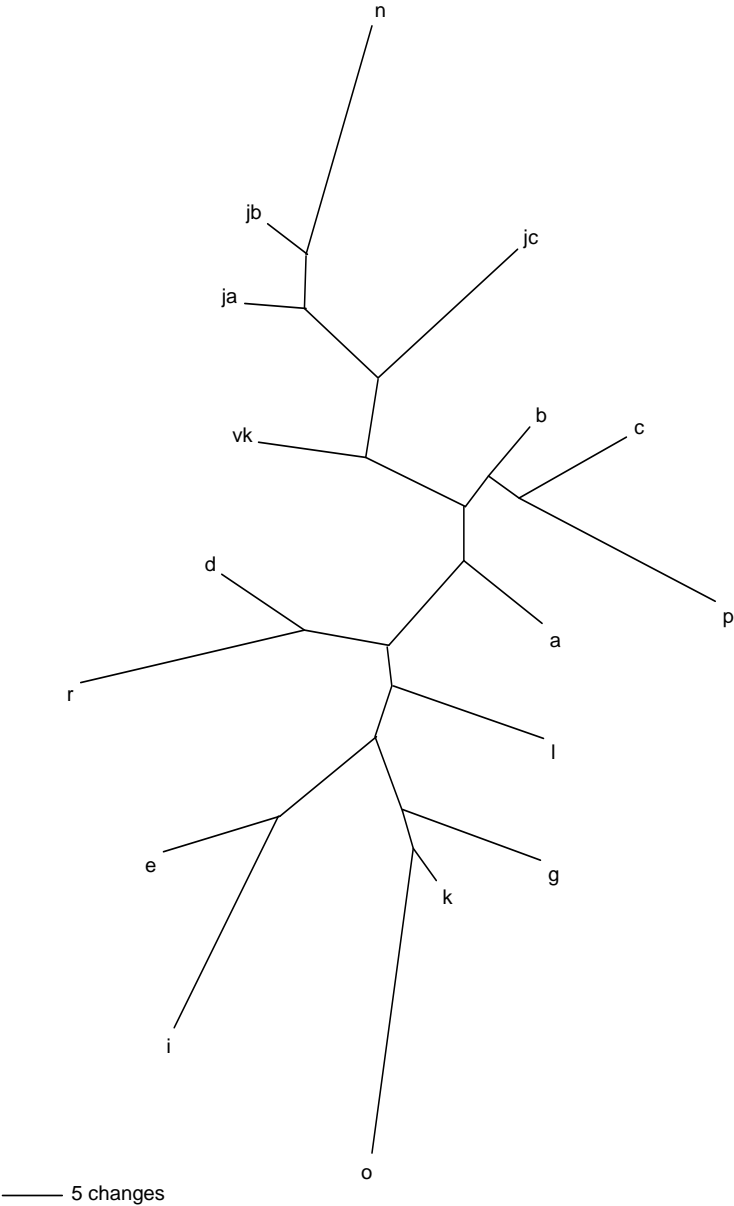


TREE 28: John – Both test passages (one tree found)

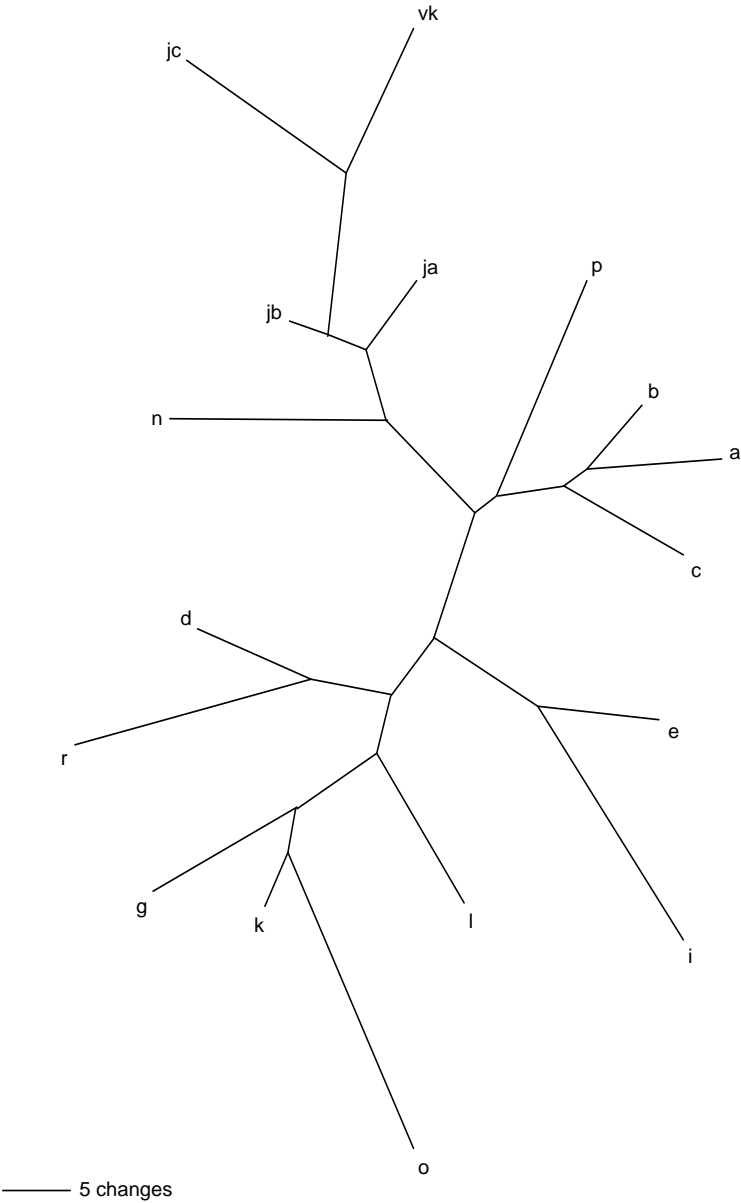




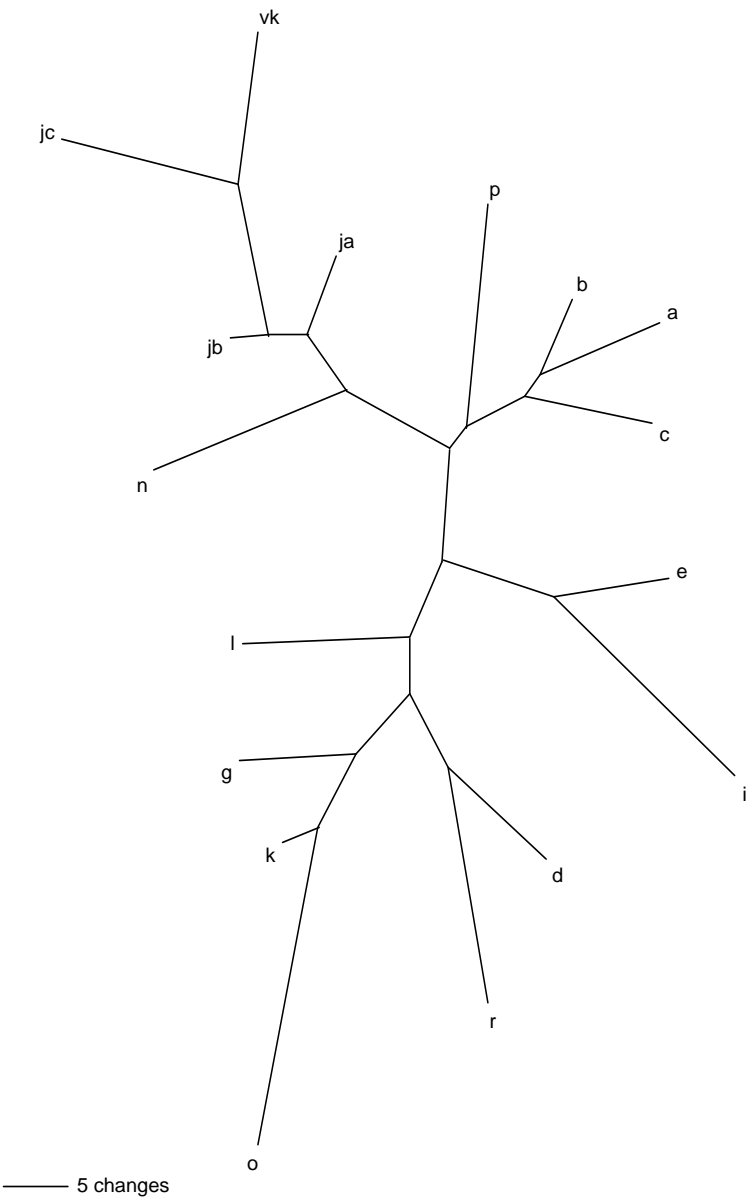
TREE 29: John – test passage 1 (1<sup>st</sup> tree)



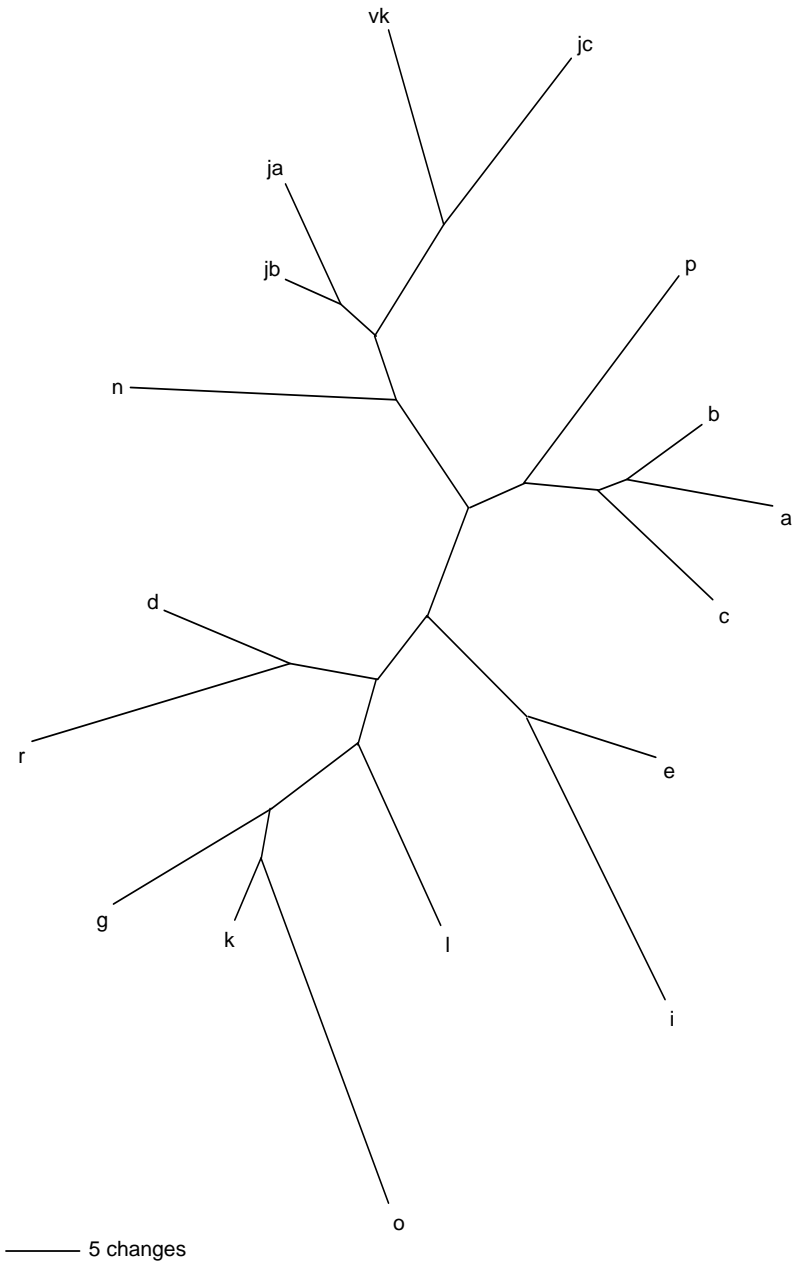
TREE 30: John – test passage 1 (2<sup>nd</sup> tree)



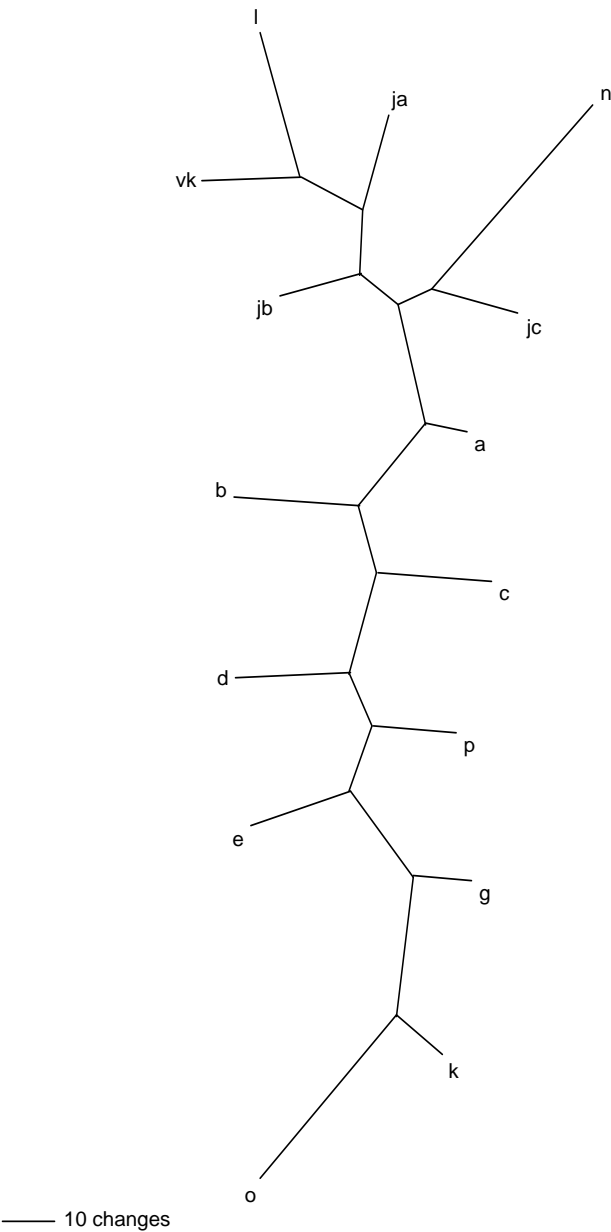
TREE 31: John – test passage 1 (3<sup>rd</sup> tree)



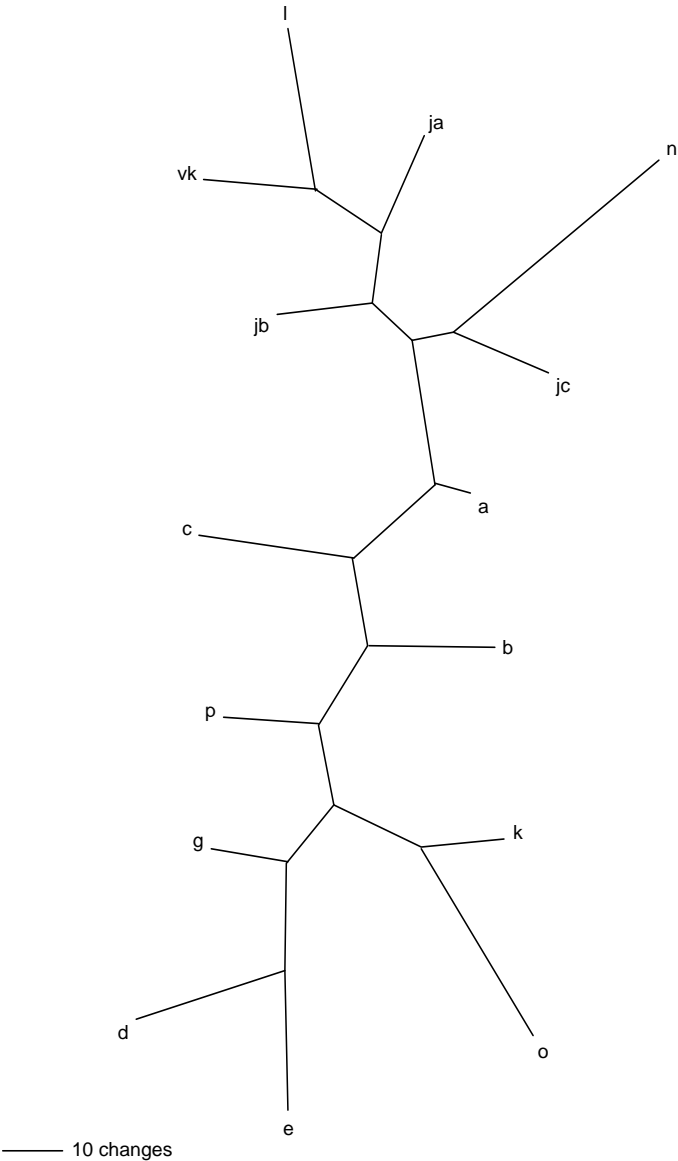
TREE 32: John – test passage 1 (4<sup>th</sup> tree)



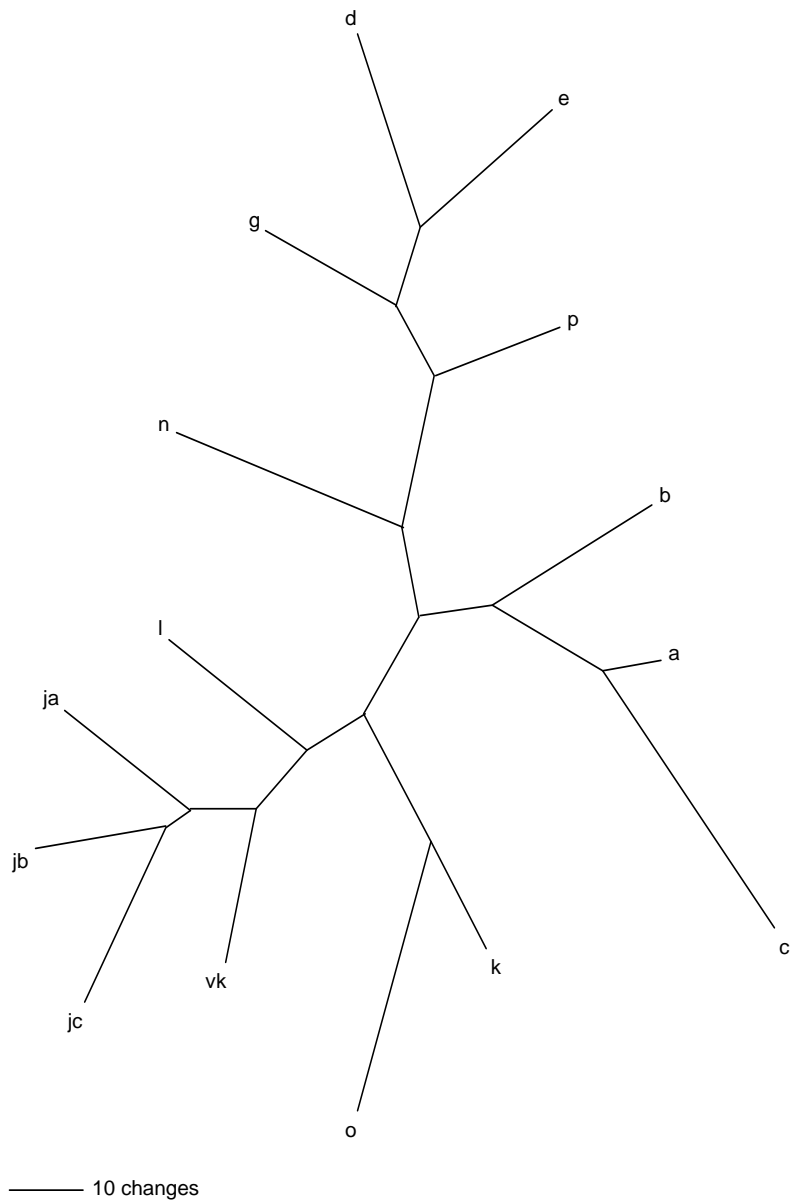
TREE 33: John – test passage 2 (1<sup>st</sup> tree)



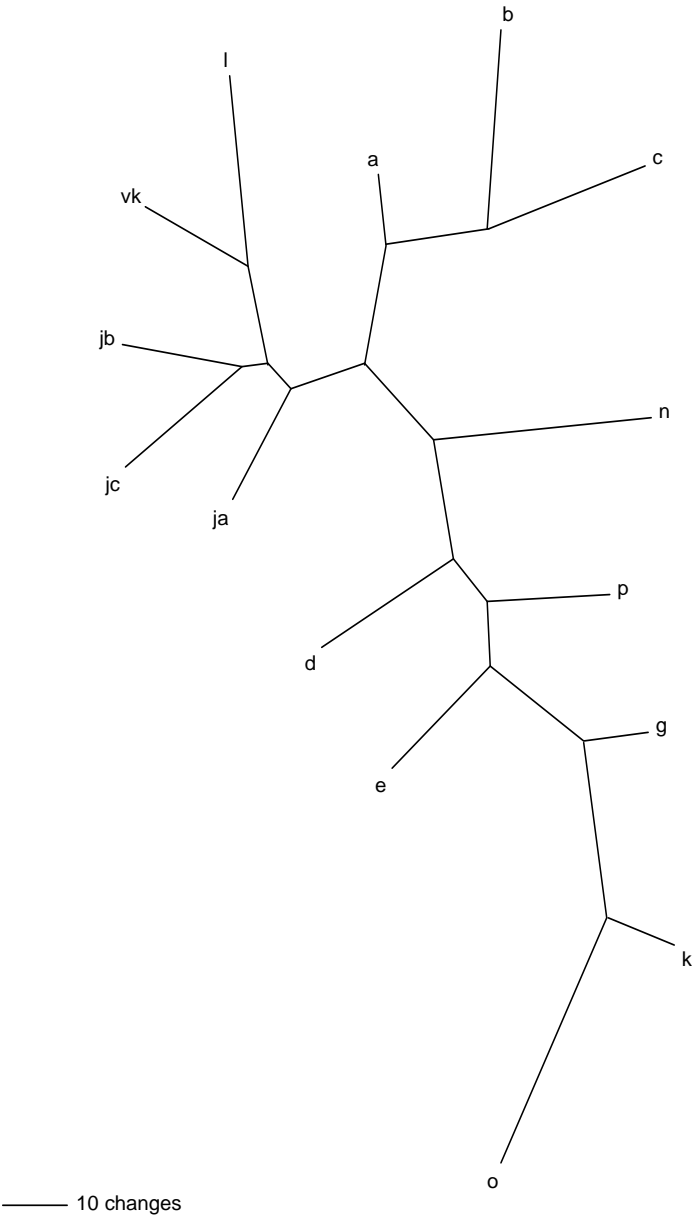
TREE 34: John –test passage 2 (2<sup>nd</sup> tree)



TREE 35: John – test passage 2 (3<sup>rd</sup> tree)

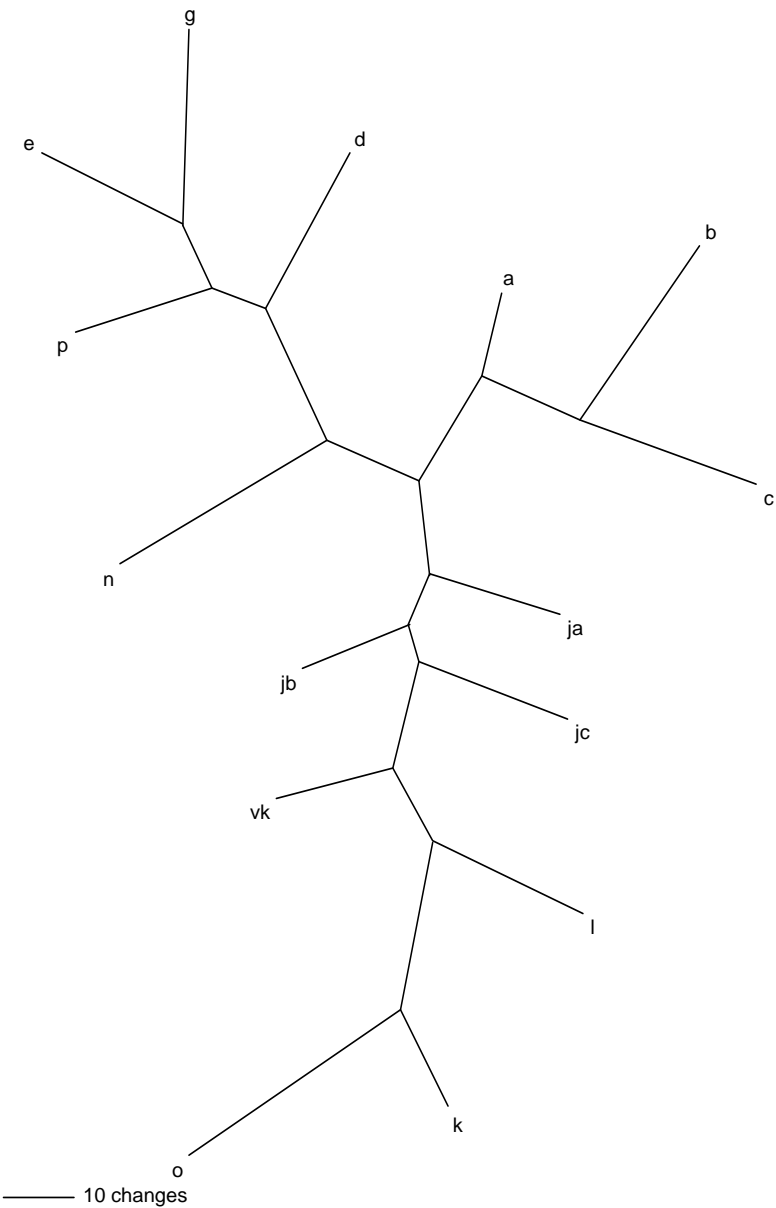


TREE 36: John – test passage 2 (4<sup>th</sup> tree)

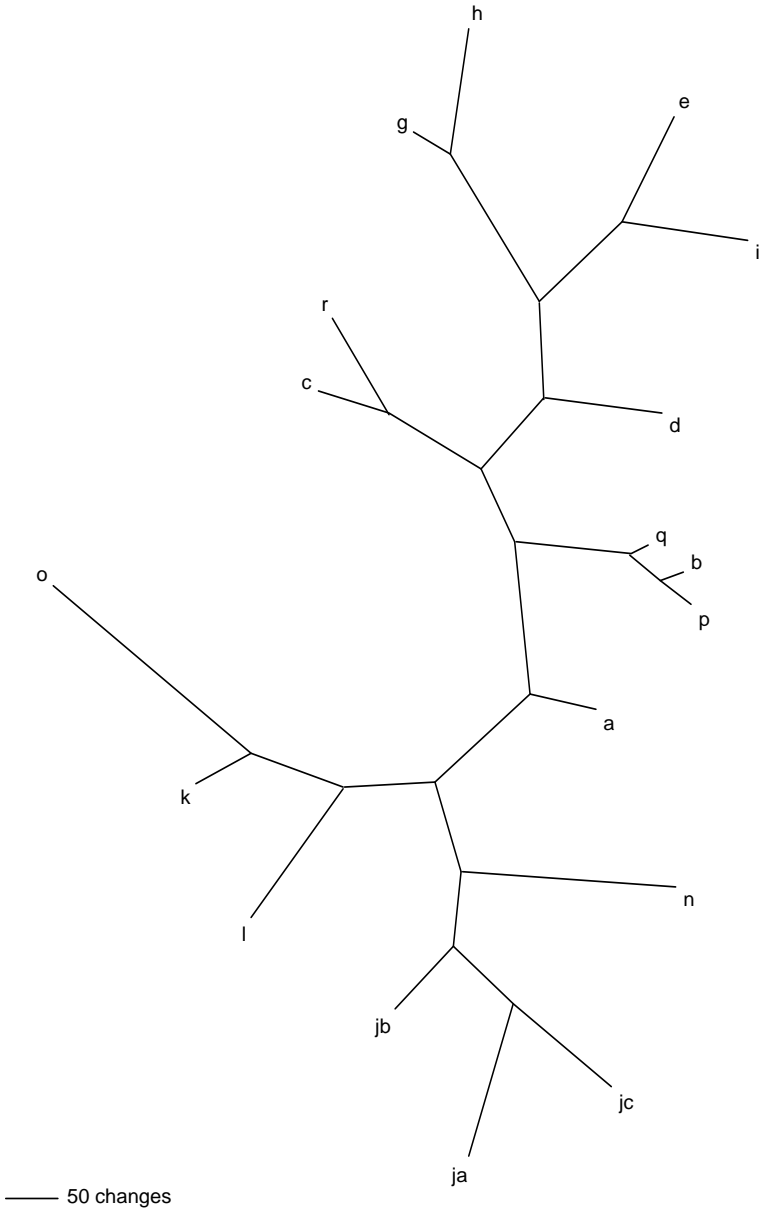




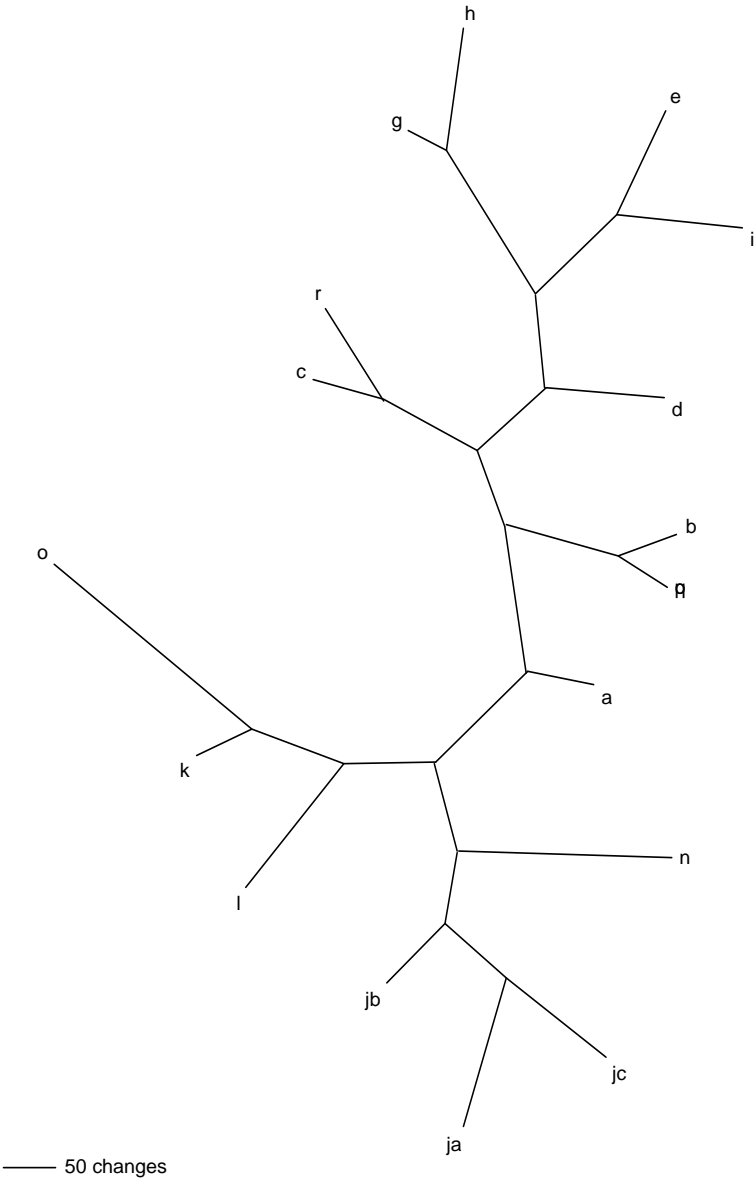
TREE 37: John – test passage 2 (5<sup>th</sup> tree)



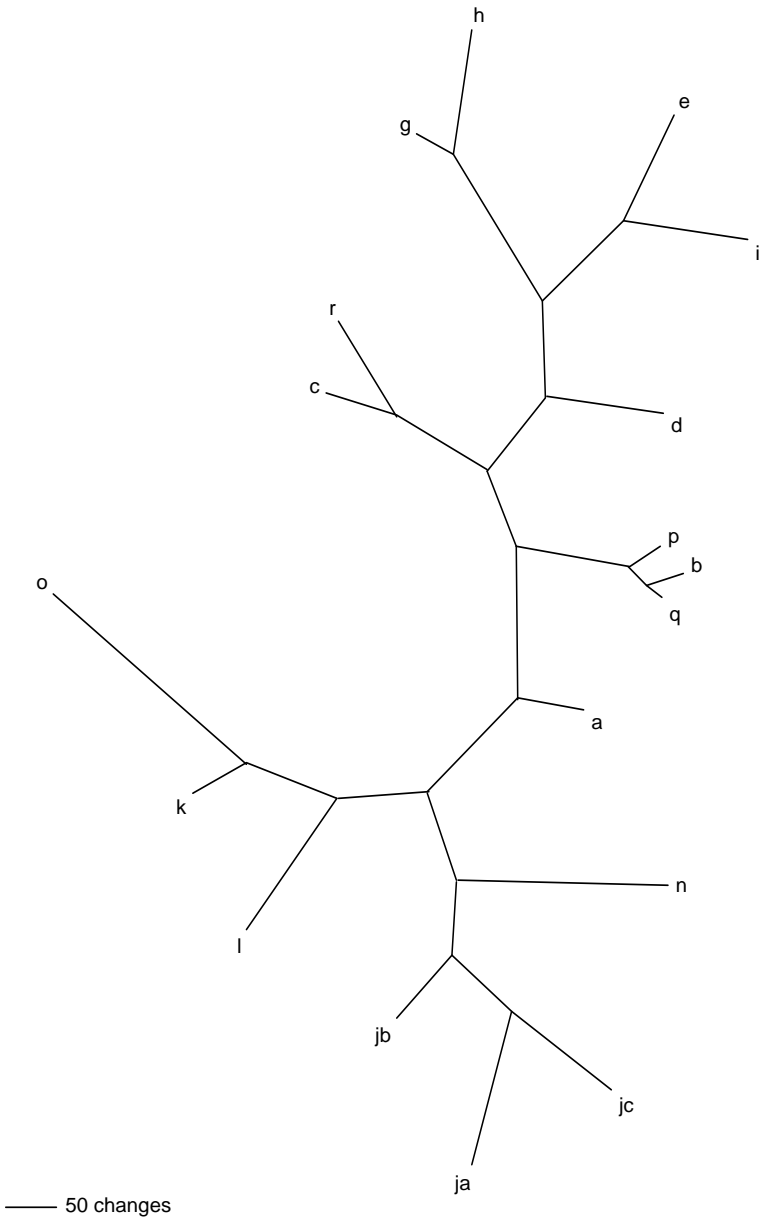
TREE 38: All test passages without Vk (1<sup>st</sup> tree)



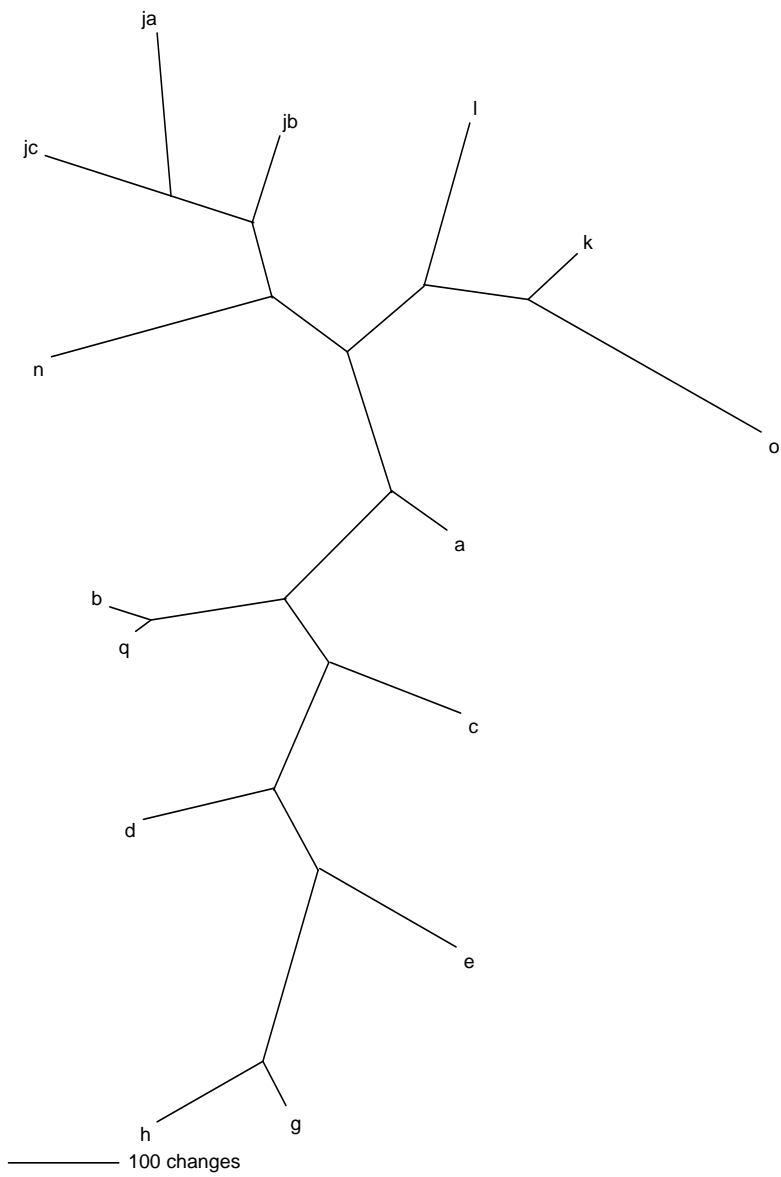
TREE 39: All test passages without Vk (2<sup>nd</sup> tree)



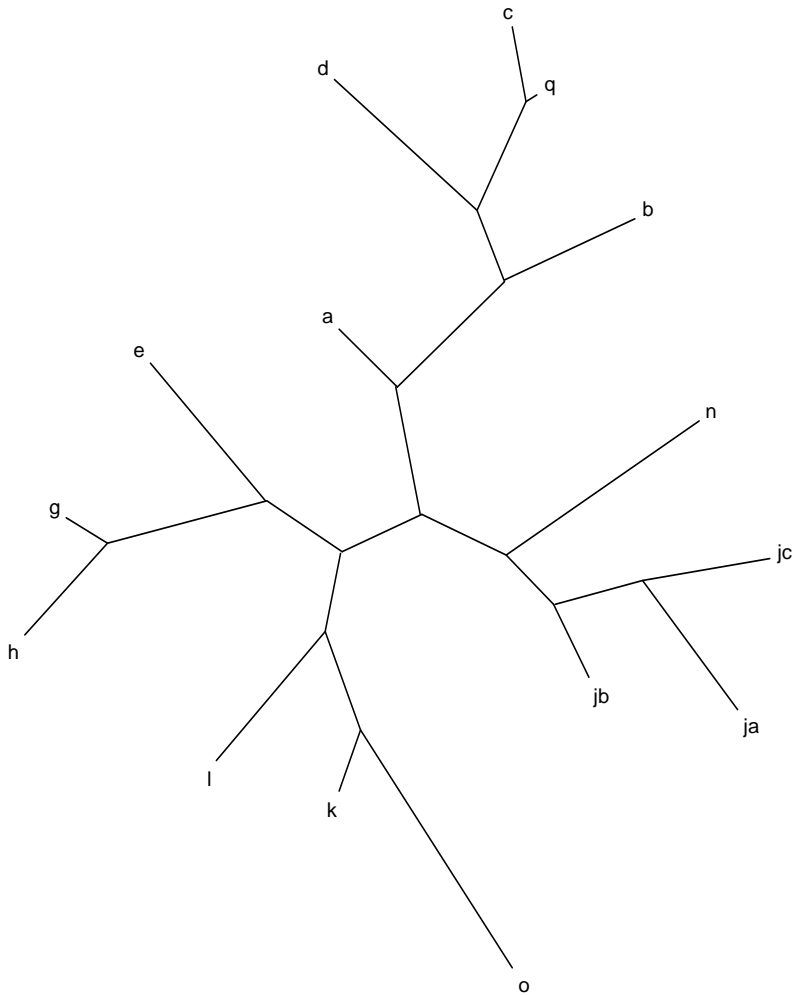
TREE 40: All test passages without Vk (3<sup>rd</sup> tree)



TREE 41: Matthew – both test passages without Vk (1<sup>st</sup> tree)

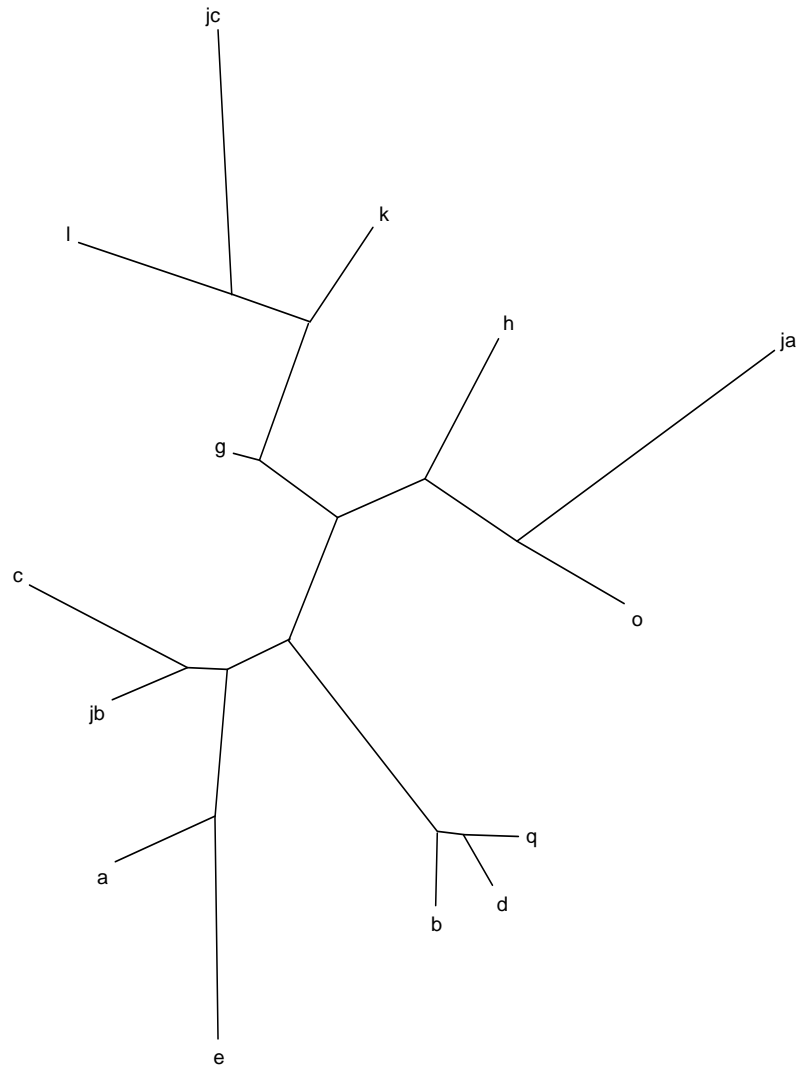


TREE 42: Matthew – both test passages without Vk (2<sup>nd</sup> tree)



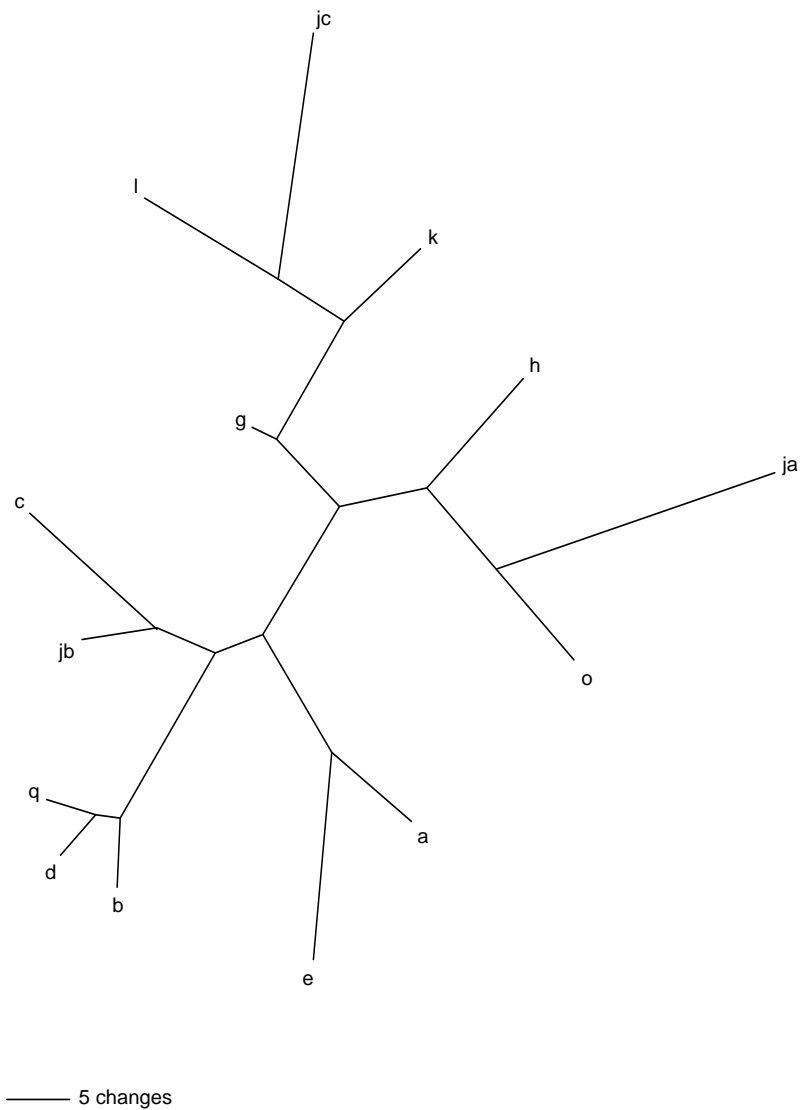
———— 100 changes

TREE 43: Matthew – test passage one without Vk (1<sup>st</sup> tree)



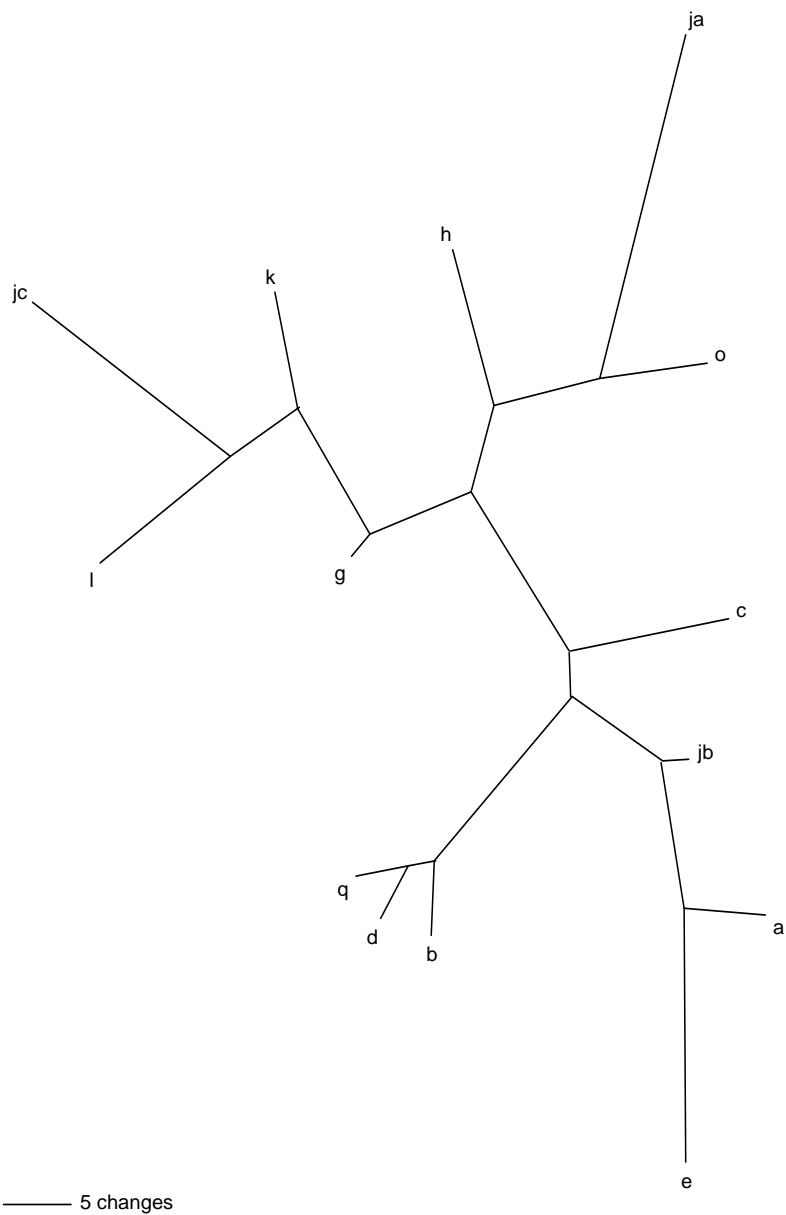
—— 5 changes

TREE 44: Matthew – test passage one without Vk (2<sup>nd</sup> tree)

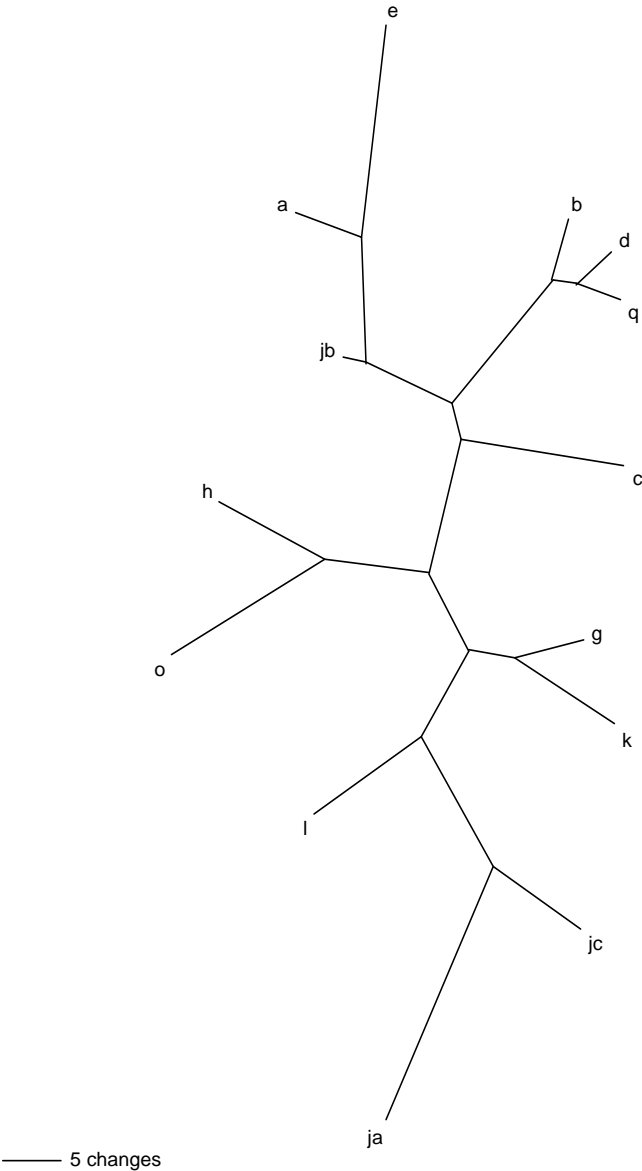




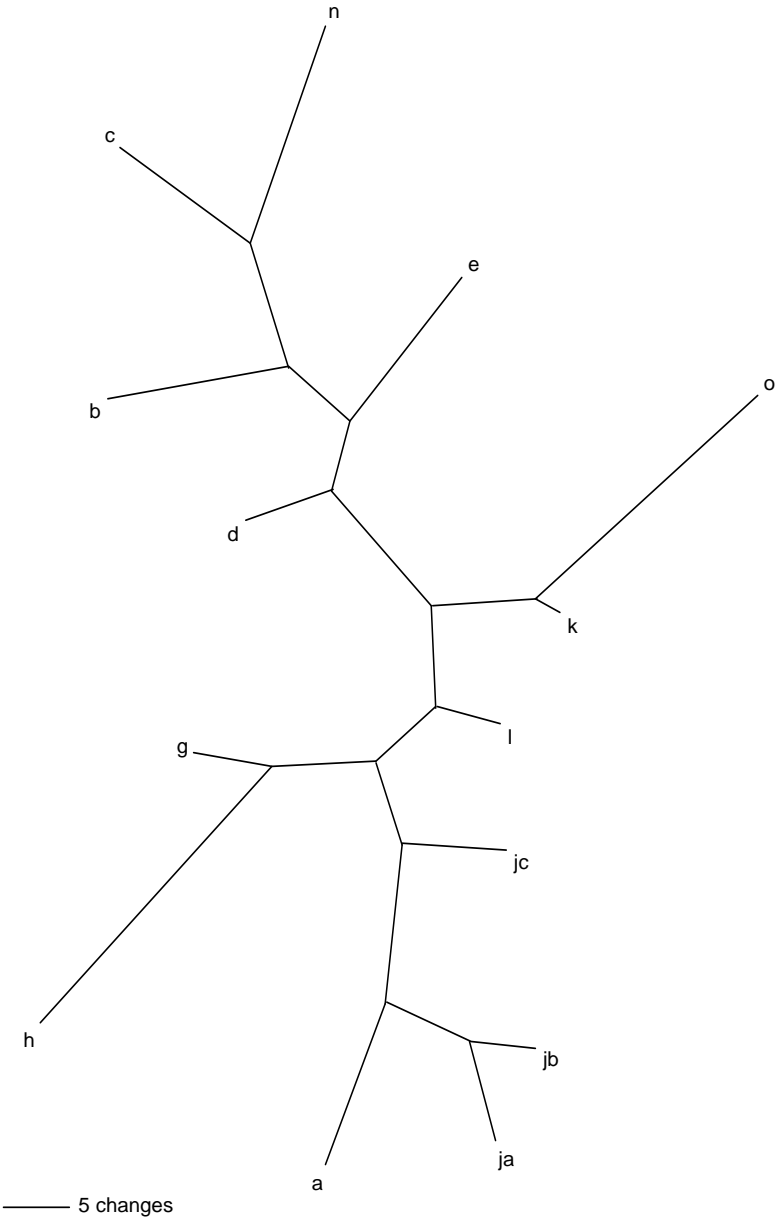
TREE 45: Matthew – test passage one without Vk (3<sup>rd</sup> tree)



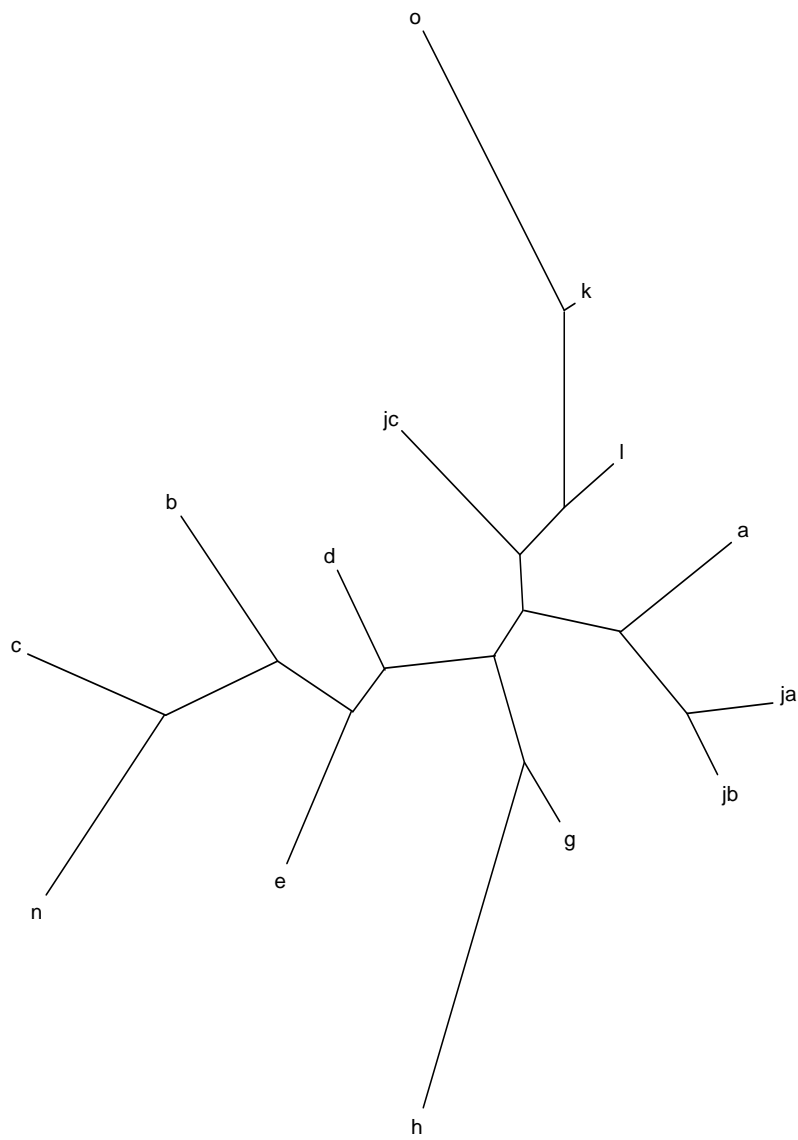
TREE 46: Matthew – test passage one without Vk (4<sup>th</sup> tree)



TREE 47: Matthew – test passage 2 without Vk (1<sup>st</sup> tree)

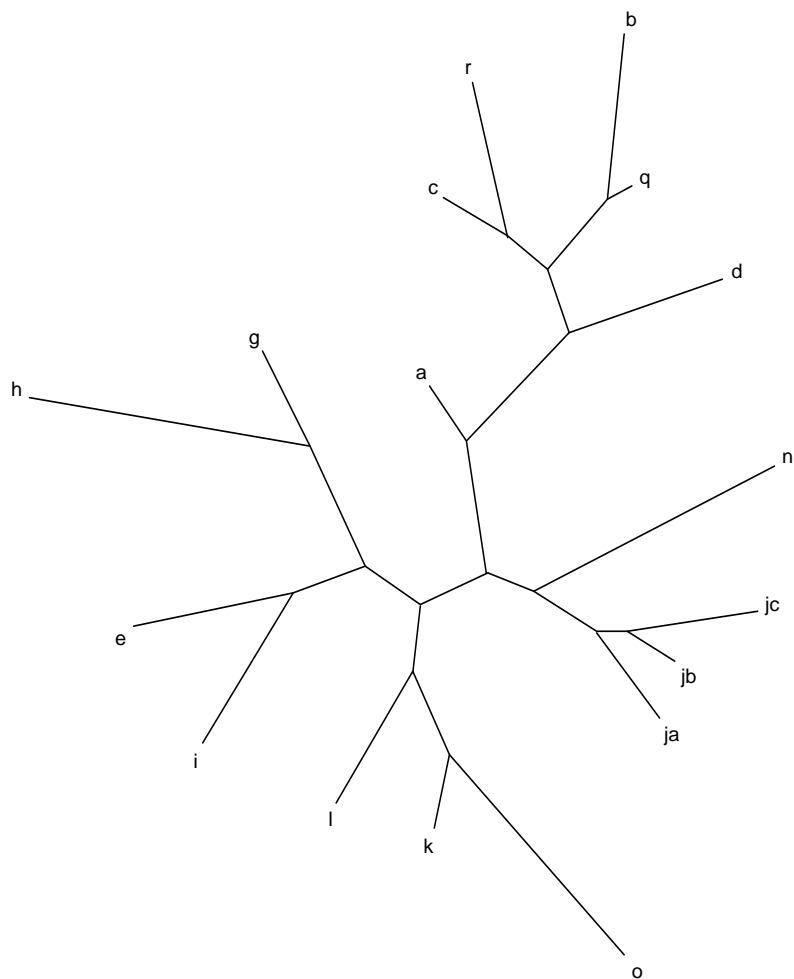


TREE 48: Matthew – test passage 2 without Vk (2<sup>nd</sup> tree)



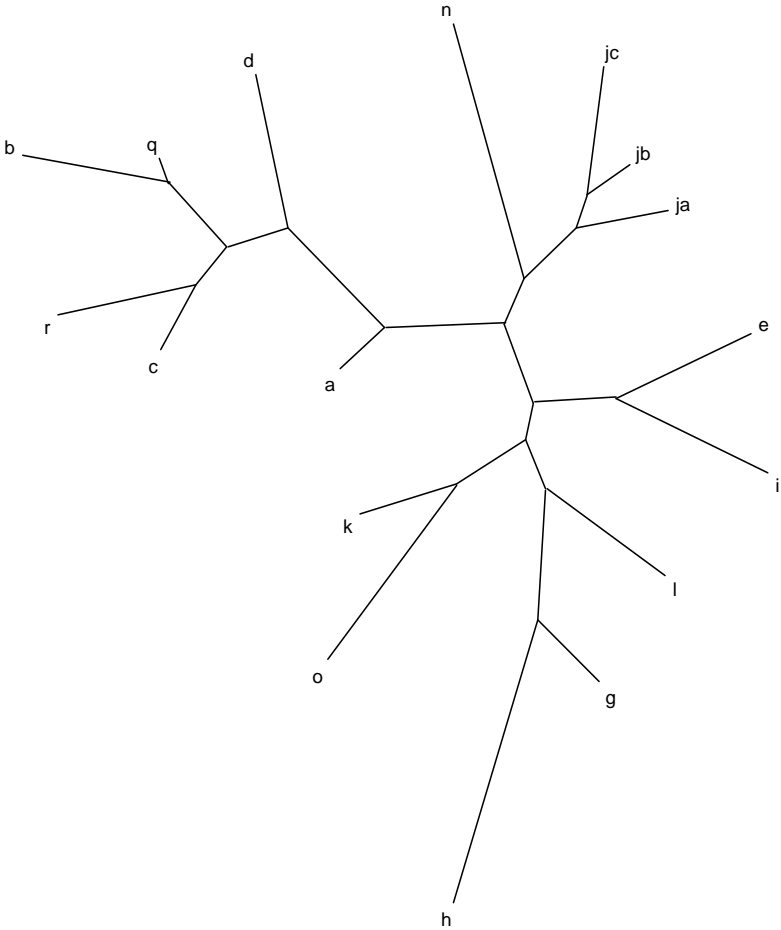
—— 5 changes

TREE 49: Mark – both test passages without Vk (1<sup>st</sup> tree)



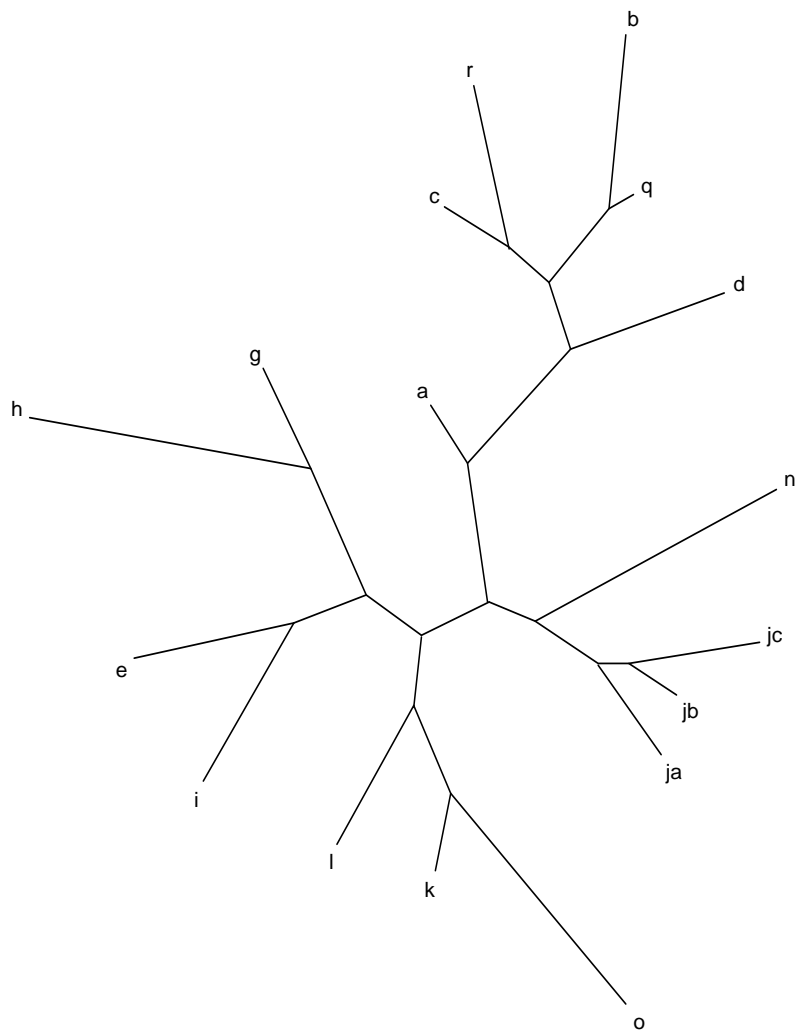
— 10 changes

TREE 50: Mark – both test passages without Vk (2<sup>nd</sup> tree)



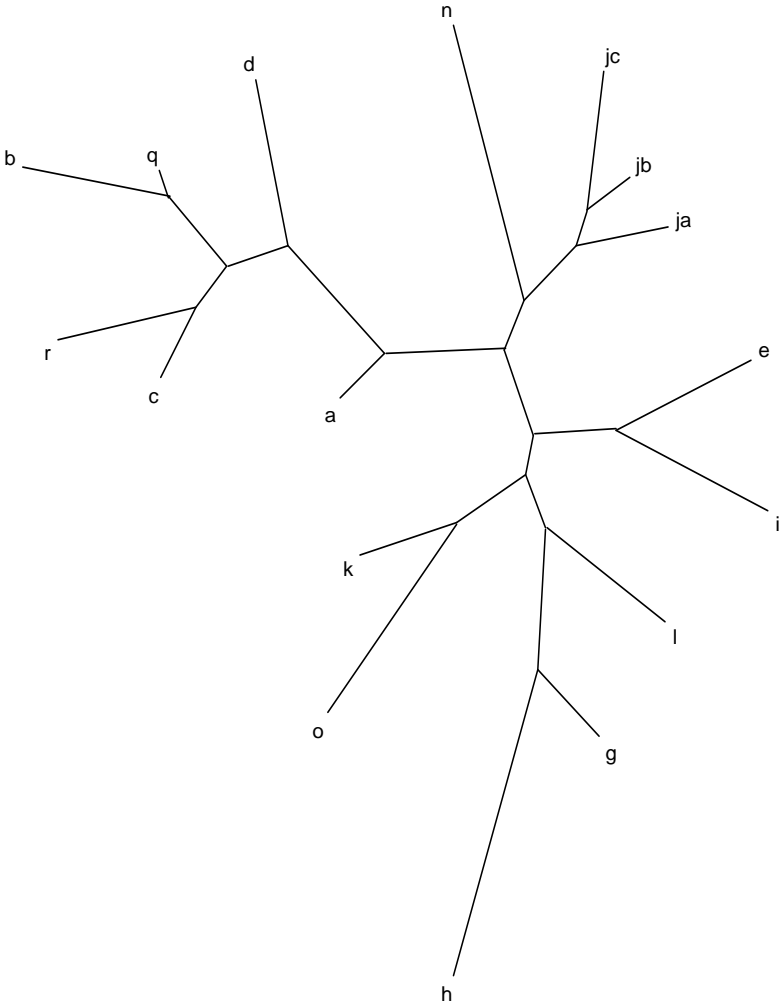
— 10 changes

TREE 51: Mark – test passage 1 without Vk (1<sup>st</sup> tree)



— 10 changes

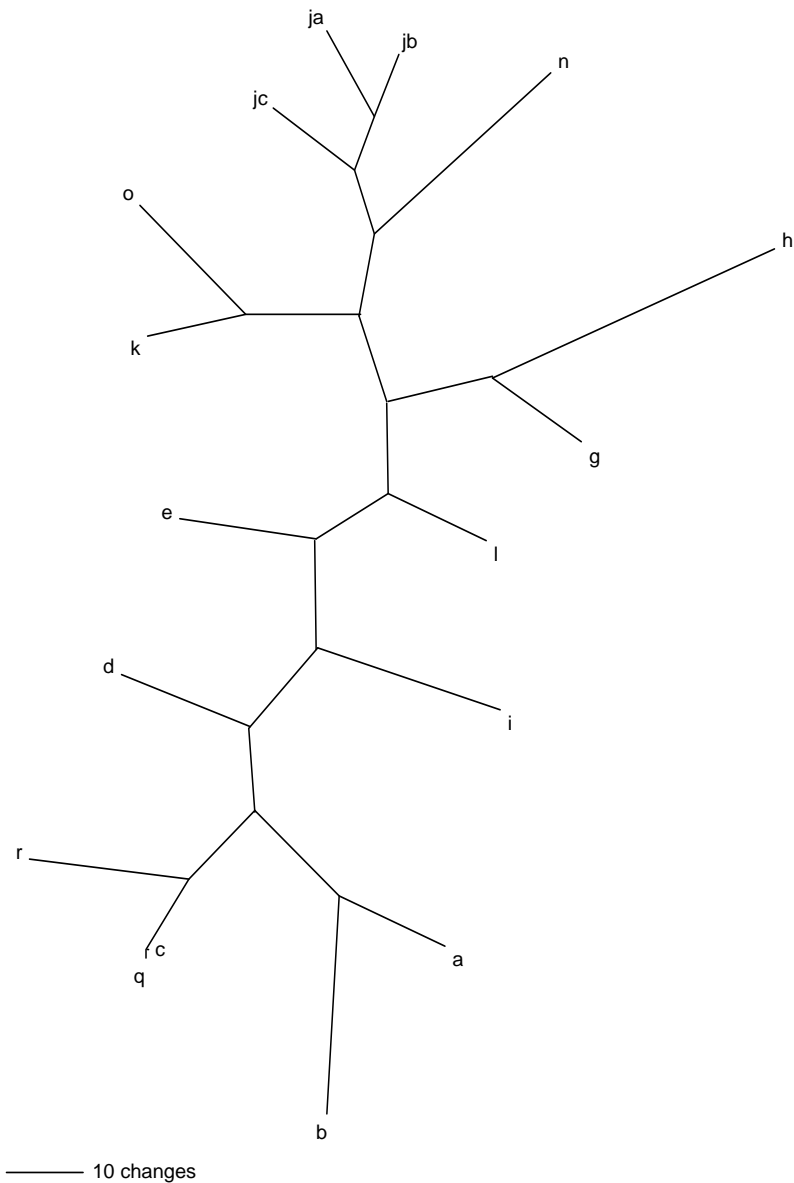
TREE 52: Mark – test passage 1 without Vk (2<sup>nd</sup> tree)



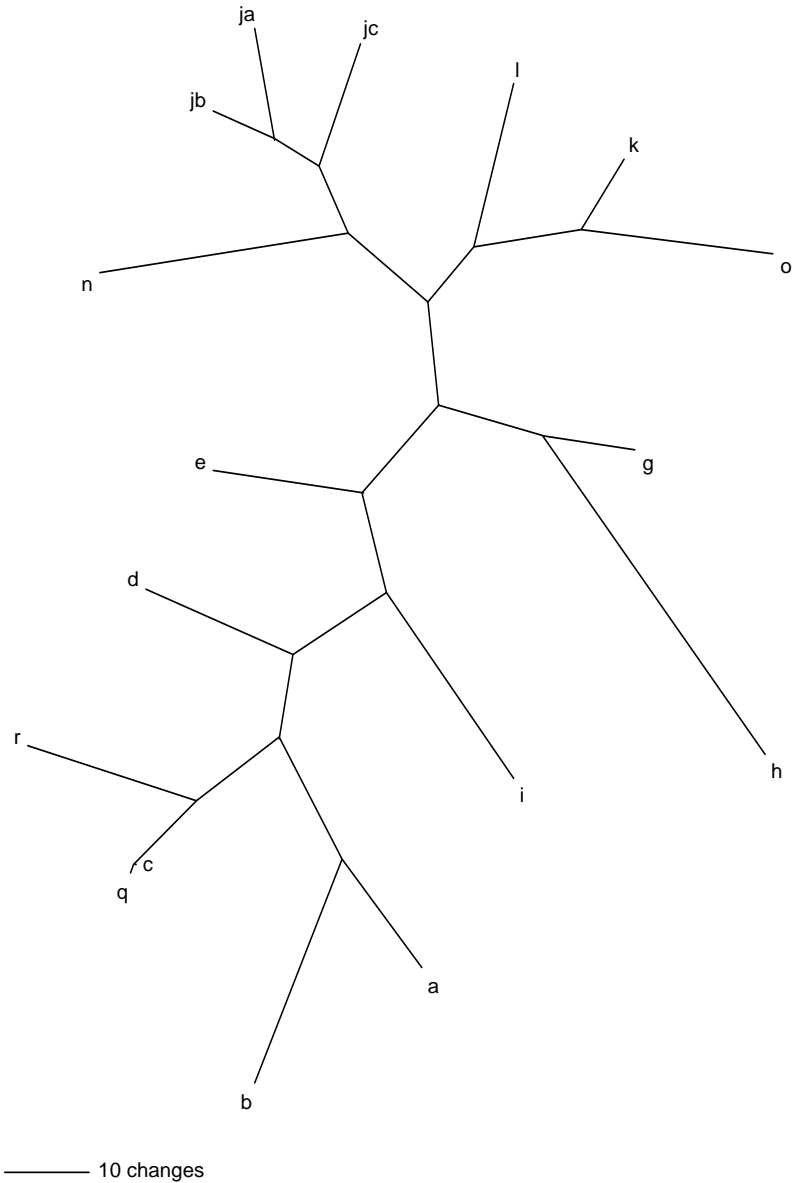
— 10 changes



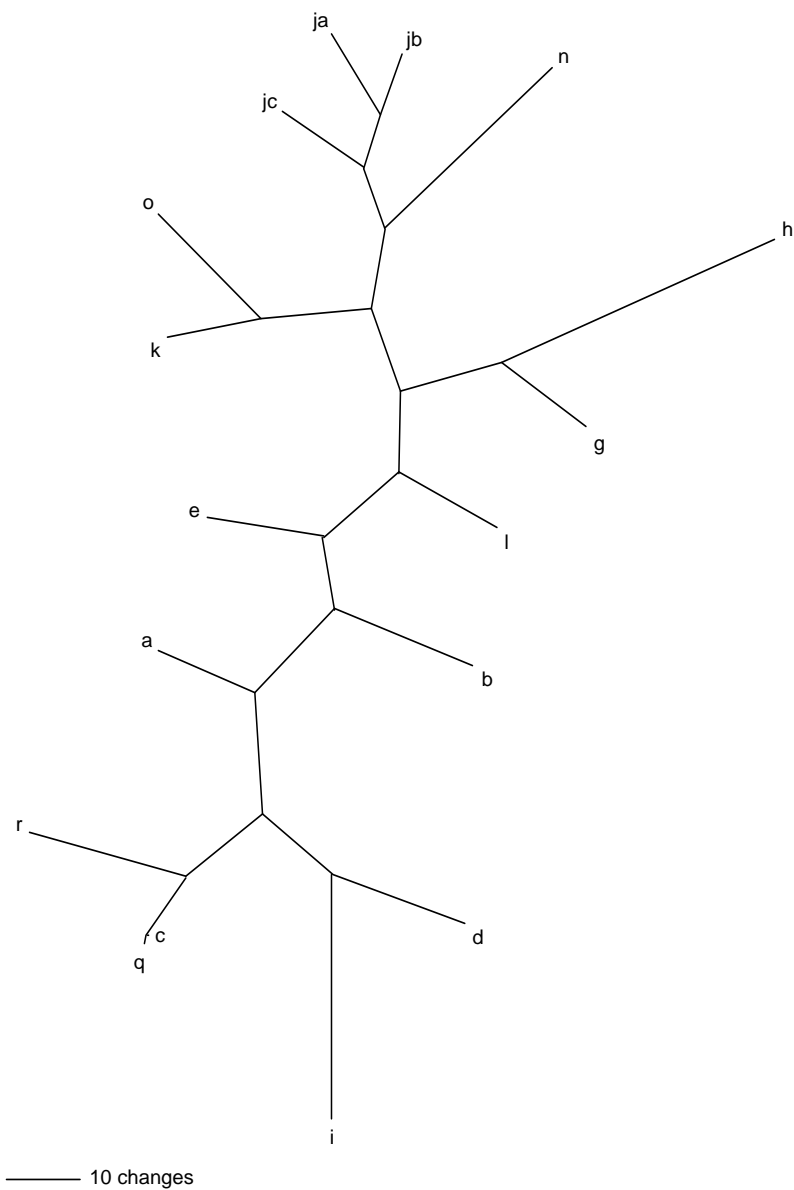
TREE 53: Mark – test passage 2 without Vk (1 out of 10)



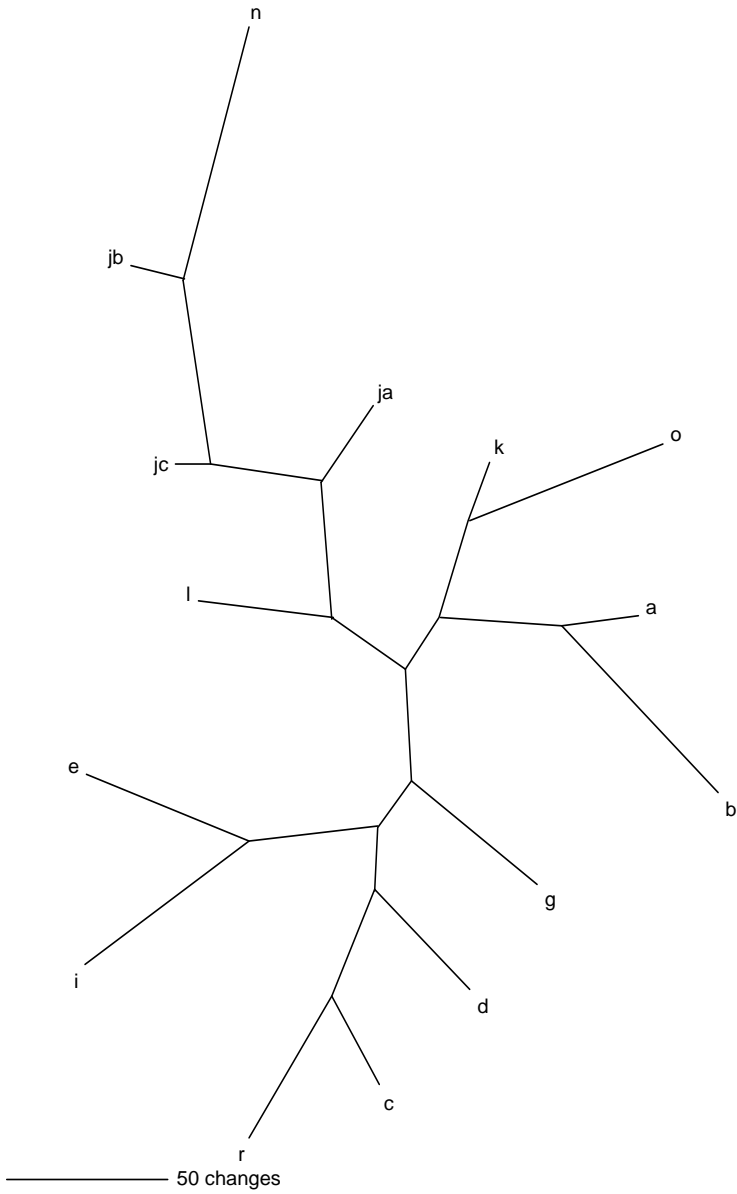
TREE 54: Mark – test passage 2 without Vk (2 out of 10)



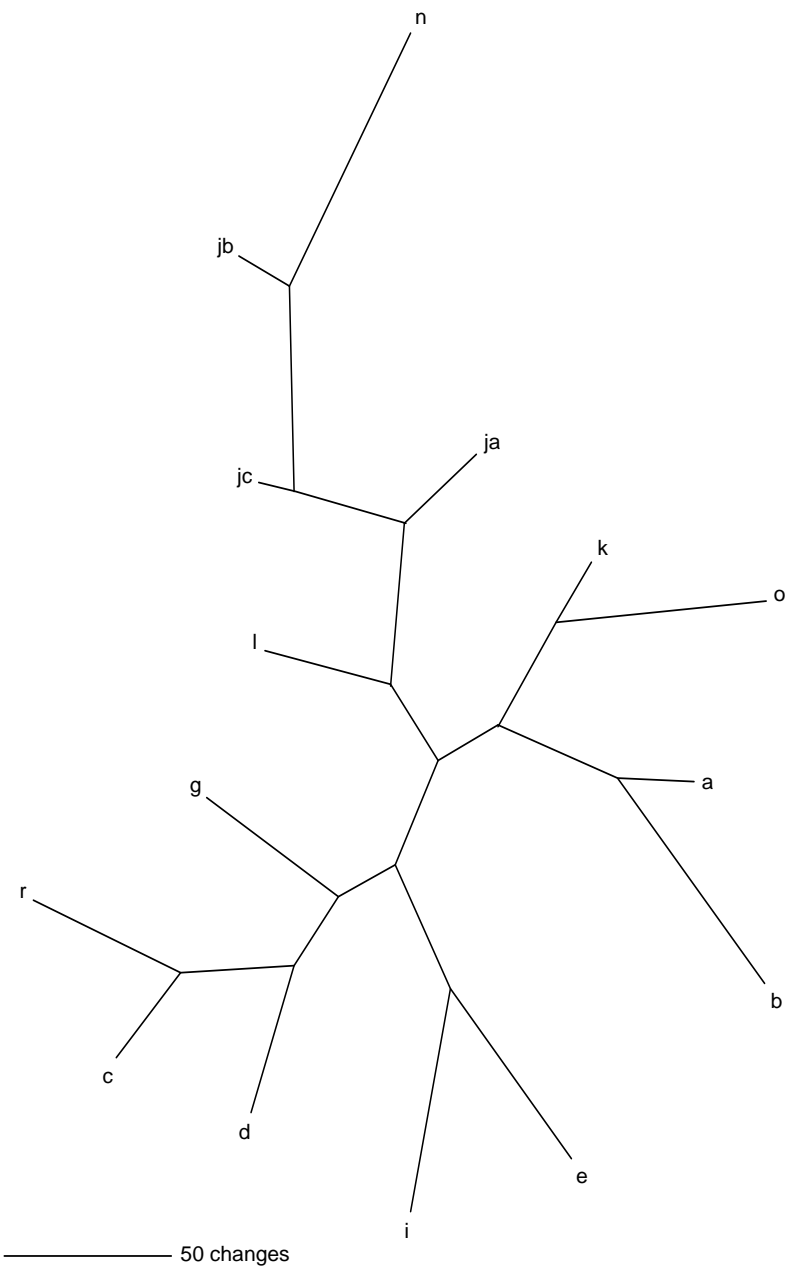
TREE 55: Mark – test passage 2 without Vk (3 out of 10)



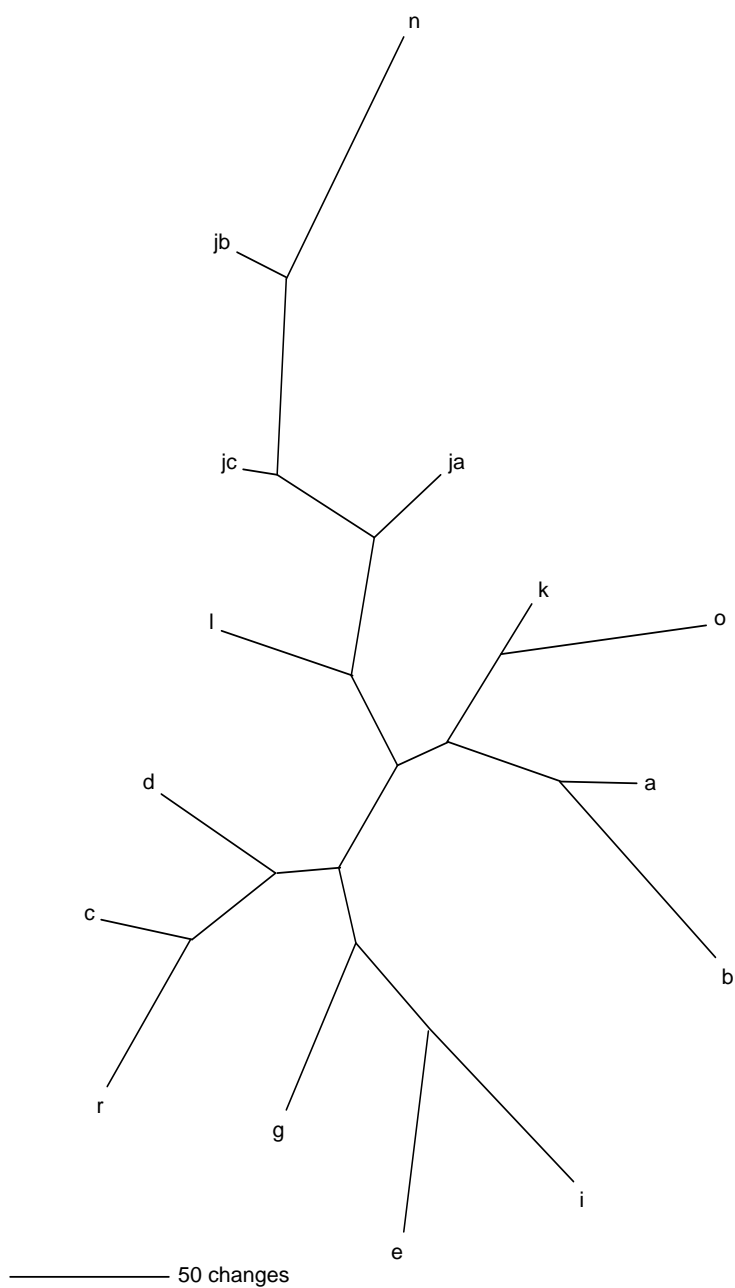
TREE 56: Luke – both test passages without Vk (1<sup>st</sup> tree)



TREE 57: Luke – both test passages without V<sub>k</sub> (2<sup>nd</sup> tree)

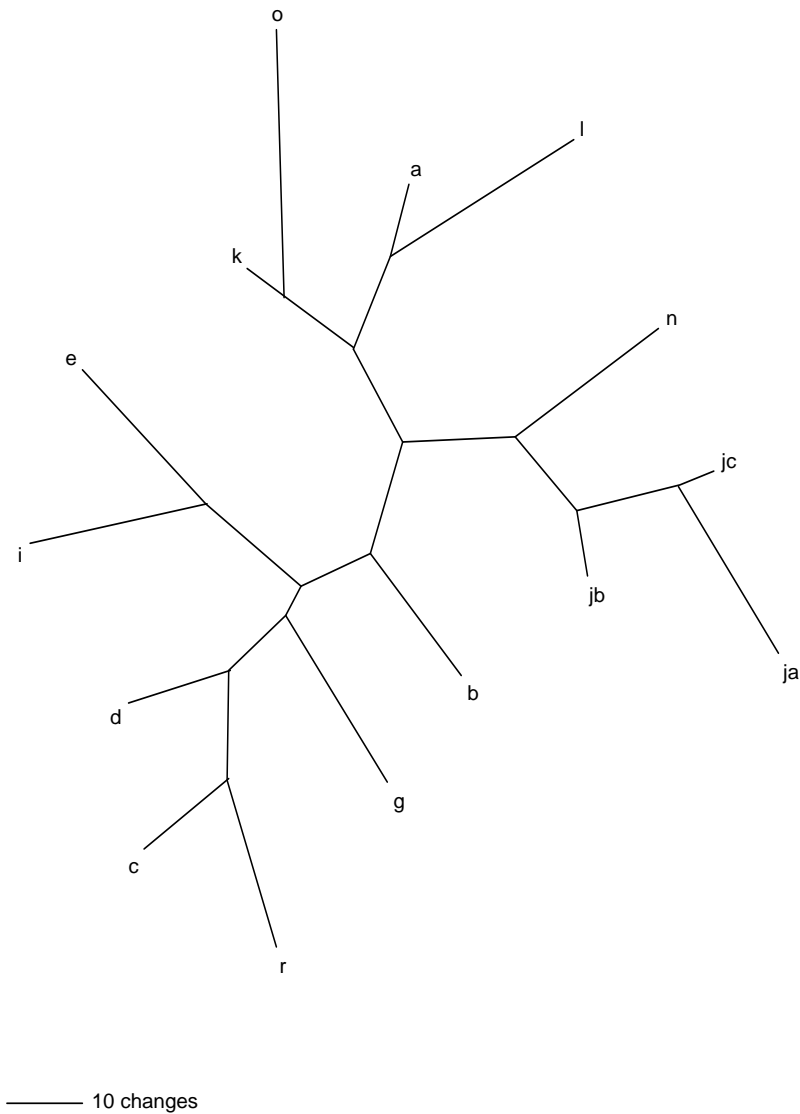


TREE 58: Luke – both test passages without Vk (3<sup>rd</sup> tree)



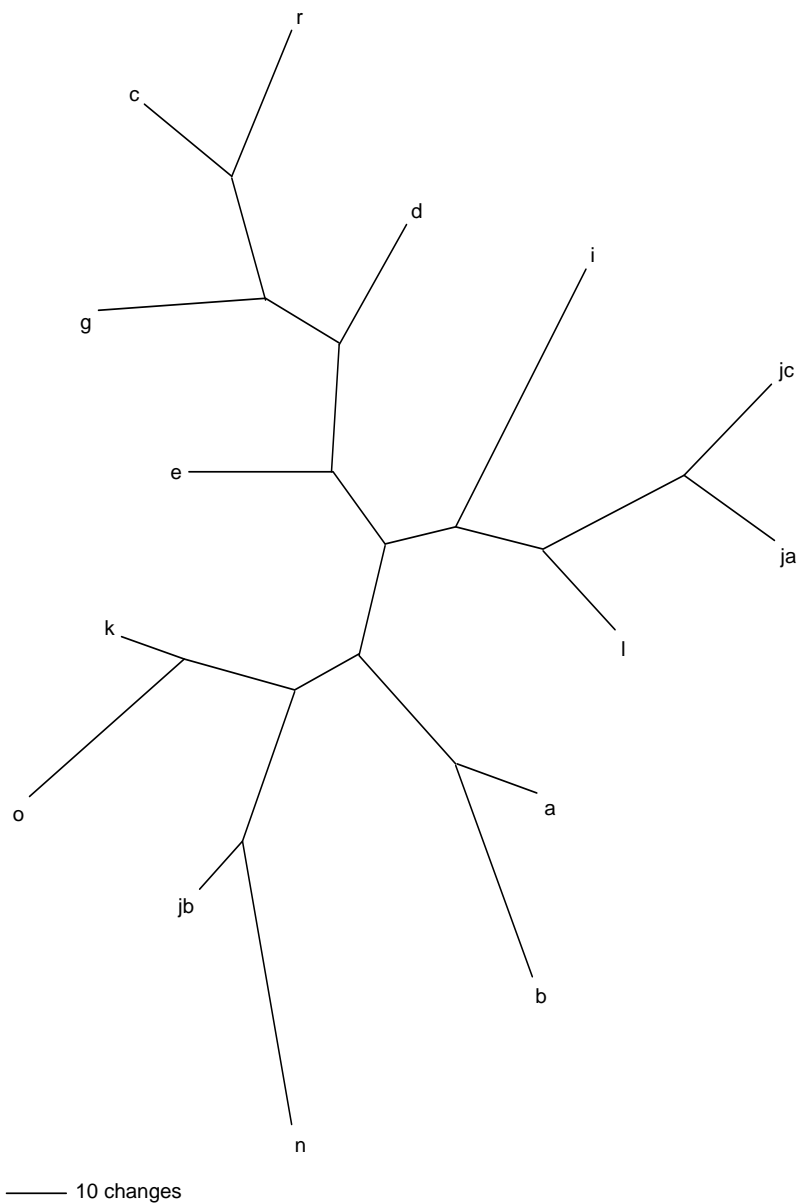


TREE 60: Luke – test passage one without Vk (2 out of 7)

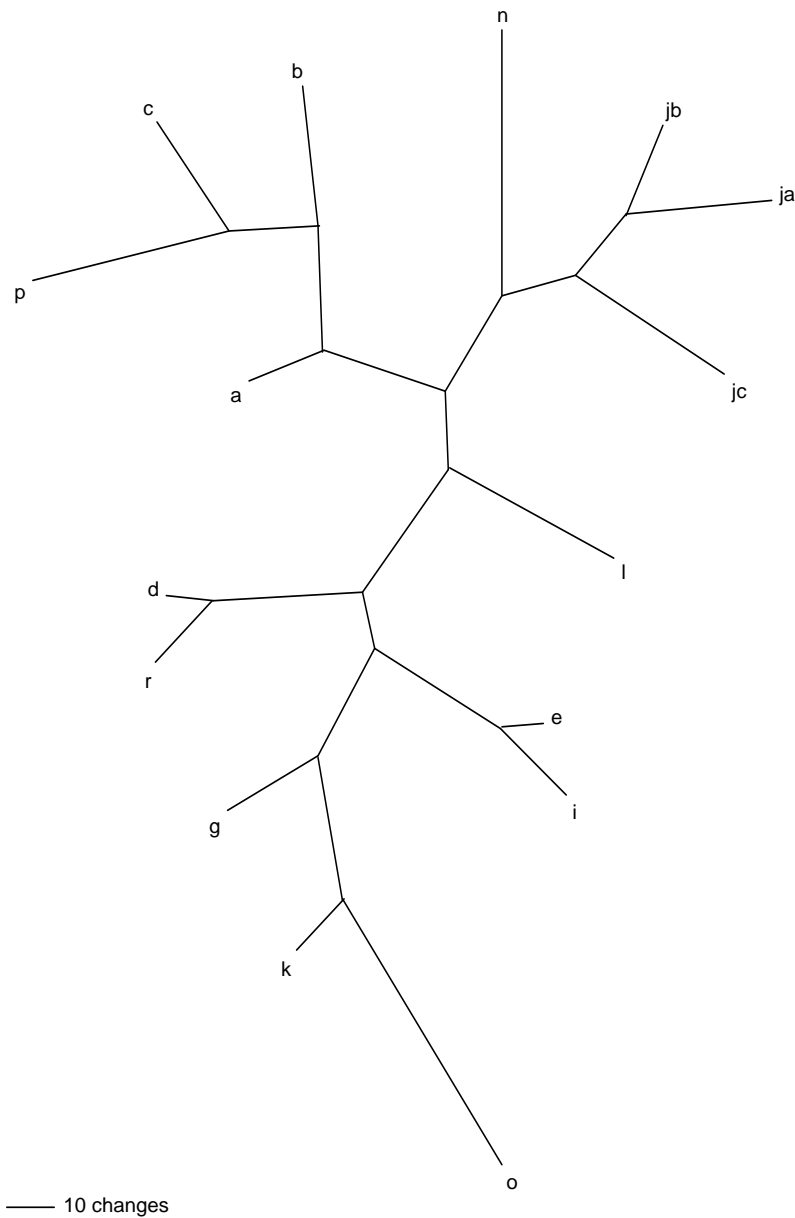




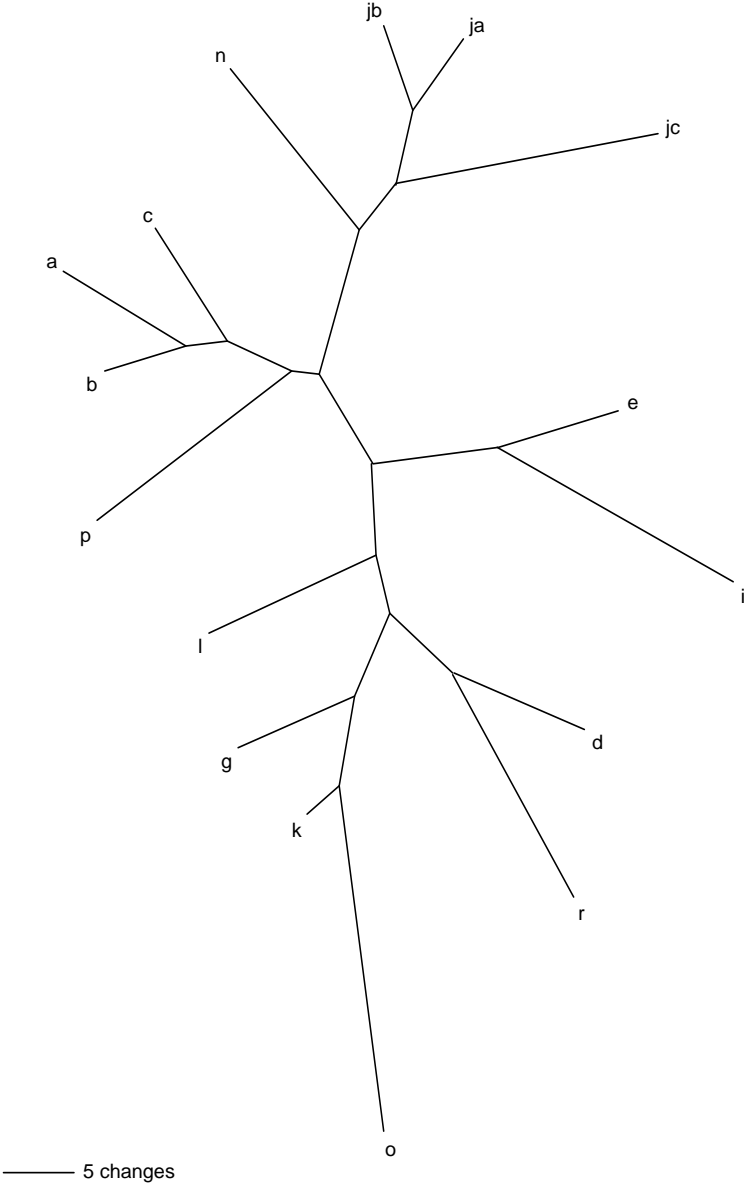
TREE 61: Luke – test passage 2 without Vk (only one found)



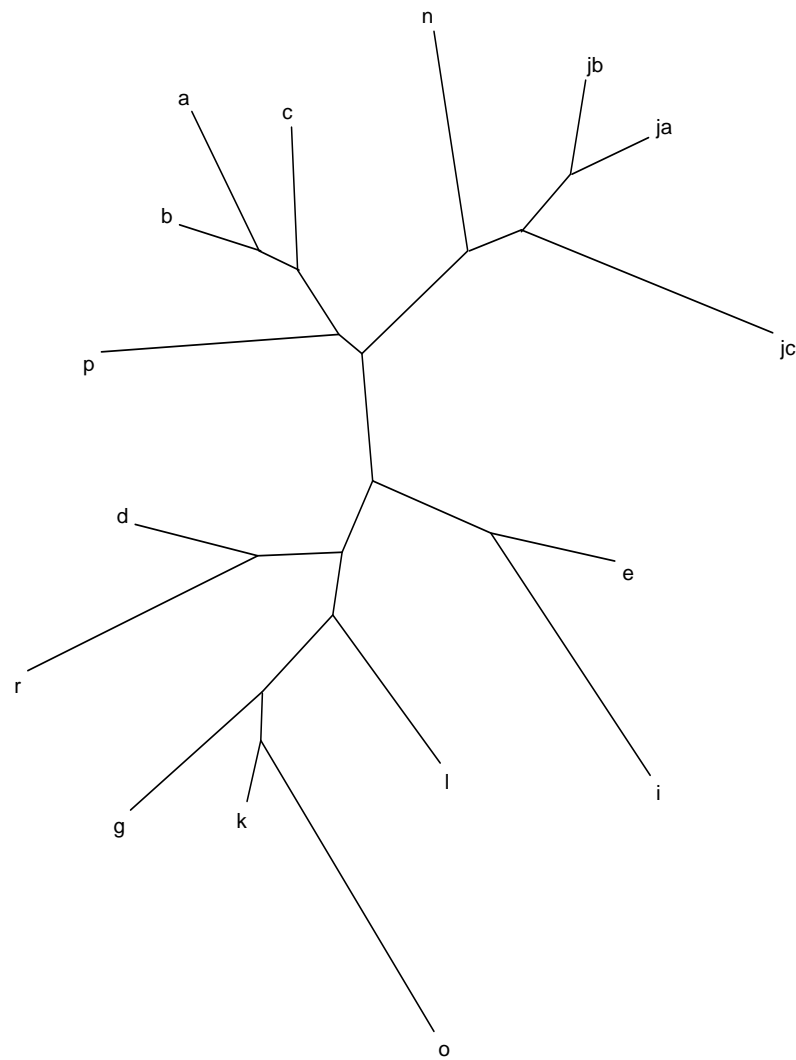
TREE 62: John – both test passages without Vk



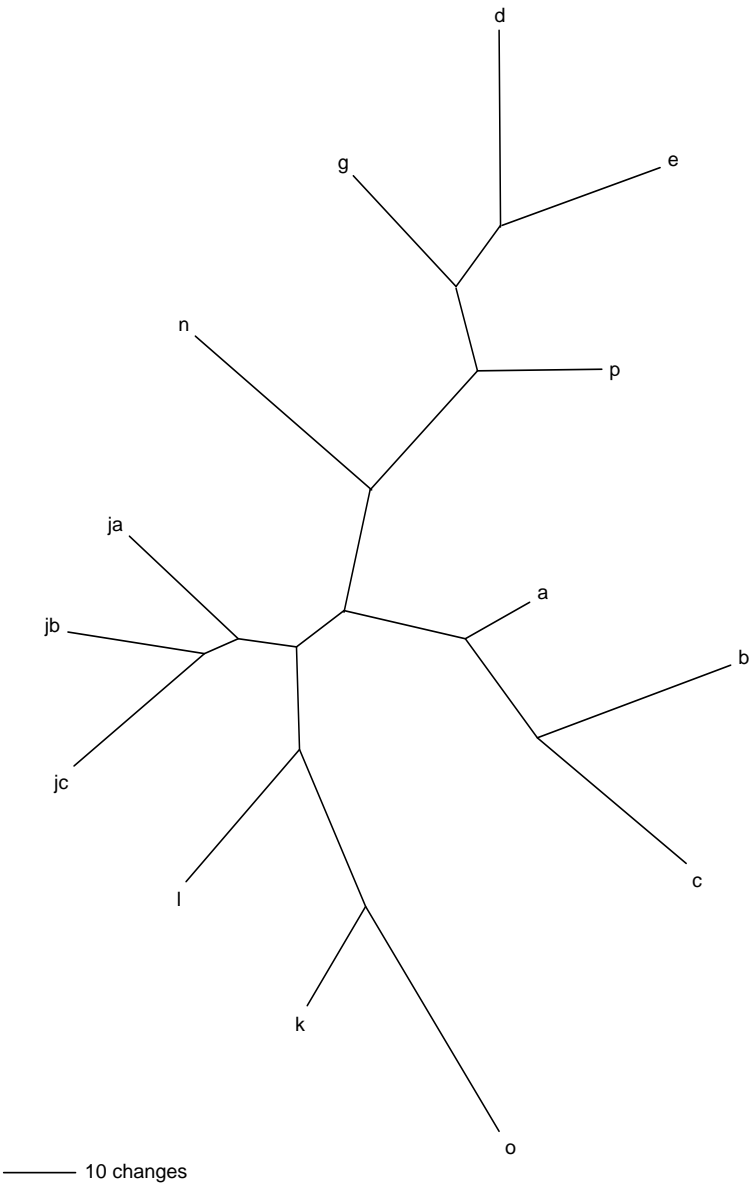
TREE 63: John – test passage 1 without Vk (1 out of 2)



TREE 64: John – test passage 1 without Vk (2 out of 2)



TREE 65: John – test passage 2 without Vk (only one found)



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